University of New Orleans

ScholarWorks@UNO

University of New Orleans Theses and Dissertations

Dissertations and Theses

Fall 2014

"Put the Church Right There": A Study of the Inclusion of Congregational Structures within New Urbanist Developments

Matthew L. Pierce
University of New Orleans, matthewlpierce@gmail.com

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarworks.uno.edu/td

Part of the Urban, Community and Regional Planning Commons, and the Urban Studies and Planning Commons

"Put the Church Right There":
A Study of the Inclusion of Congregational Structures within New Urbanist Developments

A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
University of New Orleans
in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of

Master of Urban and Regional Planning

by
Matthew Lawrence Pierce

B.A. University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2001
M. Div Duke University, 2006

December, 2014

But seek the welfare of the city where I have sent you into exile,
and pray to the LORD on its behalf,
for in its welfare you will find your welfare.
Jeremiah 29:7 (NRSV)

Table of Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

Abstract

Beginning with the development of Seaside (Walton County, FL), Kentlands (Gaithersburg, MD), and Laguna West (Elk Grove, CA), New Urbanist developments have set aside parcels for civic structures, many of which now house congregations. Using interviews with developers, planners, and church officials, this thesis examines the rationale behind including congregations within New Urbanist developments in four southeastern states (Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina, and South Carolina). The expectations of New Urbanist developers largely mirror those found within key New Urbanist texts: congregational structures help create a legible landscape through typological architecture and conspicuous siting while providing space for public gathering. The thesis ultimately argues that New Urbanism requires a more robust sociological model, one which captures the influence of institutions on forms of social interaction. Moreover, such a model might provide insight into the ways in which developers and congregations might collaborate to fulfill the social goals of New Urbanism.

Key words: urban planning, New Urbanism, congregational studies

Section 1 Introduction. The old road from the state capitol to Hillsborough, North Carolina runs through the heart of the University of North Carolina. Upon entering the campus, one encounters low, locally-quarried granite walls: first running along the historic cemetery, then throughout Chapel Hill. On the far side of campus, if one turns south toward Pittsboro, one comes upon a recent development. The granite walls begin again, this time uniform in height and neatly mortared, leading eventually to the entrance of Southern Village. Entering the development, one faces a steel and granite bell-tower beside a neo-Gothic church. Though built nearly two centuries apart, the church and the low walls around Chapel Hill use the same locally quarried granite, binding the building to the history of the town and creating a visual connection of this new place to an old one.

This study began with questions raised about the history and purpose of that church building and the congregation it houses. Unique in its revived use of neo-medieval architecture, Christ Church stands within a development popularly known for its combination of large homes and quaint feel. "Why did they choose to include a [United] Methodist congregation in the development?" another Methodist asked me. "Did they figure we wouldn't put up a fuss about all the expensive houses?" The question was posed to me twice by different United Methodists. The second time raised my interest in three things: 1) the identity of the "they" who included a UM congregation within the development, 2) the purpose of including a congregation within the development, and 3) the outcome of incorporating a congregational structure within the community.[1]

The outcome of that research in 2011 revealed that a number of Traditional Neighborhood Developments/New Urbanist communities in North Carolina and nearby states had planned for or included religious structures (including congregational structures). Moreover, I discovered that the inclusion of those congregations was part of an overall social program intrinsic to New Urbanism itself.

With a) the social program of New Urbanism as well as b) the nature of congregations in mind, this thesis seeks to explore three things:

---

[1] Congregational structures are a *type of* religious structure, which would include chapels, devotional sites, and so forth. I have chosen the language of "congregational structure" to denote a building owned and operated by a particular religious community. "Chapel," by contrast, indicates a building with facilities which *could* serve as a worship setting (typically for Protestant Christians), but which is *not* owned by any particular religious community.

1) What are the specific desires and expectations of developers/town founders/planners in incorporating either congregational structures or chapels into their respective developments?
2) What are the expectations and desires of church leaders in moving into/beginning a congregation within a New Urbanist development?
3) How has inclusion within a New Urbanist development matched the expectations/desires of developers and church leaders?

These questions are important for planning for at least three reasons. First, because New Urbanism aims to prompt a number of social changes through alterations in the built and institutional environment, these questions provided one means of assessing the impact of one strand of those alterations: the inclusion of congregational structures and congregations. Secondly, the inclusion of such structures and institutions may require a capital loss to the developer. In the case of Southern Village, for example, developer D.R. Bryan donated land to Christ UMC. Given the potential *monetary* cost of including a congregation, developers and town founders require knowledge of the outcomes of previous endeavors as well as the dynamics of locating and supporting a congregation. Finally, these questions provide an opportunity to address concerns about New Urbanism (particularly centering on "nostalgia" and physical determinism) by examining the outcome not of the *physical design* of New Urbanist communities but the inclusion of *institutions*.

This thesis begins with an examination of the social goals of New Urbanism as contained in that movement's foundational texts and in the writings of important New Urbanists. Particular attention is given to the role that religion, congregations, and religious structures play in furthering those social goals. The following section places the expectations New Urbanists have for congregational structures in conversation with critics of New Urbanism as well as recent scholarship on the *nature* of congregations in the United States. The thesis then turns to the results of roughly three-dozen interviews of New Urbanist developers and leaders of congregations within New Urbanist developments. These interviews provide further insight into the intended outcomes of including congregations and congregational structures within New Urbanist communities as well as the outcome of that inclusion.

Section 2 Civic buildings and "religion" in the founding documents of New Urbanism.
Formally organized as the Congress of New Urbanism in 1993, the movement known as New
Urbanism joins architects, planners, and others concerned with the environmental and social
impact of post-World War II land development in the United States. Recognizing the impact of
the built environment upon land consumption, fossil fuel use, and forms of sociality, New
Urbanists propose major changes to current building and planning practices. One of the key
changes to the built environment includes providing architecturally distinct, visually legible, and
publicly accessible *civic structures* within communities. These *civic structures* range from post
offices (as at Seaside in Walton County, F and at Habersham in Beaufort, SC) to congregational
structures.

Neither New Urbanists nor their critics have offered significant justification for (or
critique of) the inclusion of religious structures within communities. Scholarly discussions of the
ability of New Urbanist communities to shape sociality has left the purpose and outcome of
congregational buildings largely untouched. Beginning with the "Charter of the New Urbanism"
(Section 2.1) and then looking at other texts influential with New Urbanism (Section 2.2), the
following sections examine the intended role of civic structures and "religion" within New
Urbanism. Thereafter, Sections 2.3 and 2.4 reflect upon the intended outcomes of including
congregational structures and congregations in light of the critics of New Urbanism (Section 2.3)
as well as the current state of congregational studies (Section 2.4).

Section 2.1. "The Charter of the New Urbanism." After its initial gathering in 1993, the
Congress of New Urbanism (CNU) formulated the "Charter of the New Urbanism," a statement
of their basic recommendations for the built environment. These twenty-seven principles fall
into three scales: "the region, "neighborhood, district, and corridor;" and "block, street, and
building." As noted by Talen, several of these principles touch upon environmental concerns,
but all twenty seven either deal with social equity or with "promoting the common good."[2] A
third social goal, the enhancement of "community," appears infrequently with the "Charter"
(though it plays a central role in other New Urbanist writings, as discussed below).

The CNU has published a book elaborating the "Charter" (also called *Charter of the New
Urbanism*) which includes brief interpretive essays of each principle. Within the *Charter*,
congregational structures stand among other civic buildings whose presence contributes to "the

---

[2] Emily Talen, "The Social Goals of New Urbanism," *Housing Policy Debate* 13, iss. 1 (2002): 166.

common good" and to the promotion of community. In both instances, congregational structures play *representational* and *practical* roles. In their representational role, congregational structures (like other civic buildings) signal the importance of the public realm by a) their distinct architecture and b) their notable locations/siting. As the twenty-fifth principle of the "Charter" reads:

> Civic buildings and public gathering places require important sites to reinforce community identity and the culture of democracy. They deserve distinctive form, because their role is different from that of other buildings and places that constitute the fabric of the city.[3]

The distinctive form of public/civic buildings arises in two ways. First, *private* buildings are subject to form-based codes which allow for a degree of variety while inducing sufficient similarity so as to create a "background" or "fabric" against which civic/public buildings stand, much like a figure/ground drawing (with civic/public buildings as the figure against a residential ground).[4] As stated by Duany in his interpretive essay on this principle:

> At the very least there should be an architectural code limiting the private buildings to tectonic modesty (a visual silence), while the public [including civic] buildings are allowed to remain uncoded, thus able to be fully expressive of the aspirations of the institutions they embody or, less interestingly, the inspirations of their architects.[5]

Along with freedom from the code, Duany notes another architectural means of setting civic/public buildings apart: employing classical architecture *only* for those buildings sustained by and part of the public realm (while using vernacular architecture for private buildings). Siting public/civic buildings follows a similar logic. Public/civic buildings should occupy conspicuous locations (per topography of the site or the chosen street grid) and can be exempted from the "build to" line regulations, which yields a uniform street wall and, therefore, aids in making the private realm the background against which public/civic buildings sit offset.

Making civic/public buildings conspicuous by their architecture and location has three purposes. Among the practical purposes, the presence of conspicuous, unique buildings breaks up the visual landscape in order to yield an environment more easily navigable for pedestrians and drivers.[6] Secondly, the distinctiveness of public/civic buildings (with the private realm as background) aims to create a visually *interesting*, if not inspiring and *care*-worthy environment.

---

[3] Congress for the New Urbanism, *Charter of the New Urbanism* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2000): 161.
[4] Duany differentiates between public buildings (those paid for and operated on the public behalf (like libraries, town halls, and so forth)) and civic buildings (run by non-profit groups, though these buildings/institutions may receive government funding). Ibid, 162.
[5] Ibid., 164.
[6] Ibid., 74.

Indeed, Krier begins *Architecture of Community* with a reflection on attachment to post-World War II architecture/land development.

> If, one day, for some mysterious reason, all the buildings, settlements, suburbs and structures built after 1945—especially those commonly called "modern"—vanished from the face of the earth, would we mourn their loss?[7]

Kunstler criticizes post-war development for being "depressing, brutal, ugly, unhealthy, and spiritually degrading…"[8] More importantly, both Krier and Kunslter regard an aesthetic attachment to place as an integral component of a "sense of community" and belonging. Kunstler calls such attachment "charm."

> The word *charm* may seem fussy, trivial, vague. I mean explicitly *that which makes our physical surroundings worth caring about*…It is not a trivial matter, for we are presently suffering on a massive scale the social consequences of living in places that are not worth caring about. Charm is dependent on connectedness, on continuities, on the relation of one thing to another, often expressed as tension, like the tension between private space and public space, or the sacred and the workaday….[9]

In his elaboration on "charm," Kunslter binds together two purposes for visually distinct public/civic buildings. As noted, a visually inspiring landscape lends itself to care and attachment while representing clearly the distinction between the public and the private.

Somewhat offhandedly, Grant criticizes New Urbanism as having a "strong need for order."[10] I suspect that beneath this comment lies a concern not simply for the "need for order" evinced by New Urbanists, but the explicit nature of that order and the prioritizing of the public over the private. A key tendency throughout the *Charter* and among frequently cited New Urbanist authors (such as Duany, Krier, and Kunstler) is the willingness to emphasize the relationship of parts to whole which, in turn, requires an articulation *of* those parts and how they comprise the whole. Though some parts/whole take the form of dualities (e.g., nature/culture, urban/rural, public/private), the structure of the "Charter" itself exemplifies the tendency to specify connectedness in its use of the three-fold structure (i.e., "region," town/cities, streets/blocks). As discussed within the *Charter*, the public realm stands in contrast both to private interests and individual prerogatives and is symbolized as such in the subordination of the

---

[7] Krier, Leon, Dhiru A. Thadani, and Peter J. Hetzel, *Architecture of Community* (Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 2009): 5.

[8] James Howard Kunslter, *Geography of Nowhere: The Rise and Decline of America's Man-Made Landscape* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993): 10.

[9] Ibid., 168.

[10] Jill Grant, *Planning the Good Community: New Urbanism in Theory and Practice* (New York: Routledge, 2008): 45.

private to form-based codes and the architectural freedom accorded to the design of public/civic buildings.

Thus far, public/civic buildings (including congregational structures) have played three roles: 1) creating a visually differentiated landscape 2) worthy of concern and affection 3) that symbolizes the primacy of the public realm over the private. Civic buildings and spaces also provide places for public gatherings and events as well as chance meetings.[11] *Visions of Seaside* provides in exemplary form the New Urbanist view of civic spaces.

> A number of people living in some kind of proximity to one another, no matter how many or how few they are, will only be consumers in civic life and have no better resources to draw on than they find within themselves unless they have places where they can participate with others as citizens.[12]

By separating public/civic spaces from private residential areas, post-1945 development made less available the gathering spaces necessary for the *practices* of that constitute "civil life."

