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Running head: SCOTLAND'S NEW URBANISM

SCOTLAND'S NEW URBANISM: In Theory and Practice

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Abstract

What form is taken by the architecture and planning movement known as the New Urbanism in Scotland? To answer this, and offer an original contribution to knowledge, the thesis takes as its starting point a survey of New Urbanism and moves to connect it to how New Urbanism is understood and practised in contemporary Scottish urbanism. In it, I argue that New Urbanism does not pay attention to the complexities of the recent spatial-social history of places and adds to the semantic confusion of new places generally. The thesis is a historical-spatial study concerned with the transfer of knowledge between New Urbanist theories and practice and how they have been received and reconfigured transnationally. The thesis is organised into four parts. It begins with a literature review that is a metahistoric account of the movement paying close attention to the symbiotic relationship of the U.S. and Anglo-European procedures and charting the theoretical basis and key figures, events and canonical developments. The scale narrows its focus throughout the thesis in a linear fashion, moving in chapter three to a close reading and review of Scottish governmental policy documents and associated literature produced since 2001.¹ The aim here is to chart patterns in the official approaches that illuminate a tendency towards the New Urbanist procedure. I posit that government support for New Urbanism demonstrates an institutional preference for growth over social equity. I argue that the emergent New Urbanism in Scotland is representative of a perceived lack of community aligned with the privileging of

¹ In 2001 the Scottish Executive launched A Policy on Architecture for Scotland. The first national architecture and planning policy statement for Scotland.

upper middle-class tastes and lifestyles which are held as the dominant representation of cultural life (S. Zukin, 2009). Simultaneously, a move towards neo-traditional planning and architecture is also a politically sanctioned strategy for economic growth that prioritises growth in housing over environmental or ecological sustainability.

Two site studies document the emerging New Urbanism in Scotland by analysing two different approaches. The site studies deal with one built example and