Though the "Charter" contains regular reference to public/civic buildings, congregational structures receive scant attention save in descriptions of historic exemplary towns.[13] Congregations are mentioned in connection to grass roots organizations (read, "civic organizations").[14] Beyond these references, *congregations/* "churches" receive little explicit mention. The absence of discussion of religious structures would not be noteworthy were it not for the fact that several of the early New Urbanist developments contain congregational structures (or have set aside space for one), including Laguna West in Elk Grove, CA (a Greek Orthodox church), Kentland in Maryland (a Latter-Day Saints ward), and Seaside in Florida (which reserved a space for its chapel along on the central, north-south axis). *Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk: Towns and Town-Making Principles* offers interpretive essays on the early work of two leaders of New Urbanism as well as a review of several of their early projects. Almost without exception, their greenfield developments call for congregational structures. Moreover, in the enumeration of features included in each project, "churches" are listed separately from "civic buildings." With the exception of schools, no other type of institution appears as frequently within New Urbanist developments.

---

[11] *Charter*, 82, 117, 161.
[12] Carroll William Westfall, "Civic Spaces Civic Places" in *Visions of Seaside: Foundations / Evolution / Imagination / Built & Unbuilt Architecture*, edited by Dhiru Thadani (New York: Rizzoli, 2013): 119.
[13] *Charter,* 165
[14] Ibid., 35.

The emphasis upon the role of churches (qua buildings) as both meeting places and symbols in the neighborhood appears in the writings of Duany and Plater-Zyberk as well as in the writings and drawings of Leon Krier. In *Suburban Nation*, churches stand along with town halls, schools, and other public/civic buildings as "places where people gather for communication and culture," serving additionally as neighborhood focal points.[15] Duany and Plater-Zyberk, in turn, draw upon Leon Krier, the Belgian architect whose writings and sketches provide much of the framework for the civic/private distinction within New Urbanism. Though not mentioned in *The Architecture of Community,* religion and religious structures appear within Krier's sketches. Figure 1 shows a parody of the post-1945 tendency to separate land uses and human tasks. "Religion" here appears as one facet of the social fabric. Several of his sketches depict [preferred] cityscapes, many of them with church steeples. Krier also evinces a concern for the typological legibility of buildings homologous to the public/private distinction: churches (and mosques) should be recognizable as such.[16]

---

[15] Andew Duany, Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, and Jeff Speck, *Suburban Nation: The Rise of Sprawl and the Decline of the American Dream* (New York: North Point Press): 6.
[16] Leon Krier, Dhiru A. Thadani, and Peter J. Hetzel, *The Architecture of Community* (Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 2009): 30.
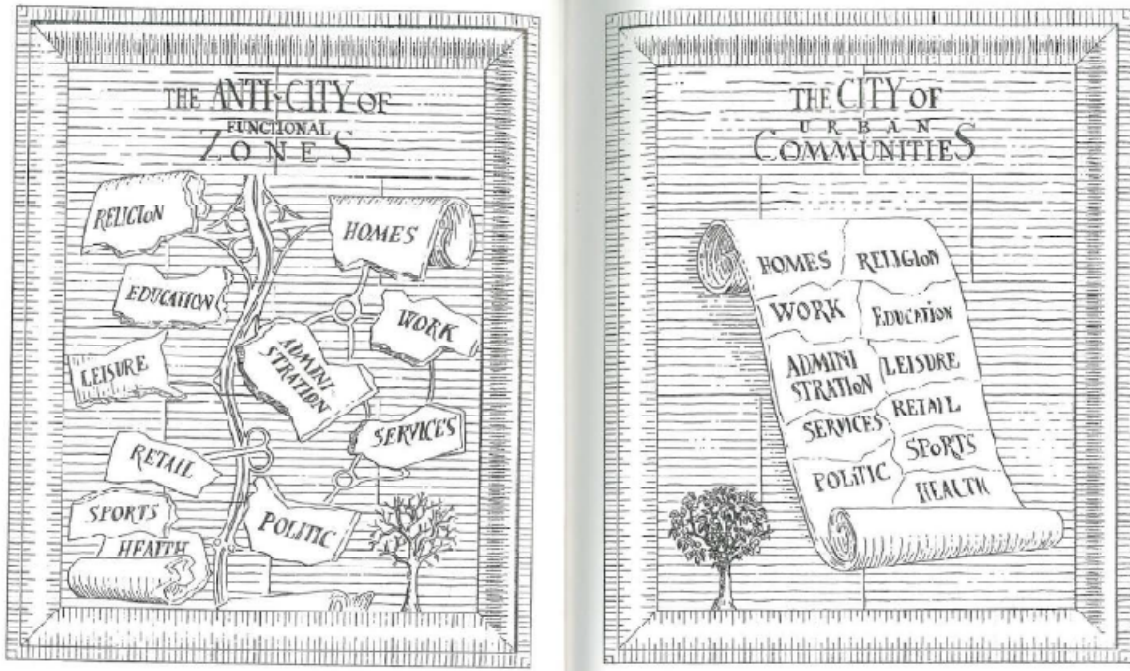
*Figure 1* Krier, *Drawing for Architecture, 21-2.*

OBJETS

TYPES · USE ·   PASTICHES · CONSUMPTION ·

CHURCH — COUNTRY HOUSE
MOSQUE — PUMPING STATION
POWER STATION — PALACE of CULTURE
SHIP — CLUB
WARE-HOUSE — CHAPELLE
USINE — PARLIAMENT

TRADITION   HISTORICISMODERNISM
FORM = CONTENT   CONTENT X FORM

RANDOM UNIFORMITY = fake Simplicity

CHURCH   THEATRE   CITY-HALL   UNIVERSITY

fake "Complexity" = UNIFORM RANDOMNESS
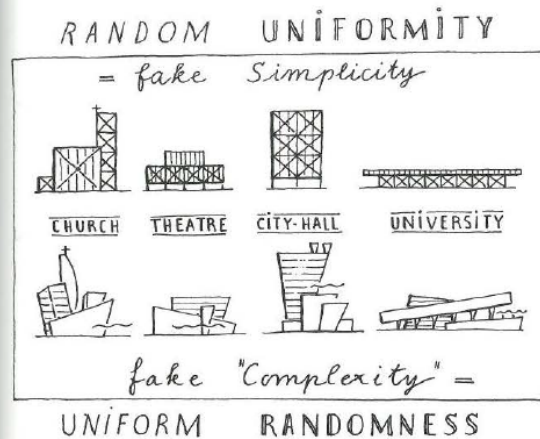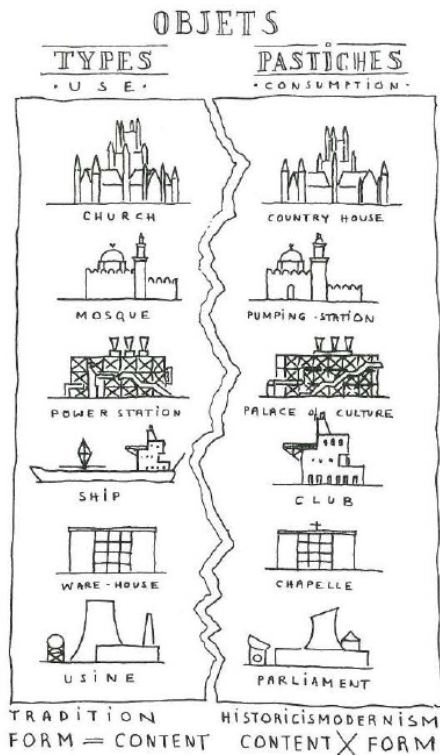
Figure 2 Krier, *Drawing for Architecture*, 132-3.

In *Suburban Nation* and *Drawing for Architecture,* "religion" and religious structures remain rather innocuous features of the social and built landscape, contributing to the legibility of the neighborhood while providing a space for public gathering.

Section 2.2 Civic structures and "religion" in other key New Urbanist texts. Yet religion and religious structures do not always receive such mild treatment. Known for his acerbic tone, James Howard Kunstler has been increasingly associated with New Urbanism since the publication of *Geography of Nowhere* (being cited variously by Duany and Krier, later providing a postscript in *Architecture of Community*). *Geography* shares similar concerns for the post-1945 built environment to those voiced in *Suburban Nation*: the loss of pedestrian friendly environments (replaced by landscapes scaled to automobiles)[17], the lack of concern for the public realm (replaced with an emphasis upon building a "home") [18], and the social damage wrought by suburban living.[19] Within the overall narrative, Kunstler deploys a range of anti-religious parodies, describing New England Puritans as having "myth-clogged mental lives" and having a

---

[17] Kunstler, 32, 49, 50, 113.
[18] Ibid., 165.
[19] Ibid., 52, 90ff.

"dour preoccupation with getting into heaven"; among the failings of the United States (at least in the 19th century) was their "Bible-drunk sense of history" (which contributes to the misappropriation of land).[20] "Dogma" and "religious zealotry" provide standard tropes for criticizing Modernists. This willingness to deploy standard anti-religious parodies and tropes stands in contrast both to the affirmation of typology in architecture and the occasional benefits of religion. In the chapter "How to Mess Up a Town," Kunstler criticizes an attempt to use the architectural type of a church as a signal for "community."

> The little white church functions as a sign as well as a miniature office building. In symbolic shorthand it says, "We sell traditional real estate here! We sell the coherence and stability, the enduring *community*, of traditional New England town life!" Saratoga is not a traditional New England town and never was…Why should this matter? Why not just accept the little fake church as a playful, harmless, adorable architectural oddity, as the lovers of kitsch do? Because it's a bad building, cheaply cute, out-of-scale, symbolically false, and struck in the middle of a parking lot, a little noplace that contributes to the great noplace.[21]

Indeed, churches are among those buildings which, properly constructed, placed, and employed can contribute to the charm of a place, serving as "center of civic as well as spiritual life, the adhesive that held the town together."[22]

New Urbanist architect, writer, and speaker, Scott Pinnell provides both the earliest and one of the most recent reflections on the role of churches and religion within New Urbanist literature. His chapter "Organon" appears in both *Towns and Town-Making Principles* (1992) and in expanded form in *Visions of Seaside* (2013). Reflecting upon the special care accorded certain civic buildings and their adjacent civic spaces within developments designed by Duany and Plater-Zyberk, Pinnell considers the intended purposes of these structures:

> One possible explanation is that these monumental structures really no longer house institutions which are regarded in the traditional ways. The church at Deerfield might behave in an urban way very much like Latrobe's Monumental Church in Charleston, but there is still somehow a sense of difference. These porticoes and steeples, obelisks and tempiettos wig-wag motorists around quite well and will make for great postcard views, but the aura of their representing dominative things in the life of the community is absent. The mindset of the traditional American town when it was founded was more often that the houses were built to support the church than the church was built to be a convenience for the houses. Monumental buildings were literally moral admonitions, as the etymology reveals: *ad monere*—toward memory— especially memory of those beliefs, values, and forms of behavior which were demanded by institutions of those within their fields of power. In the Duany and Plater-Zyberk plans it is very hard to discern a hierarchy of monuments, the sorting out of degrees of power to be expected when institutions still exert and compete for control—a hierarchy often quite legible in historic town plans. This is not to say that the institutions housed in such structures will not be important to the lives of those living in Duany and Plater-

---

[20] Ibid., 21, 94.
[21] Ibid., 137.
[22] Ibid., 21..

Mindful of the need to take Kunstler's acerbic comments with a grain of salt, I would suggest that both he and Pinnell provide a glimpse into acceptable boundaries of "church" use and expectations among New Urbanists. For Pinnell, the careful treatment of civic spaces *generally* denotes special, civic purpose, though churches seem to receive no more careful attention than, say, high schools. This similarity in treatment suggests an identical purpose: use as "another variety of local community facility." Kunstler's parody of Puritans (and Modernists) indicates an emphasis upon physical structures which serve the community *irrespective* of their peculiar uses (affirmed, no less, in his defense of the typology of ecclesial architecture).

Returning to an earlier distinction, civic buildings within New Urbanist communities have both representational and practical roles. Despite the frequent plans for and inclusion of congregational structures within New Urbanist developments, the vision for such structures within the writing of New Urbanists clearly emphasizes the role of the representational while reducing the practical function of such buildings to *spaces* for public gathering. Though Krier notes the role of "religion" as one component of urban communities, Kunstler and Pinnell offer the only two specific comments on religious communities as such, both of them characterizing religious communities as [at least potentially] bigoted, narrow-minded, and authoritarian.

The interviews conducted with planners and developers of New Urbanist communities echoed these themes: emphasis upon the typological legibility of congregational structures, a generalized notion of "religion" as an essential component of urban communities, a concern for certain forms of religious expression, and a tendency conceptually to separate buildings with legibly religious envelopes from the kinds of communities that helped to craft that legibility.

Section 2.3 Criticism of the social goals and chosen means of New Urbanism. Critics of the social goals of New Urbanism typically focus upon the means employed by New Urbanists in creating "community" or upon the character of the sociality that arises within New Urbanist developments. Grant, for example, argues that New Urbanist communities remain tinged by historic patterns of social injustice as well as shaped by the forces of globalization.[24] Talen notes the tendency of planners generally (including New Urbanists) to lean toward environmental

---

[23] Patrick Pinnell, "Organon 2981/2011," in *Visions of Seaside: Foundations / Evolution / Imagination / Built & Unbuilt Architecture*, edited by Dhiru Thadani. New York: Rizzoli, 2013. 93

[24] Jill Grant, *Planning the Good Community: New Urbanism in Theory and Practice* (New York: Routledge, 2006): 66.

determinism while simultaneously ignoring the "darker side" of community, especially the frequent link between social homogeneity and "sense of community."[25] To these concerns I would add two others. First, I would argue that increasing the instances of social interaction *also* increases the opportunities for interpersonal offense and conflict. To the extent that New Urbanist communities accomplish their goal of socio-economic diversity, the opportunities for offense and conflict increase to the extent that said diversity undermines the ability to rely upon the shared assumptions about behavior and decorum shared *within* a particular class segment or ethnic community.[26] These concerns suggest the need to attend to *other forms* of sociality within New Urbanist developments, including those hosted by (and sustaining) congregations.

Philip Bess, himself a New Urbanist, offers the most salient rationale for including *congregations* within New Urbanist developments.[27] Some New Urbanist communities (for example, Gorham's Bluff in Pisgah, AL) have included chapels whose architectural envelope and siting meet the criteria for civic buildings (appropriate placement, typological legibility, adequate space for public gathering) but which do not house congregations. These chapels serve as wedding facilities and public assembly halls. Bess argues that chapels (buildings employing a legibly religious envelope which do not house a congregation) do not provide an institution in which the *skills* and *practice* of democracy and the governance of the public realm may be *learned* and exercised. Bess would agree that the built environment can impact the nature of sociality. In this vein, post-1945 development a) reduced or removed the *representational* value of public/civic buildings, b) eliminated the venues for public gathering and interaction (these being taken over by commercial space), *and* c) potentially stripped communities of the opportunity to hand on and exercise practices and skills of "community" and care for the public realm. (Take away all the baseball fields and the practice of baseball—a combination of playing field, equipment, procedures and skills requiring training—will vanish). In advocating for the presence of congregations (not just chapels), Bess regularly points to Tocqueville's observation that American democracy manifested and grew primarily through voluntary associations such as congregations.

---

[25] Emily Talen, "The Problem with Community in Planning," *Journal of Planning Literature* 15, no. 2 (November 2000): 173, 178ff.

[26] See Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984).

[27] Phillip Bess. *Till We Have Built Jerusalem: Architecture, Urbanism, and the Sacred* (Wilmington, DE: ISI Books, 2006).

Like Grant, Shibley raises concerns about the impact of historic patterns of injustice which shape New Urbanist communities. Shibley (1998) has argued that New Urbanism requires a "process ethic," a practice of continually critiquing the dynamics of privilege and power within New Urbanist communities. I would suggest that this critique may be best construed in two ways. First, the approach to marketing New Urbanist communities has relied upon arguing that "everyone wins" with New Urbanist development: planner and developer, residents and guests. Such an approach, argues Shibley, fails to address the injustices built into the status quo (particular powers of planners and developers, for example): "everyone wins" while larger issues of social justice remain unaddressed. With this in mind, Shibley argues that New Urbanist communities need a *process ethic*, a form of community not as a fixed state but as a pattern of life together that provides space for questioning the distribution of responsibilities, rights, and privileges within a community.[28]

As indicated by Silver, earlier attempts within American history to create urban[ist] communities (or "neighborhoods") has often benefited from "some degree of social homogeneity and neighborhood insularity."[29] We might regard the New Urbanist push for places "worth caring about" as a positive equivalent of neighborhood insularity, an affection for and identity with a place that does not require prohibiting outsiders. Typically manifest along lines of race, class, and ethnicity, homogeneity poses a different problem. Some neighborhoods successfully minimize interpersonal (or inter-landowner) conflict because their social formation (tied to their socio-economic location) disposes neighbors to behave in similar ways (i.e, similar care for property among households with the same socioeconomic location avoid an array of conflicts because they share similar tastes/distastes regarding the use of land, home decoration, etc.). Mixing groups from different socioeconomic locations requires cultivating means of naming the [likely increased] number of interpersonal offenses and moving toward resolution if not conciliation.

Acknowledging the need for practices of naming and addressing social injustice as well as interpersonal offense opens the possibility that New Urbanists might seek particular *kinds* of institutions to include within civic spaces. Either way, the suggestion of a need for a process

---

[28] Robert G. Shibley, "The Complete New Urbanism and the Partial Practices of Placemaking," *Utopian Studies* 9, no. 1 (1998): 80-102.

[29] Christopher Silver, "Neighborhood Planning in Historical Perspective," *Journal of the American Planning Association* 51, no. 2 (1985): 171.

ethic implies *some means* by which a community learns and sustains such an ethic/practice. In turn, this raises the question about whether New Urbanists have (or should have) sought to locate particular types of institutions to include in their civic buildings which could sustain or enhance a particular type of ethos or ethic within a community.

Barring this, the inclusion of civic buildings with a legible "church" envelope risks merely drawing upon the positive resonance such buildings have for certain populations. Rybczynski alone mentions the presence of church buildings in relationship to the creation of a nostalgia for earlier times, going on to connect such longing to potential [conservative] buyers interested in "family values."[30]The concerns raised by the critics above indicate possible motivations for New Urbanists to seek particular types of institutions, those which promote the skills and the opportunity for addressing interpersonal offense and socially unjust arrangements, for example. As became clear in the course of the interviews, however, developers of New Urbanist communities typically do not seek out particular types of congregations.

Section 2.4 The "nature" of the American congregation as institution. The inclusion of congregations and congregational structures within New Urbanist developments raises a host of questions regarding the match between a) the desired outcomes of developers/town founders and b) the particular characteristics of a congregation. Moreover, because the institutional longevity of a congregation is not guaranteed, congregations and their judicatoriesmust examine the viability of being located within a New Urbanist community. For both the developer/town founder and church officials (as well as the laity), some understanding of the nature of congregations as institutions is important.

Though weekly worship remains the *sine qua non* of most American Christian and Jewish congregations, Warner argues that *fellowship* represents the chief function of congregations. Congregations provide a range of opportunities for interacting with others and developing a range of bonds outside of regular ritual activities.[31] This trend has emerged even among non-Christian/Jewish religious communities in the United States as Buddhists, Muslims, and others have adopted the congregation as the primary vehicle for religious expression, edification, and nurture (the same isomorphism pertains also to expectations of religious leaders).

---

[30] Witold Rybzynski, "This Old House," *The New Republic* (May 08, 1995): 14.

[31] R. Stephen Warner, "The Place of the Congregation in the Contemporary American Religious Configuration" in *American Congregations, V. 2: New Perspectives in the Study of Congregations*, edited by James P. Wind and James W. Lewis. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994. 54-7.

To speak of a "congregation," therefore, is not necessarily to speak of a Christian or Jewish community; it is, however, likely to speak of an institution which includes regular patterns of worship, education, stewardship, and outreach while emphasizing the opportunities for social interaction (especially among equals).

The role of denominations and official judicatories has waned within the past thirty years in the United States, particularly among Protestants. This trend has yielded "de facto congregationalism"—greater local autonomy by each congregation (matched by diminished authority among denominational officials).[32] Positively, congregational structures frequently yield institutions more responsive to their social milieus; negatively, this yields congregations more prone to reflect the morays and commitments of that social milieu rather than that of a larger, more cosmopolitan constituency. From the perspective of New Urbanists, such *de facto* congregationalism could cut both ways: while a congregation with loose denominational ties might better respond to its particular neighborhood, that congregation might also *lose* a critical perspective on issues of social justice (as raised by Shibley) if its membership *too* nearly identifies with the neighborhood.

The multiple foci of congregations noted above—worship, religious education, outreach, stewardship, and fellowship—typically require a significant amount of space. Attempts to incorporate religious education and worship into the same space (as in Akron plan churches) have largely been abandoned. Congregations therefore tend to require a significant amount of space; various denominations, mindful of the need for more than worship facilities and the potential need to grow, often mandate purchase of five or more acres for new congregations.

As noted above, one of the few activities of congregations specifically praised within the New Urbanist literature is participation in civic life, particularly through grass roots organizing. While the nature of congregations themselves emphasizes face-to-face interactions of equals (presumably a key constituent of grass-roots organizing), not all congregations engage in such activities. Indeed, some congregations actively decry engaging in "social justice" activities. In their study of congregations in Hartford, CT, Roozen, et al. discerned four basic "mission orientations," ways that congregations relate to their social milieu: the activist (socially engaged,

---

[32] "Congregational" is a designation of a particular type of church *polity*, one which stresses the authority (and independence) of the local church. As a form of church polity/ecclesiology, congregationalism (versus presbyterianism versus episcopalianism) frequently correlates to denominational identity. Baptists on the whole are congregationalists; Episcopalians, not surprisingly, have an episcopal structure where a bishop oversees a geographic area and all the congregations within it).

pastor as public voice), the civic (largely affirming of civic engagement, but frequently prone to support the status quo), the sanctuary (disengaged from social life, congregation provides "sanctuary" from the world), and the evangelistic (emphasizes individual conversion (sometimes as the primary means of changing the social milieu)).[33] Given the stated purposes of civic/religious structures as stated in the New Urbanist literature reviewed above, at least two of these mission orientations would work well within New Urbanist communities. The "activist" church would provide training for civic engagement and attend to Shibley's concern about a process ethic for social justice. Such churches most frequently are established congregations of minorities in urban areas. The "civic" mission orientation would provide the social interaction and mindfulness of care of the public realm called for by New Urbanists while affirming (perhaps too frequently) the status quo of a given community.

While the nature of congregations can be considered individually, Ammermann and Eiesland suggest considering churches within their larger socio-economic environment and within the local religious ecology. Drawing upon the work of H. Paul Douglass in the early 20th century, Ammermann and her team studied churches in areas undergoing cultural and economic change, creating a typology of responses (ranging from wholesale renewal of program and identity to stasis leading to closure).[34] With regard to the selection and support of a congregation, *Congregations* analyzes the resources (i.e., money, time, skills, connections) upon which congregations draw to address the impact of a changed social cultural and economic environment. Developers, town founders, and church officials looking to locate a congregation within a New Urbanist development need to reflect upon both the mission orientation (of an established congregation) and the particular resources which can be deployed for adaptation (of an established or new congregation) in a new setting.

Finally, Eiesland provides an analysis of congregations not simply within their larger social and economic milieu. Instead, *In a Particular Place* focuses upon the "religious ecology," the array of congregational and para-church organizations within a given area within which congregations cooperate and compete and against which they define themselves. Her analysis of the religious ecology of Dacula, GA—an exurb of Atlanta—notes in particular the tendency of congregations either to serve as generalist or niche churches. Generalist churches seek to

---

[33] David A. Roozen, William McKinney, Jackson W. Carroll. *Varieties of Religious Presence: Mission in Public Life* (New York: Pilgrim Press, 1984).

[34] Nancy Ammerman, et al., *Congregation & Community* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2001).

provide a whole range of needs across the life cycle; such churches tend to be physically large and rely upon an array of small groups to provide intimate social gatherings. Niche churches, frequently smaller in number (if not always in size) than generalist churches, aim to provide a specific need within a community. Thus in Dacula, the local mega-church served as a the generalist church, offering everything from early childhood education to a variety of mission opportunities to most age cohorts; the high-steeple United Methodist church, once likely the generalist church for the community, became the place where civic engagement and local identity were cultivated and celebrated.[35]

---

[35] Nancy L. Eiesland. *A Particular Place: Urban Restructuring and Religious Ecology in a Southern Exurb* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2000).

Section 3 Methodology. Having identified the purposes/intended outcomes of incorporating congregations and congregational structures within New Urbanist developments, I sought to examine those intended outcomes with perceived outcomes within specific New Urbanist developments in the southeastern United States.

Section 3.1 Identification of developments. Identifying developments for the study had three sources: *The Town Paper, Towns and Town-Making Principles*, and interviewee suggested sites.

First, I used the list of "Traditional Neighborhood Developments" listed in *The Town Paper* to identify all the NU developments within a four-state area: Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina, and South Carolina.[36] Delimiting the study to these four states had two purposes. First, I chose a geographic range which would allow the possibility of on-site visits and interviews from a base in Atlanta, GA. Though few interviewees requested an in person interview, those that did could be reached within no more than a day's drive from Atlanta. Between 2010 and 2014 I have visited all but six of the New Urbanist developments in the four-state area *in addition to* all the New Urbanist developments on the Florida panhandle.[37] Secondly, these four states have a significant number of New Urbanist developments as well as developments which include congregational structures and congregations. The number of developments within these four states provided a large enough sample to provide insight into the intention behind and outcome of including congregations and congregational structures within New Urbanist developments.

The Town Paper listed sixty-one (61) developments within the four-state study area. For each development, the following needed to be identified: a) the name of the developer/s, b) the name of the planners/planning firm, c) the presence of a chapel or congregational structure in original plans, d) the presence of a chapel/congregational structure currently, e) contacts for personnel at the chapel/congregational structure, and f) the geographic location of the development.

---

[36] The original search for chapels/congregational structures in TNDs began originally with the intent of studying only those developments which planned for and/or contained such structures in an eleven-state area: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. Such a large area made visiting each site untenable, however. Moreover, I realized that the decision *not* to include a chapel/congregational structure could be as instructive as choosing *to* do so. I therefore expanded the number of sites in the smaller, five-state study area and eliminated six other states.

[37] Those New Urbanist developments included within the study but *not* visited are Village of Cheshire (Black Mountain, NC), Devaun Park (Calabash, NC), Gorham's Bluff (Pisgah, AL), Habersham (Beaufort, SC), Tannin (Orange Beach, AL), and The Waters (Pike Road, AL)

I began by a) visiting the websites provided for each of the sixty-one (61) developments provided by *The Town Paper*, b) visiting the links of developers and planners provided by development websites, and c) searching local newspapers for stories on the developments (especially when the link provided by *The Town Paper* no longer worked). Using information contained on development websites, I located each development and used Google Maps to search for "church," "congregation," and similar terms.[38]

From this stage of research three patterns emerged. Of the thirty-eight (38) urban and suburban infill developments within the study, none contained congregational structures. Indeed, few of these even contained civic structures. Occasionally this absence would appear to be due to size—an infill development of a few acres (such the two-acre Morgan Park Place East in Nashville, TN) has little space for a civic structure. Other times, infill development (whether urban or suburban) occurred within an already rich religious ecology. Morgan Park Place East, for example, has half a dozen churches within a quarter mile (the standard distance of walkability used by DPZ). Infill development sponsored by cities (such as Locust Town Center) precludes the inclusion of religious structures on legal grounds. These first two patterns resulted in a distinction (used in Table 01) between greenfield and infill development. For the purposes of this study, I focused upon the twenty-five (25) built greenfield developments within the primary study area with one additional suburban infill development, Vickery (in Cumming, GA).[39]

In additional to using the list of TNDs in *The Town Paper* (which ceased to be updated in 2008), I also identified developments through research in three other ways. Using *Towns and Town-Making Principles*, I identified two additional developments to include in the research: Seaside (FL) and Kentlands (MD), two of the earliest and best known New Urbanist developments. Interviewees would occasionally suggest other developments. Though frequently these were already in the study area, Laguna West (CA) and New Town St. Charles (MO) both contain congregational structures. The addition of these four (4) developments brought the total study size to twenty-nine (29). Of these, I have visited eighteen (18).

---

[38] Though I struggle to know how to explain this, I also used Google Maps and Google Earth to spot buildings whose shape, size, and/or location suggested they might not be residential or commercial structures.
[39] Vickery was the suburban infill exception for two reasons: first, as a DPZ project, it would almost certainly have had a chapel or congregational structure in the planning phases; second, women were underrepresented in my interviews. Vickery was built by Hedgewood Homes, co-founded by Pam Sessions and Don Donnelly. It was hoped that by including Vickery within the scope of my research I might add an additional female voice to the interview pool.

State	# of NU Devs	# Greenfield	# Infill	# Unbuilt	# Devs for Study
AL	10	8	1	1	8
GA	17	2	13	2	3
NC	21	9	11	1	9
SC	13	5	8	0	5
Total	61	24	33	4	25

Table 1. New Urbanist Developments in Primary Study Area, by Build Type

The third pattern emerging from this stage of research led to a distinction between developments undertaken by real estate development companies on the one hand and those undertaken by individuals, small teams, or families on the other. Developments undertaken by real estate development companies frequently *did not* include civic structures beyond recreational facilities.[40] Developed by a family in Pisgah, AL, Gorham's Bluff contains a chapel as well as several other civic sites. By contrast, Westhaven, developed by A Southern Land Company, contains no non-recreational civic structures.[41]

Section 3.2 Interviews. For each of the thirty-one developments identified, I sought interviews with town founders, developers, and others involved in the planning and development of the property as well as leaders from congregations and non-profits associated with religious structures. In each case, I sought at least one town-founder/developer/planner for each development and at least one leader for every congregation/religious structure present within a development. Of the 29 developments within study, twenty-two (22) developers, founders, or planners could be reached for interviews (listed under "Developer" and "Other" in Table 2) as well as eleven (11) congregational leaders representing six (6) of the eleven (11) developments with either congregational structures or staffed chapels. As of 10 October 2014, thirty-five (35) interviews have been conducted.

---

[40] Despite the definition of civic structure offered by Duany a building as one overseen by a non-profit, interviewees frequently referred to pools, boathouses, and similar buildings as *civic structures*. Schools and other governmentally owned structures will continue to be called "public structures," but civic structures will be used more inclusively, including those housing non-profits (such as congregational structures) and those which are recreational facilities (such as pools).

[41] The absence of non-recreational civic structures in Westhaven is all the more marked because of the involvement of DPZ in the planning of the development.

Developments	
In Study	29
Represented by Interview	22
Interviews	
Developer Interviews	24
Church Leader Interviews	11

Table 2. Number of Developments in Study, Interviews Conducted (Summary)

Interviews were semi-structured. The following questions served as the basic template for those involved in the design and implementation of a New Urbanist development:

1. How did you first learn about Traditional Neighborhood Developments (TNDs) and/or New Urbanism?
2. What do you find most compelling about TNDs and/or New Urbanism?
3. What role do civic buildings (town halls, churches, and so forth) play in the life of a community?
4. What role do/might congregational structures (churches and synagogues) play in the life of a community?
5. What kinds of civic buildings did the plans for your development originally include?
6. What kinds of civic buildings did your development ultimately include?
7. If there were civic structures that you had intended to include, why were these not ultimately included?
8. Your development includes a congregational structure. How did you come to choose that particular congregation?
9. In what ways has the congregation lived up to the expectations you had for its inclusion in your development? In what ways has the congregation not lived up to those expectations?
10. If you had to "do it over again," what might you do differently with regard to the siting of a congregational structure and the selection of a congregation? What would you make sure you did again?

Questions 1-4 seek to determine the intent behind the inclusion of particular types of civic structures within a development; Questions 5-8 provide background on the history of the particular development and the civic structures it planned for and ultimately included; Questions 9 and 10 provided opportunities for reflection upon the outcome of including those congregational structures/congregations.

The following questions served as the basic template for pastors whose congregations were located in/adjacent to New Urbanist developments:

1. Your congregation is in/near a "Traditional Neighborhood Development" (TND)/New Urbanist development. Which came first: the development or your congregation?
2. How did you congregation choose its current location? Was the location of the development an important part of that decision?

3. If you were approached by someone to be part of the neighborhood, by whom were you approached? What reasons did they offer for wanting a congregation in the development?
4. Describe the programmatic life of your congregation.
5. What expectations did your congregation have about being part of/near a new development? A Traditional Neighborhood Development?
6. In what ways has the development lived up to the expectations you had for it as a neighborhood? In what ways has development not lived up to those expectations?
7. If you had to "do it over again," what might you do differently with regard to the siting of your church? What would you make sure you did again?
8. Describe the relationship between your congregation and the neighborhood.

Questions 1-3 and 7 seek to establish both the history and the "nature" of the particular congregation in question; Question 4 aims to discover how much congregations knew about New Urbanism and *their* anticipated outcomes of inclusion in a NU development; Questions 5, 6, and 8 provided opportunities for reflection upon the outcome of being included within a New Urbanist development.

Interviewee	Questions	Focus of Question
Developer	1 - 4	Determine intent behind including congregational structure
	5 - 8	Obtain history and background information on development
	9 - 10	Reflect upon the experience of including a congregation
Church Official	1 - 4	Establish history and programmatic life of congregation
	5	Determine how much church leader knew about New Urbanism
	6 - 8	Reflect upon the experience of being within a NU development

Table 3. Types/intent of questions posed to developers and church leaders.

Though certain questions were always asked, conversations frequently required divergence into related topics as well as follow up questions not on the original list of questions. On the front end, setting up an interview (identifying potential interviewee, contacting interviewee, scheduling a time) took approximately thirty minutes per person. Contact was attempted for every potential interviewee (except those associated with Kentlands and Laguna West) by phone, email, and mail as necessary (see explanatory note to Table 2). Interviews typically lasted one hour and were transcribed but not recorded.

Table 2 shows the results of the interview process (identifying, scheduling, and conducting interviews) for the developments under study. "D" denotes persons who declined an interview or who never responded to communiques. N/A denotes "Not Available" (in the "Developer Column") and "Not Applicable" (in the "Congregation" column). "P" denotes an

interview pending—either schedule after the submission date of the first draft or deferred without having been rescheduled.

| Development | Location | Interviews | | | Total |
		Dev	Cong	Other	
Afton Village	Concord, NC	1	N/A	0	1
Antiquity	Cornelius, NC	1	2	0	3
Baxter Village	Fort Mill, SC	D	N/A	0	0
Birkdale Village	Huntersville, NC	D	N/A	0	0
Cheshire	Black Mountain, NC	1	1	0	2
Clark's Grove	Covington, GA	1	1	0	2
Cline Village	Conover, NC	D	N/A	0	0
Devaun Park	Calabash, NC	D	N/A	0	0
Gorham's Bluff	Pisgah, AL	D	N/A	1	1
Hammond's Ferry	North Augusta, SC	1	N/A	0	1
Habersham	Beaufort, SC	1	N/A	0	1
Hampstead	Montgomery, AL	D	N/A	1	1
I'on	Mount Pleasant, SC	D	P/D	1	1
Kentlands	Gaithersburg, MD	D	D	0	0
Laguna West	Elk Grove, CA	D	D	0	0
Mount Laurel	Birmingham, AL	1	1	0	2
"St. Alban's"	Davidson, NC	N/A	2	0	2
New Town	St. Charles, MO	0	1	1	2
Patrick Square	Clemson, SC	1	N/A	1	2
The Preserve	Hoover, AL	0	0	1	1
Providence	Hunstville, AL	D	N/A	0	0
Seaside	Seaside, FL	1	0	2	3
Serenbe	Palmetto, GA	D	N/A	0	0
Southern Village	Chapel Hill, NC	2	2	1	5
Tannin	Orange Beach, AL	1	N/A	0	1
Trussville Springs	Trussville, AL	1	0	0	1
Vermillion	Huntersville, NC	D	1	0	1
Vickery	Cumming, GA	D	N/A	0	0
Waters (The)	Pike Road, AL	N/A	0	2	2
	Total	13	11	11	35

Table 4. Developments within Studies, Interviews Conducted

Section 4. Analysis. As discussed above, three points of inquiry drove this research. The first centers on the fact that New Urbanist developers and planners frequently include religious structures among the other civil and public structures of their developments. Religious structures here denotes those civic building which either by use (as locations of worship), ownership (as owned by congregations), and/or by architectural envelope (using recognizably ecclesial architecture) are connected in appearance or act to religious practice. Having explored the rationale for including civic structures generally within New Urbanist documents (and among the writings of thinkers influential on New Urbanism), this research has sought to determine the motivations and visions of particular developers and planners that leads to the inclusion of congregational structures. The second point of inquiry regards the process by which congregations come to be included within New Urbanist developments. Given the diversity of theology and practice within American congregations, developers and planners might have sought particular denominations, particular types of pastors, or congregations with a track-record of performance that could be assessed. The third point of inquiry reflects upon the result of incorporating congregations into New Urbanist developments: what kind of resources and complications *do* congregations and congregational structures bring to communities?

Section 4.1. Planners and developers on the inclusion of congregations. As shown in Section 3.2 above, the first two questions asked of developers sought to gauge the influence of *how* a developer became involved in New Urbanism or *what* they found most compelling about the movement upon their inclusion of civic structures. Respondents had a variety of initial contacts with New Urbansim *as a movement*. This difference in original contact does not appear to have shaped the preference for including religious structures, as discussed below.

    Initial contact with New Urbanism came about in number of ways. Several interviewees on the development side first encountered New Urbanism through visiting Seaside, having friends purchase land in or near Seaside, or from articles about the project in *The Atlantic Monthly*, *Builder* magazine, or *Southern Living*.[42] (Notably, the *Atlantic* article notes the need for civic and religious buildings to create the "sense of place" that [New Urbanist] developers seek.[43]) Others learned about New Urbanism through one-off presentations at law school or at trade

---

[42] D. R. Bryan, interview by author, Chapel Hill, NC, August 8, 2011. Nimrod Long, interview with the author, June 18, 2014. Tim Busse, interview with the author, June 11, 2014.

[43] Philip Langdon, "A Good Place to Live," *The Atlantic online.* http://www.theatlantic.com/past/docs/issues/96sep/kunstler/langdon.htm. Accessed 12 August 2014.

shows[44] Two individuals on the development side have worked for DPZ or on New Urbanist projects, including Chris Kent began working with New Urbanist developments as marketing director of for Seaside, Nathan Norris has worked with a number of DPZ and New Urbanist projects.[45] At least one other developer had heard of New Urbanism after several years of working on urban infill projects in historic neighborhoods (such as the Five Points neighborhood in Raleigh, NC) that would serve as a model for New Urbanist communities (such as Southern Village in Chapel Hill, NC).[46] One developer learned about New Urbanism by unwittingly hiring two New Urbanist designers and planners.[47] In at least one circumstance, an Alabama developer noted his skepticism with New Urbanism (as represented by Seaside) until visiting another project designed by Duany Plater-Zyberk, Mt. Laurel in southeast Birmingham.

In some cases, geography appears to have played an important role shaping early encounters with New Urbanism: developers from Alabama regularly noted either visiting Seaside or knowing persons who vacationed or owned homes there. Further afield, knowledge of New Urbanism came through less personal contacts (e.g., classroom discussions, trade show presentations, articles). Despite the array of initial encounters with New Urbanism (and particularly New Urbanist developments), when asked *how* the idea of including a religious structure came about, developers never referred to their contacts with New Urbanism as the source of the idea.

The developers of the earliest New Urbanist projects (1980s) both noted their early desire to include religious structures within their development. Gounares, developer of sixty-acre, DPZ-planned Tannin (Orange Beach, AL), notes that the development had always had a site set aside (on a terminated vista) for a "church." Robert Davis, town founder of Seaside (Walton County, FL), spoke of a desire to have more than one site for a religious structure. He had proposed to the developers of Watercolor—a New Urbanist development which surrounds Seaside—that the site of the Seaside chapel serve as the anchor for a great lawn that would extend north and include sites for a host of religious communities. Another development within the first generation of NU developments, Kentlands (Gaithersburg, MD), came to include a Latter-Day

[44] Interview, Busse. Joe Roy, interview with the author, June 19, 2014.
[45] Gary Justiss, interview with the author, August 12, 2014. Christopher Kent, interview with the author, August 8, 2014. Nathan Norris, interview with the author, August 7, 2014.
[46] David Mayfield, interview with the author, June 14, 2014.
[47] Dale Walker, interview with the author, June 19, 2014.

Saints ward; the founder, James Alfandre (unable to be reached for this project), is himself a Mormon.

The NU developments which followed Kentlands and Seaside showed a similar propensity toward including religious structures. D. R. Bryan notes that he had always intended to include a "church" within Southern Village (Chapel Hill, NC). The *earliest* plans for Mt. Laurel (Birmingham, AL) include a cruciform building with steeples on the current site of Double Oak Community Church.[48] Other developers and town founders noted their own desire or the desire of those with whom they work to include a religious structure within their developments from the outset of the project (Busse/Whittaker (New Town St. Charles), Long (The Preserve), Stalnaker (Trussville Springs), Walker (The Waters)). Even before breaking ground on Vermillion, developer Nate Bowman had spoken with church development officers of The United Methodist Church to encourage the start of a new congregation within his development.[49]

Within the group of developments studied there are notable exceptions. Graham, part of the development team for Clark's Grove, stated that had the Episcopal Church of the Good Shepherd not been seeking to relocate at the time when the second phase of Clark's Grove began (and needed a civic anchor), another church would not have been sought. Roy noted the original desire of the developers of Antiquity (Cornelius, NC) to have a "tavern on the green." When the town planners of Cornelius vetoed the presence of a drinking establishment among so many homes, the plans changed to include a space for a small church at the end of the (newly renamed?) "Parsons Green." Afton Village (Concord, NC) developer David Mayfield did not need to build a religious structure: his development has an established congregation in the eastern corner (that congregation, McGill Baptist, once owned much of the land that now comprises Afton Village). Others involved on the development side noted their willingness to have a religious institution or structure within the development. Hodge, who provides on-site management of Patrick Square (Clemson, SC) said the developers of that project were open to the inclusion of a congregational structure, as did Katie Rabun, on-site manager for Hammond's Ferry in North Augusta. The original site plans for Hampstead included space for a civic structure ("church/school"), though the site remains undeveloped.

---

[48] These images continue to be used in some of the promotional literature and remains in the model on display outside the Mt. Laurel office.

[49] The Rev. Karen Easter, interview with the author, August 7, 2014.

However, Gary Justiss, architect for the Chapel at Blount Springs, AL (a DPZ project) and for the Meeting House on Chapel Hill (in The Waters in Pike Road, AL) cautioned against taking original site plans as indicative of intent: many developments leave spaces open for civic spaces without specifying their content; many site plans incorporate images of churches as part of the overall conception of the place. Moreover, given the long build-out period of New Urbanist communities (projections for the already ten-year old Mt. Laurel predict 2024 as the completion date, for example), promotional materials often include images of "traditional" communities *with no surprises* in order to calm prospective homebuyersi, especially those within the first several houses built.[50]

Section 4.2 "Yes, but what kind of church?" When asked questions about the specific nature of churches included within New Urbanist developments, New Urbanist developers offered clear architectural preferences. Architecturally, religious structures should provide a typologically legible structure which aids in navigation and differentiation of the landscape while also accommodating public gatherings within. New Urbanists provide less information regarding desirable characteristics of a potential congregation. Those who did specific congregational characteristics echoed the concerns of Kunslter and Pinnell, noting their desire for a non-sectarian, community-oriented "church."

Architectural Envelope. Several developers noted their desire for white clapboard, New England-style meeting houses. A Birmingham-area congregation seeking to develop a satellite campus in Trussville Springs (Trussville, AL) has presented the developers with an image of "little white church," the kind "one would find in Mayberry" (not an "in your face structure like from one-hundred years ago").[51] The chapel at Gorham's Bluff (Pisgah, AL), the Meeting House on Chapel Hill (The Waters), and the Chapel at Seaside have different massing and use different materials, but the homage to the New England meeting house (and its derivative, the white coastal churches of the Florida panhandle) cannot be mistaken. Joe Roy, one of two developers of Antiquity, provided what might be the archetypal description of the New Urbanist religious structure: a traditional white building with a tall steeple. Both D. R. Bryan and Jim Earnhart (Southern Village) expressed their desire for a traditional New England meeting house.

---

[50] As noted by Jim Earhardt, construction manager of Southern Village, the first homeowners on site (as well as a number of prospective homeowners) came with a good bit of trepidation, always wanting to know about the upcoming progress of the developments (and thus the long-term prospects of their investment in the place). Jim Earnhardt, interview with the author, Chapel Hill, NC, August 8, 2011.
[51] Barry Stalnaker, interview with the author, June 24, 2014.

According to the latter, both men had read *A Pattern Language*, which argues for the placement of churches/chapels adjacent to cemeteries. The first plans presented to the planning department of Chapel Hill contain a small chapel adjacent to the few headstones found on the property.[52]

Frequently, the desire to have a religious structure merged with the desire to have a wedding facility that could generate revenue and which would attract potential home- and business-owners to remote developments. The first civic structures at Gorham's Bluff included a pavilion overlooking the Tennessee River which could be used as a wedding site; the chapel, once built, would have a staff to coordinate and execute weddings. Walker and others involved in the development of The Waters collaborated with a host of wedding planners from Montgomery in order to obtain an ideal facility for destination weddings both in appearance and in structure. New Town St. Charles (St. Charles, MO) includes a congregational structure away from the main square as well as well as a large, stately chapel in front of the commercial area used primarily for weddings.

The preference for the New England meeting house squares well, in part, with the need for attractive wedding locations. As noted by Rev. Franklin, pastor of the Christian Church in New Town St. Charles, many folk prefer the more expensive Chapel in New Town to his smaller, less expensive place in part because of the unavoidable Christian images contained in the stained glass of his church.[53] Though the chapel in New Town has an unmistakably ecclesial envelope, it bears no distinctly Christian symbolism in its windows or interior appointments. The New England meeting house bears few if any of the architectural markers acquired by American churches in the 19th century—steeples, Roman crosses—nor do they employ neo-medieval architecture, a favorite of Roman Catholics and mainline Protestants from the 1880s into the 1930s.[54] The New England meeting house, as mentioned by developers, has a kind of quintessentially "religious" yet "non-denominational" feel.

---

[52] Among developers, only Bryan, Earnhardt, and Robert Davis (of Seaside) spoke of incorporating a burial site within the plans for the development. The plans for Seaside include places for burial adjacent to the chapel. Interviews, Bryan and Earnhardt. Robert Davis, interview with the author, August 6, 2014.

[53] Chris Franklin, interview with the author, June 11, 2014. Though I have yet to see research on this matter, my own experience (vicarious and otherwise) as well as my knowledge of other trends in weddings and funerals suggests that Rev. Franklin's analysis is apt. In retrospect, the very "cathedral-like "appearance of the chapel in New Town with its absence of distinct Christian symbolism could serve as apt metaphor for the way in which many New Urbanist developers conceive of "religion" and the role of congregational structures.

[54] See Jeanne Halgren Kilde, *When Church became Theatre: The Transformation of Evangelical Architecture and Worship in Nineteenth Century America* (New York, Oxford University Press, 2002). Also Ryan K. Smith, *Gothic*

The preference for the small white clapboard church occasionally stands in strong contrasts to the programmatic decisions made by a developer. As part of their visioning for Southern Village, Bryan and Earnhardt took a tour of towns along the Atlantic coast, from New England to Savannah. Though originally intrigued by the New England village as the model for their new development, both recognized features of streetcar suburbs built between 1880 and 1930 which made this era a more ideal fit for Southern Village. Such historic neighborhoods already had cars, at least those developed after 1910, so they built to accommodate foot, public, and automobile traffic. These neighborhoods—Myers Park and Dillworth in Charlotte, for example, as well as Cameron Park in Raleigh and Trinity Park in Durham—also represented some of the most desirable neighborhoods in North Carolina in the early 1990s, when Southern Village was being planned. The presence of these neighborhoods provided salient models for potential investors who could be sent to nearby Durham or Raleigh for models for the development of Southern Village. Notably, these neighborhoods contain a variety of religious structures, but none of them the white clapboard churches preferred by the developers of Southern Village.

In at least one circumstance, the white clapboard church sought to echo the appearance of other local churches despite the developer's preferences. Though happy with the chapel at Seaside, town founder Robert Davis says that he preferred a design more along the lines of Sigurd Lewerentz's two churches, St. Mark's and St. Peter's, both in Sweden. Davis also highlighted the desirability of the (unbuilt) chapel design of Roberto Behar—basically an upright cylinder with an overhanging roof on all sides. Moreover, this "non-denominational Temple", featured in the "Unbuilt Architecture" of Seaside[55], bears no architectural mark of Christian churches (or any other religious community that I am aware of).

As with other trends, there are notable exceptions to the tendency towards "non-denominational white." As noted above, Frank Turner had not originally intended to include a congregational structure within Clark's Grove (Covington, GA). As part of the Arnold Fund, Turner worked with others to guide the growth of Covington so as to maintain the architectural distinctness of the town. His desire to maintain the distinctiveness of Covington, in turn, has an equally strong desire to employ a distinctively ecclesial architectural envelope and interior. The

Arches, Latin Crosses: Anti-Catholicism and American Church Designs in the Nineteenth Century (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006).
[55] Thadani, 368-75.

Episcopal Church of the Good Shepherd currently stands alone in the otherwise unbuilt portion of Phase II, but its identity as a Christian religious structure is unmistakable.

Vince Graham, unable to be reached for this study, has two churches either built or being built within I'on in Mount Pleasant, SC: Holy Ascension (Orthodox Church in America) and Church of the Holy Cross (Protestant Episcopal). The former congregation occupies a $1.3 million facility built in the Byzantine ecclesial tradition. Though on a half-acre of land, the tall domed structure stands out among the residential, commercial, and other civic buildings within the neighborhood. Though the building has rankled at least one resident (a real estate agent), Vince Graham had struggled to find churches willing to locate in I'on and, moreover, had "come to appreciate" the "beauty and architectural legacy of the Byzantine tradition."[56] Graham, a member of Holy Cross, donated the land for both churches. Both Holy Ascension and the plans for the satellite campus of Holy Cross stand in contrast to the New England-style meeting house preferred by other New Urbanists.

Three of the congregations within the study area built structures which did not accord with the original desires of the developers. As already discussed, D. R. Bryan of Southern Village had originally desired a white clapboard church for Southern Village. Among the dozen interviews conducted at Christ Church with those involved in its planning and design, a range of stories emerged about *how* the congregation came to have a neo-medieval architectural envelope (along with a post-modern, stainless steel topped steeple). Bryan believed that the push for a "Duke-like" church began with the church development officers with whom he first began negotiating in 2002 (Duke's West campus is regionally known for its neo-Gothic chapel and surrounding buildings). The architect for the church argues that the founding pastor, Ragan May, wanted carpenter Gothic, but was persuaded to build in brick before being given the labor for stone at the price of brick masonry. Either way, the religious structure in Southern Village provided a visually distinct landmark that passed the review boards of the neighborhood while not matching the original intent of the developer.

St. Alban's Episcopal Church in Davidson, North Carolina had to negotiate building materials and designs with the developer several times. Issues arose regarding the build-to line, fencing around the church, and the overall appearance of the structure (the developer had wanted a "miniature version of [Davidson College Presbyterian Church]"), as well as the placement of

---

[56] Fr. John Parker, interview with the author, August 12, 2014.

bike racks in front of the church.[57] Through both discussion and patience (waiting out initial

agreements that gave the developer rights to refuse exterior changes for one-year), the

congregation ended up with a brick structure with Gothic detailing.

Double Oak Community Church remains one of the two congregations in Mt. Laurel. The

Anglican church, St. John's, had originally been slated as the congregation *for* Mt. Laurel (the

website still names St. John's as "Mt. Laurel's parish church").[58] Double Oak Community

Church, however, grew rapidly, moving from using space within the neighborhood firehouse to

the local elementary school and then to its current location in downtown Mt. Laurel. Loosely

affiliated with the Southern Baptist Convention, Double Oak differs from Holy Ascension (I'on),

Christ Church (Southern Village), Good Shepherd (Clark's Grove), and St. Alban's (New Town

in Old Davidson) in its stance toward both form of worship and [concomitantly] architectural

aesthetic. Though original renderings of the "village parish church" for Mt. Laurel contain a

neo-medieval, cruciform church, the programmatic needs of Double Oak combined with their

more pragmatic approach to architecture yielded a structure that does not terminate Parson's

Street (as originally intended) nor bear the distinctive architecture that a "high church"

congregation likely have had. To date, this remains the only church building in a New Urbanist

community that developers or planners have negatively critiqued.[59] Notably, Double Oak is also

the only congregational structure within the study area which does not employ a recognizably

ecclesial envelope. Nonetheless, the decision of the congregation to build a non-traditional

worship space will later benefit the community, as discussed below.

Building Interior. Beyond the desire for particular architectural envelopes, developers and

planners noted the kinds of building interiors and congregations desirable for a church. The

institutional and architectural here blend once again: in order to serve *the whole community,*

developer desired religious structures flexible enough to accommodate multiple uses as well as

congregations open to sharing space/sharing their space. Much like the "non-denominational

white" chapel, the chief concern for interiors was the ability to serve as a gathering space.

Acquiring such a space led to one of the central tensions involved with civic spaces: how to

obtain a religious community which would share their space while being self-supporting in a

---

[57] The Rev. Ed Roberts, interview by the author, August 8, 2014.

[58] EBSCO Development Company, Inc., "Churches in Birmingham, EBSCO Development Company, Inc.,
http://www.mtlaurel.com/community/mtlaurelchurches (accessed November 11, 2014).

[59] Interview, Norris. Rip Weaver, personal communication, August 2011.

non-traditional environment. As stated by Gounares, town founder of Tannin (Orange Beach, AL), "We wanted it to be associated with a non-denominational church or a denominational church that would let other folks use it and not just sit there."[60]

Parking and small lot sizes present the chief obstacles to finding a church for/locating a church within a New Urbanist development. Denominational requirements frequently stipulate a minimum number of parking spaces and/or a minimum acreage for church starts/relocations. Such minimums are keyed not only to current trends in church growth but also the struggle with neighborhood churches *historically* reliant upon public transit and on-street parking. Because of the frequently higher cost of land and building in New Urbanist developments, smaller churches (needing fewer parking places) rarely can afford to build and maintain operations.

In some circumstances, creative workarounds have been found. Southern Village provided parking for Christ Church on Sunday by locating the church next to the municipal park and ride lot; Double Oak Community Church (Mt. Laurel) uses the adjacent commercial lot owned by the development company. St. Charles Christian church similarly shares access to public parking as well as nearby on-street parking. In other circumstances, traditional parking was provided to the congregation: St. Alban's and Good Shepherd have their own parking lots. Alternatives to congregational ownership have also been used. The Seaside Interfaith Chapel stands on land conveyed by town founder Robert Davis to a trust that also coordinates use of the chapel. Thus far the trust has only been able to organize an "interdenominational" Christian service on Sunday morning. With its small year-round population, the composition of Seaside militates against the establishment of a congregation able to maintain the chapel. The trust provides a financially stable means of caring for the property while coordinating events. Such a solution may "solve" the problem of financing without addressing the need for parking—the Seaside Interfaith Chapel, taller than all the other buildings within Seaside, stands buried in the back, middle of the development. Nonetheless, the central problematic of finding a self-sustaining religious community willing to share space remains.

Part of the emphasis upon being "non-denominational" may stem in part from a concern over the potential divisiveness of some congregations. In other circumstances, the desire for non-denominational *space* seemed keyed to a desire simply to have a place representative of the community at large: Robert Davis' (Seaside) desire for *multiple* worship spaces (and, barring

---

[60] George Gounares, interview with author, August 12, 2014.

that, multiple religious times) has already been noted. Before meeting with United Methodist officials, developer of Southern Village D. R. Bryan of had spoken with members of the Jewish community in Chapel Hill to determine if there was sufficient interest in a synagogue in Southern Village (there wasn't).

Perhaps the most striking feature of the developers interviewed was the lack of correlation between current religious practice (on the part of the developer) and the desire to include a congregation within their development. While some current religious practitioners sought churches for their neighborhoods (Bowman in Vermillion, Gounares in Tannin, Graham in I'on, Mayfield in Afton Village, Turner in Habersham, and Walker in the Waters), almost as many developers/town founders not currently active within religious communities were strong advocates of religious structures within their developments (Bryan in Southern Village, Busse in New Town St. Charles, Davis in Seaside, Earnhart in Southern Village, Long in The Preserve).

Individuals in both groups noted what may be a stronger influence upon their preference for religious structures than their own contemporary religious opinions or practice. Several noted the fact that historic communities *or* the communities in which they had grown up had prominent religious structures (Bryan, Busse, Davis, Goodill, Mayfield, Turner). In much the same way as the drawings of Leon Krier assume a thing called "religion" without questioning its nature, the very fact that historic communities had religious structures suggests their continued need.

Notably, the relationship between the religious practice of the developer might even *reduce* his/her willingness to build a chapel that houses a congregation. Walker notes how the naming of the Meeting House on Chapel Hill avoided the religious denotation of "chapel" out of concern to avoid complaints about its use for non-religious purposes. Conversely, the town founder, a leader in his local congregation, hesitated to include a congregation within the Meeting House lest it thought to compete with his own congregation (some of the first residents in the community were part of his congregation in Montgomery).[61]

Section 4.3 Churches within TNDs. Though almost all those involved in the development side evinced a willingness if not enthusiasm to include religious structures within their developments, many of the developments have either had congregational starts *fail* or have not yet found a good match. Antiquity (Cornelius, NC), for example, has a small parcel of land set aside for a congregation. A small Anglican congregation (which coincidentally left St. Alban's in

---

[61] Interview, Kent.

neighboring Davidson) has shown interest in the site, but has as yet been unwilling to commit themselves to so small a parcel with little parking (another illustration of the on-going problem of small parcel size). As well put by Gounares, town founder of Tannin,

> Everyone wanted Sunday school, meeting facility, huge amounts of parking. We couldn't accommodate all that....To be a "real church," a functioning church, [it] needed too much land, more than we could accommodate.[62]

Antiquity also stands within a religious ecology already full of congregations. Indeed, Mt. Zion UMC, one of the oldest (and largest) congregations in the area sits next door; Davidson UMC lies five minutes away in another direction. Other developments have run into similar problems. Patrick Square outside Clemson, SC stands not only within a rich religious ecology but one where land values *outside* the neighborhood are significantly lower than *within*. The developers of Trussville Springs have negotiated with a local Presbyterian church for the past few years as they consider planting a satellite campus within the development. Hammond's Ferry, begun near the recession in 2008, has had little interest shown in the spaces set aside for civil structures.

Of the active congregations in their own religious structures within a New Urbanist development, all of them either began before or with the development itself. Whittaker personally recruited St. Charles Christian Church for New Town St. Charles, offering a congregation struggling to maintain a massive facility the opportunity to downsize at a time when many of the congregants also had begun to downsize their homes. D. R. Bryan worked with United Methodist development officers to negotiate the formation and location of a new UM congregation within Southern Village. By the time residences began to be built in the Chapel Hill development, the current site of the congregation bore a cross and a sign indicating the future presence of Christ Church. Both Holy Ascension and Holy Cross in I'on existed before the development of that community, even though the former existed largely as a fledgling congregation. Founded in the 1950s, both St. Alban's (in Davidson) and Good Shepherd (in Covington) relocated from locations closer to their respective downtowns and into their current locations. Double Oak Community Church began had its first meetings in the newly built firehouse in Mt. Laurel by a pastor who lived within the community.

In all but one of these circumstances, the developer gave the congregation their land or offered land at a favorable exchange. Christ Church in Southern Village, Holy Ascension and Holy Cross in I'on, and Good Shepherd in Clark's Grove all received their land, though of

---

[62] Interview, Gounares.

various size, as a gift from the developer. St. Alban's exchanged two acres of land on the edge of the development for five acres in its interior, allowing the developer to add a second entrance into the development (and making St. Alban's its center). Though officially called "New Town in Old Davidson," most refer to the development as "St. Alban's." Double Oak Community Church received their primary parcel as a gift. St. Charles Christian Church did purchase their land within New Town, but did so in a manner that provided them with fewer long term facilities to maintain (parking, sewer, and so forth).

New church starts and fledgling churches benefitted from nearby facilities where they could meet/house administration prior to having their own meeting space. Christ Church met for the first several months in a middle school (Culbreth) adjacent to Southern Village; later they purchased office space adjacent to the church property to house their administrative staff and weekday activities. Double Oak first met in the firehouse, the first civic structure within Mt. Laurel, before moving to a nearby elementary school. Holy Ascension rented a storefront in downtown I'on (from which they also ran a bookstore with volunteer labor); the real estate office for the development also allowed the congregation to use its meeting spaces on Sunday mornings for free. The other congregations—Good Shepherd, Holy Cross, St. Albans—relocated from in-town facilities.

Though developers frequently noted their desire for a non-sectarian community, those congregations which have survived within New Urbanist communities are either liturgically or theologically particularistic, that is, traditional in their liturgical practices or conservative in their ethics. St. Alban's, Good Shepherd, Holy Cross, Holy Ascension are all what one would describe as "high church" or "liturgical" congregations—they worship using established patterns of prayers and readings. Among United Methodists, Christ Church would typically be regarded as "higher church," the founding pastor was also theologically conservative. Double Oak Community Church, though not a "liturgical tradition," nonetheless is a theologically conservative community with equally conservative leadership. In some sense, these congregations are exactly the *opposite* of the desired "non-denominational" worship experience or community.

All of these congregations provide at least some opportunities for entertainment, "fellowship," and civic engagement. Double Oak Community Church has a Christian day care used by a number of Mt. Laurel residents, weekly suppers and a gymnasium open to the

community, as well as a broad array of typical congregational programs. Though the nature of their worship/liturgical tradition yielded a church exterior which has drawn critique, their worship space (and gymnasium) has been used by the local fire department as a staging area during local emergencies (which would not be possible in a church filled with fixed pews, for example). Christ Church has a similar array of programs and participates in a host of local "missions" [humanitarian activities] within Chapel Hill and in central North Carolina; its building hosts a day care. Holy Ascension has hosted an annual arts fair featuring neighborhood musicians, provides volunteers to all neighborhood events, and works with members of the neighborhood to support the East Cooper Community Outreach. Now distant from its former "downtown location," St. Charles Christian Church has developed an array of food and clothing collection activities (though the pastor admits working with the "less advantaged" remains a growth area for his congregants). The congregation also plans a number of community events within New Town (such as Easter egg hunts) which draw a number of community residents). St. Alban's hosts community concerts, provides community garden plots to locals, and rents space to the local home owners association.

The overlap between congregational membership and residence in the developments vary between one quarter of total membership (St. Alban's, 2014 estimate) to one person (Holy Ascension, 2014). Pastors at both St. Charles Christian Church (in New Town St. Charles) and St. Alban's said their respective congregations include several members who live within the surrounding neighborhood. The membership of these congregations proves an inconsistent means of increasing unintentional and intentional social interaction. Programs such as the day school and preschool, though paid-for services, provide opportunities for neighborhood children and parents to interact.

Congregations occasionally clash with individuals and groups within their developments. While Double Oak Community Church allows anyone to participate in programming and worship, their refusal of membership to a same-sex couple within Mt. Laurel created tension not only with this couple, but with some other residents in the community (expressed primarily in online, neighborhood forum).[63] The placement of a statue of "homeless Jesus" on a bench out in front of St. Alban's drew national attention to congregation when one neighbor publicly decried the statue (and "the homeless" as a category). The use of traditional Byzantine architecture by

---

[63] The Rev. Adam Robinson, interview with the author, Birmingham, AL, August 11, 2014.

Holy Ascension has at least one serious detractor within I'on: a realtor concerned about the impact of the building upon housing prices.

At least two of the developments have had congregations begin and fail. Habersham had two such efforts, one which ended with the tragic death of its primary organizer (and this right before the recession, thereby removing any additional time the developer had to devote to working with this congregation).

Vermillion has perhaps the most notable failure because of its early success and its series of cautionary tales. I present here an abbreviated history of this congregation (Vermillion UMC) as a means of drawing out some of the lessons that can be gleaned from the church. When he began to develop Vermillion, Nate Bowman approached local United Methodist Church development officers to gauge their interest in starting a congregation within his development. One year prior to the assigning of a full-time pastor to Vermillion UMC, a church development officer began to knock on doors within the community, inviting the current residents to be part of Bible studies and—potentially—a new congregation. By the end of the first year, fifteen neighborhood residents had begun to gather monthly. The first full-time pastor arrived to serve a small group (and a developer) anxious to begin weekly public worship *and* to build a church.

The local judicatory provided three years of gradually decreasing funds for pastoral salary, pastoral lodging, and programming. In contrast to the model used with Christ UMC in Southern Village, neighboring local congregations were not tapped for financial or volunteer support (members of University UMC in Chapel Hill, many of them still members of Christ Church, were recruited to help get Christ Church up and running). The limited financial and personnel support was compounded by the unavailability of facilities in which to meet and worship in or near Vermillion. Though the fledgling congregation could meet in a townhome off the town square, their growth within the first year made finding another location necessary. Two dislocations in the first three years meant the congregation had to change locations *three times* while keeping members and potential members abreast of their changing whereabouts. This movement also kept the congregation *away* from Vermillion and made establishing a relationship with the neighborhood more difficult.

The first pastor of the congregation, a graduate of the City and Regional Planning Department at UNC-CH, had performed the viability study for the new congregation long before having been appointed as pastor. That viability study suggested that a congregation *could* work

given a number of variables, including a stable build-out of Vermillion. When that build out slowed in the early 2000s, the "natural growth" anticipated by the congregation "of the neighborhood" failed to materialize.

The plot of land sold to the local judicatory for the purposes of planting a congregation lacked the size, the parking, and the visibility necessary for programmatic life of a self-sustaining congregation. Vermillion UMC closed in 2006 for reasons unrelated to its presence in a New Urbanist community.

Notably, none of the church leaders interviewed connected their presence in a New Urbanist community or their ongoing programmatic life to the social goals of New Urbanism. Though lauding the walkability of the community and the distinct aesthetics of the neighborhood, neither off-handedly nor when asked directly about New Urbanism did pastors or other church leaders have a clear sense of the social goals that underlie the built environment of the neighborhood as well as their inclusion within it. Beyond the benefits of walkability and a distinct aesthetics, church leaders did not indicate that the community of which they were a part was in any way different from their presence elsewhere.

Section 5 Reflections and conclusion. Research for this thesis began with three questions.

1) What are the specific desires and expectations of developers/town founders/planners in incorporating either congregational structures or chapels into their respective developments?

2) What are the expectations and desires of church leaders in moving into/beginning a congregation within a New Urbanist development?

3) How has inclusion within a New Urbanist development matched the expectations/desires of developers and church leaders?

Interviews with the developers of New Urbanist communities and the key texts of that movement suggest that New Urbanism as theorized and practiced needs a richer sociology which can account for the influence of institutions upon local sociality and upon the formation of cultural practices which underlie the kinds of interaction New Urbanists seek to cultivate. The social goals of New Urbanism emphasize the ability of the built environment to accommodate certain forms of interactions, particularly happenstance, face-to-face encounters within the neighborhood as well as general public gatherings. Walk-able neighborhoods, houses with front porches near to the street, neighboring porches on comparable levels, and the inclusion of public spaces are but a few of the examples of ways in which New Urbanism has sought to foster happenstance, face-to-face interactions. Civic structures provide spaces that symbolically highlight the import of the "public realm" while offering spaces for public gatherings.

The inclusion of congregational structures within New Urbanist developments, however, appears to arise from a combination of a) belief in the inherent necessity of "religion" to urban communities and b) a nostalgia for typologically legible landscapes. Krier's "The Anti-City of Functional Zones / The City of Urban Communities" serves as an apt illustration for the way in which New Urbanists treat religion as a component of urban life: religion should be included within the urban fabric along with the other components of the city. In conceptual renderings of New Urbanists communities, churches frequently appear within the closely-knit architectural fabric. The inclusion of churches in these renderings does not denote an endorsement of Christianity, per se, but of the local vernacular: New Urbanists often take inspiration for from pre- World War II neighborhoods *within the vicinity* of new/potential developments. Many of these neighborhoods, in turn, have churches.

To be sure, treating religion as a broad category has historic foundations and present purpose. Drawing lessons from an array of historic cities and city life, New Urbanists can point to any number of communities in different cultures where religious sites were integral parts of the built environment. As put most clearly by Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, there is nothing "odd or peculiar" about including churches within the urban fabric—almost every known culture has its religious sites.[64] To the extent that New Urbanism represents a movement focused upon the built environment (one which must also sell homes and commercial space), treating religion as a broad category avoids alienating potential New Urbanists, residents, or business owners. DPZ, the leading New Urbanist architectural firm, has projects in several countries in the Middle East, at least one of which includes a mosque. Cultivating a broad movement and serving a wide constituency suggest treating so controversial a topic as "religion" lightly.

One might expect developers and planners of New Urban communities to evince greater concern over the particular character of the religious communities they invited into their developments. Those working "on the ground" have more reason to be responsive to local religious ecology, for example, and do not need to evangelize so large an audience as intended by the "Charter of the New Urbanism" or *Suburban Nation.* Yet developers frequently echoed the sentiments found in the New Urbanist texts used in the review above (Section 2): religion was treated chiefly as an abstract component of public life, the particularity of congregations focused on the desire for communities which were marked by their inclusivity. With the notable exception of Tim Busse, who lauded St. Charles Christian Church for its neighborhood-focused programs, developers did not connect the presence of congregations *as an institution* to the social goals of the development or of New Urbanism. In a correlate fashion, none of the pastors or church leaders interviewed connected the programmatic life of their congregation to their presence within a New Urbanist community. Moreover, while theological reflection on the built environment remains outside the center of theological education, none of the church leaders indicated their awareness of theological treatments of New Urbanism or the built environment generally.

I would suggest that developers of New Urbanist communities and leaders of congregations might both benefit from greater attention to the potential role that congregations could play in the transformation of post-war patterns of social interaction, on the one hand, and

---

[64] Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, interview with the author, June 24, 2014.

to the ethical ramifications of the built environment on the other. In some circumstances, New Urbanist developments have formed institutes or foundations (e.g., the Seaside Institute, the Gorham's Bluff Institute) which coordinate social and outreach programming (much like a congregation might). Given that congregations are planned for or already exist in several New Urbanist communities, these present opportunities for coordination between developers and church leaders to promote both social interaction and outreach beyond the community.

Further research on the inclusion of congregations within New Urbanist communities would offer more finely grained detail on the lives of congregations, moving past interviews to analyses of the programmatic lives of churches and the areas from which the congregation draws its membership. Further, an applied research project might work to bring developers/town founders into dialogue with church leaders for short-term projects or studies on how congregations might foster richer relationships between community members.

Bibliography

"$4B May Town Center planned near Bells Landing." *Nashville Business Journal*, February 12, 2008.

"About Antiquity." http://www.antiquitytowncenter.com/About_Antiquity.html [accessed August 25, 2014].

"About Hedgewood." Hedgewood Realty. http://www.hedgewoodhomes.com/about-hedgewood/ [accessed August 25, 2014].

"Agent: Dale Walker." Mossy Oak Properties. http://www.mossyoakproperties.com/Property/AgentDetails.aspx?person_id=3724 [accessed August 25, 2014].

Ammerman, Nancy et al. *Congregation & Community*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2001.

"Baxter Village." Celebration Associates, LLC. http://www.celebrationassociates.com/communities/baxter_village.html [accessed August 25, 2014].

Behre, Robert. "High-profile 'new urbanist' neighborhood, I'On, turns 10." *The Post and Courier*, July 09, 2007.

Bess, Phillip. *Till We Have Built Jerusalem: Architecture, Urbanism, and the Sacred.* Wilmington, DE: ISI Books, 2006.

Boraks, David. "10 years after battle, St. Alban's neighborhood wins acclaim." *Davidsonnews.net*. October 12, 2007. http://davidsonnews.net/blog/2007/10/12/10-years-after-battle-st-albans-neighborhood-wins-acclaim/ [accessed August 25, 2014].

——. "April start planned for Antiquity Harris Teeter; apartments on way, too." *DavidsonNews.net*, December 03, 2013. http://davidsonnews.net/realestate/2013/12/03/april-start-planned-for-antiquity-harris-teeter-apartments-on-the-way-too/ [accessed August 25, 2014].

——. "Doug Boone, 66; developer, New Urbanism pioneer." *DavidsonNews.net*, August 05, 2012. http://davidsonnews.net/obituaries/2012/08/05/doug-boone-66/ [accessed August 25, 2014].

——. "Obituary: Wallace Gamble, 88." *DavidsonNews.net*, September 02, 2010. http://davidsonnews.net/blog/2010/09/02/obituary-wallace-m-gamble-88/ [accessed August 25, 2014].

Bowers, Paul. "Noisette Co. challenges North Charleston over Navy Yard deal." *Charleston City Paper*, April 16, 2013.

Brill, Michael. "Problems with Mistaking Community Life for Public Life." *Places* 14, no. 2 (2001): 48-55.

Brown, Lisa R. "Whittaker Builders files for bankruptcy." *St. Louis Business Journal*, October 20, 2009.

Calhoun, Carina. "Project Profile: Patrick Square." GreenHomeBuilder.com, [undated]. http://www.greenhomebuildermag.com/summer2012-56.php [accessed August 25, 2014].

Callum-Penso, Lillia. "Clemson's Patrick Square grows restaurants, retail." *GreenvilleOnline*, June 25, 2014. http://www.greenvilleonline.com/story/money/business/2014/06/24/patrick-square-grows-restaurants-retail/11322637/ [accessed August 25, 2014].

Cannon Properties. "New Life for Live-Work-Play Pioneer: Emblematic project rising from foreclosure ashes; leasing momentum underway." Available at http://www.vickeryvillage.info/pdfs/news/prVickery.pdf [accessed August 25, 2014].

"Carother's Crossing." Westview Homes, 2010. http://www.westviewhomesllc.com/comm_carothers.html [accessed August 25, 2014].

Chavis, David M. and Abraham Wandersman. "Sense of Community in the Urban Environment: A Catalyst for Participation and Community Development." *American Journal of Community Psychology* 18, no.1 (1990): 55-81.

"Chapel Hills' Christ Church breaks ground Easter Sunday." *The Herald-Sun*, April 04, 1998.

"Church kicks off building, mission." *Chapel Hill Herald*, May 10, 1999.

Cline, Damon. "Developer's neotraditional vision translates into riverfront homes." *The Augusta Chronicle*, March 19, 2008.

Congress of the New Urbanism. *Charter of the New Urbanism*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 2000.

"Developer's generosity helps build church." *Chapel Hill Herald,* February 18, 1998.

Krieger, Alex and William Lennertz, editors. *Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk: Towns and Town Making Principles.* New York: Rizzoli, 1991.

Duany, Andres, Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, and Jeff Speck. *Suburban Nation: The Rise of Sprawl and the Decline of the American Dream.* New York: North Point Press, 2000.

Duany, Andres and Emily Talen. "Transect Planning." *Journal of the American Planning Association* 68, no. 3 (Summer 2003): 245-66.

EBSCO Development Company, Inc. "Churches in Birmingham." EBSCO Development Company, Inc. http://www.mtlaurel.com/community/mtlaurelchurches (accessed November 11, 2014).

Eiesland, Nancy L. *A Particular Place: Urban Restructuring and Religious Ecology in a Southern Exurb.* New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2000.

Elkins, Ken. "Clear Springs planning a major addition to Fort Mill's Springfield." *Charlotte Business Journal*, May 23 2014.

Ellis, Cliff. "The New Urbanism: Critiques and Rebuttals." *Journal of Urban Design* 7, no.3 (2002): 261-91.

Feaster, Felicia. "Eco-homes and green scenery at Serenbe." *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, May 03, 2012.

Fetter, Donnie. "New venture based on old model. *The Augusta Chronicle*, April 27, 2007.

Fitts, Mike. "CanalSide to add almost 200 units in next phase." *Columbia Regional Business Report*, February 21, 2011.

Garrison, Chad. "Brave New Town." *Riverfront Times*, May 31, 2006. .

Garrison, Chad. "New Town Developer Files Bankruptcy; Whittaker Homes Plans to Reorganize." *Riverfront Times*, October 19, 2009.

Grant, Jill. *Planning the Good Community: New Urbanism in Theory and Practice.* New York: Routledge, 2008.

Gronberg, Ray. "Southern Village bus route draws complaints; Some resident petition town to cut back service while others defend need for public transportation." *Chapel Hill Herald*, October 28, 2001.

HOA Sites. "Afton Village HOA." Afton Village Home Owners' Association. http://www.aftonvillagehoa.com/ [accessed August 25, 2014].

"Habersham: low country splendor." *New Urban Living*, September/October 2004: 38-45.

"Hamptead Living." Hampstead. http://www.hampsteadliving.com/#welcome2 [accessed August 25, 2014].

Hicken, Jackie. "New urbanism pioneer Joe Alfandre helped build communities, and now son James looks to shake them up." *Deseret News*, May 31, 2013.

Huffman, Steve. "Award-winning Developer Talk on Neighborhood Planning." *Salisbury Post*, February 23, 2000.

Ihnen, Alex. "The Day New Urbanism Died? New Town St. Charles Homebuilder Files for Bankruptcy." n*extSTL*, October 20, 2009. http://nextstl.com/2009/10/the-day-new-urbanism-died-new-town-st-charles-homebuilder-files-for-bankruptcy/ [accessed on August 25, 2014].

Ingersoll, Richard. "Postmodern Urbanism: Forward into the Past." *Design Book Review* 17 (1989): 21-5.s

Jacobus, Casey. "Drawing on the past to create the communities of today." Greater Charlotte Biz, June 2008. http://www.greatercharlottebiz.com/article.asp?id=796 [accessed August 25, 2014].

Johnson, Lukas. "Antiquity offers easy living: Subdivision will be friendly to walkers, riders." *The Charlotte Observer*, January 27 2010.

Kilde, Jeanne Halgren. *When Church became Theatre: The Transformatio of Evangelical Architecture and Worship in Nineteenth Century America.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Krier, Leon, Dhiru A. Thadani, and Peter J. Hetzel. *Architecture of Community*. Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 2009.

Krier, Leon. *Drawing for Architecture.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2009.

Kunslter, James Howard. *Geography of Nowhere: The Rise and Decline of America's Man-Made Landscape*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993.

Langdon, Philip. "A Good Place to Live." *The Atlantic Monthly* 261, no. 3 (March 1988): 39-60.

Lange, Karen. "Developer may donate land for new school; Elementary building would be built at Southern Village." *Chapel Hill Herald*, April 21, 1995.

Leccese, Michael and Kathleen McCormick, eds. *Charter of the New Urbanism.* New York: McGraw-Hill 2000.

Martin, Anaya. "Nygren's vision earn Serenbe inaugural award." *Atlanta Business Chronicle*, September 19, 2008.

Munday, Dave. "Selling a vision I'on emphasizes neighborhood feel." *The Post and Courier*, July 19, 1998.

Nahed, Aldo. "Under new management, community hopes to gain momentum." *Forsyth Herald*, April 26, 2011.

Quick, David. "I'on proposal reignites old arguments / Changed plan would allow town houses and B & B." *The Post and Courier*, June 01, 2001.

Roozen, David A., William McKinney, Jackson W. Carroll. *Varieties of Religious Presence: Mission in Public Life.* New York: Pilgrim Press, 1984.

Rybzynski, Witold. "This Old House." *The New Republic* (May 08, 1995): 14-5.

Shibley, Robert G. "The Complete New Urbanism and the Partial Practices of Placemaking." *Utopian Studies* 9, no. 1 (1998): 80-102.

Sichko, Adam. "Original landowner sells final piece of troubled Carothers Crossing development." *Nashville Business Journal*, June 04, 2014.

Silver, Christopher. "Neighborhood Planning in Historical Perspective." *Journal of the American Planning Association* 51, no. 2 (1985): 161-74.

Smith, Doug. "The Myers Park of Huntersville." *The Charlotte Observer*, February 28, 2007.

Smith, Ryan K. *Gothic Arches, Latin Crosses: Anti-Catholicism and American Church Designs in the Nineteenth Century.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006.

"Southern Village plan seeks 6-story 'anchor.'" *News & Observer.* September 10, 2008.

Sparks, Preston. "Riverfront development gets plan." *The Augusta Chronicle*, March 04, 2004.

Stradling, Richard. "'New urbanism' formula's flaw." *News & Observer*, March 17, 2002.

Stromberg, Meghan. "TND versus the Cul-de-Sac." *Professional Builder*, April 2004.

Talen, Emily. "The Problem with Community in Planning." *Journal of Planning Literature* 15, no. 2 (November 2000): 171-83.

——. "The Social Goals of New Urbanism." *Housing Policy Debate* 13, iss. 1 (2002): 165-88.

Thadani, Dhiru A. *Visions of Seaside: Foundations / Evolution / Imagination / Built & Unbuilt Architecture*. New York: Rizzoli, 2013.

Velliquette, Beth. "Developer's gift allows Southern village church to break ground." *The Chapel Hill Herald*, February 22, 1998.

"The Village Tannin." The Village Tannin. http://www.villagetannin.com/ [accessed August 25, 2014].

Warner, R. Stephen. "The Place of the Congregation in the Contemporary American Religious Configuration" in *American Congregations, V. 2: New Perspectives in the Study of Congregations*, edited by James P. Wind and James W. Lewis. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994. 54-99.

Appendix
Developments within Study

Afton Village
- Location: Concord, NC
- Project begun: 1999
- Residential units (when complete): 550
- Commercial space (in square feet): 97,000
- Total Acres: 175
- Civic spaces: James Dorton Park (thirty (30) acres), pool, "greens"
- Civic buildings/institutions: YMCA, adjacent to McGill Baptist Church

Antiquity
- Location: Cornelius, NC
- Project begun: 2003
- Residential units (when complete): 1,100
- Commercial space (in square feet): 81,000
- Total Acres: 130
- Civic spaces: 2500-seat amphitheater, thirty (30) acres of park space
- Civic buildings/institutions: Church (planned), adjacent to Mount Zion UMC

Baxter Village
- Location: Fort Mill, SC
- Project begun: 1998
- Residential units (when complete): 1475 (approximate)
- Commercial space (in square feet): 250,000
- Total Acres: 1033 (roughly 50% as open space)
- Civic spaces: two pools, two tennis courts, several pocket parks and community greens
- Civic buildings/institutions: two community centers, Orchard Park Elementary School, Fort Mill Public Library, YMCA

Birkdale Village
- Location: Huntersville, NC
- Project begun:
- Residential units (when complete):
- Commercial space (in square feet):
- Total Acres:
- Civic spaces: Various greens
- Civic buildings/institutions: None

Village of Cheshire
- Location: Black Mountain, NC
- Project begun: 1998
- Residential units (when complete): total 70 (42 single family and 28 multiple unit)

Village of Cheshire (continued)
- Commercial space (in square feet): 11,000+
- Total Acres: 64
- Civic spaces: Cheshire Racquet Club & Fitness Center
- Civic buildings/institutions: none, adjacent to First Christian Church; HOA, townhome owners association;; gathering spaces, amphitheater; non-denomination (prayer, increase wedding traffic; Darryl Mantis

Clark's Grove
- Location: Covington, GA
- Project begun: 2003
- Residential units (when complete): 300
- Commercial space (in square feet):
- Total Acres: 90
- Civic spaces: Baseball field, pool, town green
- Civic buildings/institutions: Church of the Good Shepherd (TEC), Montessori school

Devaun Park
- Location: Calabash, NC
- Project begun: 2000
- Residential units (when complete): 410 (260 single family, 150 multifamily)
- Commercial space (in square feet): undeveloped (22 acres set aside for commercial development
- Total Acres: 148
- Civic spaces: Riverside Park (acreage), soccer pitch, swim club, Whisper Park (acreage?)
- Civic buildings/institutions: None/no space allocated

Gorham's Bluff
- Location: Pisgah, AL
- Project begun: 1993
- Residential units (when complete): 350
- Commercial space (in square feet):
- Total Acres: 80
- Civic spaces: amphitheater, Pisgah School House
- Civic buildings/institutions: Gorham's Bluff Institute, "The Lodge"

Habersham
- Location: Beaufort, SC
- Project begun: 1998
- Residential units (when complete): 650
- Commercial space (in square feet): 30,000 (planned), 25,000 (current)
- Total Acres: 283
- Civic spaces: 72 acres of park space, Post Office, pool house, river pavilion

Habersham (continued)
- Civic buildings/institutions: one (1) site available
- Interviews (number and type): one (town founder), 2014

Hammond's Ferry
- Location: North Augusta, SC
- Project begun: 2005
- Residential units (when complete): 800 to 1,000
- Commercial space (in square feet): 70,000 (original)
- Total Acres: 200 total, 100 developable
- Civic spaces: Brick Pond Park, 2.2 mile greenway
- Civic buildings/institutions: three (3) sites available, adjacent to City of North Augusta Municipal Center

Hampstead
- Location: Montgomery, AL
- Project begun: 2006
- Residential units (when complete):
- Commercial space (in square feet):
- Total Acres: 416
- Civic spaces: community farm, pool, public lake access
- Civic buildings/institutions: Hampstead Public Library, Montessori School at Hampstead, YMCA; two civic sites remain undeveloped

I'on
- Location: Mount Pleasant, SC
- Project begun: 1997
- Residential units (when complete): 762
- Commercial space (in square feet): 30,000
- Total Acres: 240
- Civic spaces: six miles of trails, five playgrounds, three crab docks, I'on Club
- Civic buildings/institutions: Church of the Holy Cross (sited), East Cooper Montessori Charter School, Holy Ascension Orthodox Church (OCA), I'on Trust

Town of Mount Laurel
- Location: Birmingham, AL
- Project begun: 1999
- Residential units (when complete): 600
- Commercial space (in square feet):
- Total Acres: 600
- Civic spaces: community pool, Spoonwood Lake (11-acre recreational area)
- Civic buildings/institutions: Double Oak Community Church, Hilltop Montessori, Mt. Laurel Elementary, Mt. Laurel Library, St. John's Anglican Church

New Town St. Charles
- Location: St. Charles, MO
- Project begun: 2003
- Residential units (when complete): 5,700 (currently 1,350)
- Commercial space (in square feet): 100,000
- Total Acres: 755 (in 2003), approximately 120 acres sold off since
- Civic spaces: amphitheater, Grand Basin, Roundabout, farm, various greens
- Civic buildings/institutions: chapel, St. Charles Christian Church, Town Hall

New Neighborhood in Old Davidson ("St. Alban's")
- Location: Davidson, NC
- Project begun: 1997
- Residential units (when complete): 270
- Commercial space (in square feet):
- Total Acres: 82
- Civic spaces: 13 neighborhood parks
- Civic buildings/institutions: St. Alban's Episcopal Church (TEC)

Patrick Square
- Location: Clemson, SC
- Project begun: 2008
- Residential units (when complete): 425
- Commercial space (in square feet): 250,000
- Total Acres: 173
- Civic spaces: lake house/community center, various "pocket parks," Town Square, adjacent to W. C. Nettles Park
- Civic buildings/institutions: Charles K. Cheezum Education Center/Osher Life Long Learning Institute, Community Garden/Community Supported Agriculture

The Preserve
- Location: Hoover, AL
- Project begun: 2001
- Residential units (when complete): 680
- Commercial space (in square feet):
- Total Acres: 550
- Civic spaces: 15 acres of "green space," Town Hall, adjacent to 350-acre Moss Rock Preserve
- Civic buildings/institutions:

Seaside
- Location: Walton County, FL
- Project begun: 1982
- Residential units (when complete): 350

Seaside (continued)
- Commercial space (in square feet):
- Total Acres: 80
- Civic spaces:
- Civic buildings/institutions: Seaside Chapel, Seaside Institute

Serenbe
- Location: Palmetto, GA
- Project begun: 2004
- Residential units (when complete):
- Commercial space (in square feet):
- Total Acres: 900
- Civic spaces:
- Civic buildings/institutions: Serenbe Farm, chapel (planned)

Southern Village
- Location: Chapel Hill, NC
- Project begun: 2003
- Residential units (when complete):
- Commercial space (in square feet):
- Total Acres: 300+
- Civic spaces: Park and Ride Lot,
- Civic buildings/institutions: Christ United Methodist Church, Mary Scroggs Elementary School

Tannin
- Location: Orange Beach, AL
- Project begun: 1986
- Residential units (when complete): 172
- Commercial space (in square feet): 40,000
- Total Acres: 60
- Civic spaces:
- Civic buildings/institutions: Village Hall, Post office, church (planned, no congregation found)

Trussville Springs
- Location: Trussville, AL
- Project begun: 2007
- Residential units (when complete): 550
- Commercial space (in square feet): 250,000 planned
- Total Acres: 105
- Civic spaces: 36 acres of "green space" including riverwalk (private)
- Civic buildings/institutions: church plant (in discussion)

Vermillion
- Location: Huntersville, NC
- Project begun: 1998
- Residential units (when complete): 250
- Commercial space (in square feet):
- Total Acres: 400
- Civic spaces: 2.5 mile linear park
- Civic buildings/institutions: Vermillion UMC (closed 2005)

The Waters
- Location: Pike Road, AL
- Project begun: 2004
- Residential units (when complete): 600
- Commercial space (in square feet):
- Total Acres: 500 (approximate)
- Civic spaces:
- Civic buildings/institutions: Meeting House on Chapel Hill (privately owned)

Matthew Lawrence Pierce was born in Johnson City, NY. A graduate of both the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (B.A. in Philosophy, B.A. in Religious Studies *with Highest Honors*) and Duke University (M. Div, *summa cum laude*), he has served as a Jesuit Volunteer and worked with two United Methodist congregations. He moved to New Orleans in 2007 to be part of the city's post-Katrina rebuilding. He matriculated in the Graduate Division of Religion at Emory University in 2010 where he studies liturgy and human geography.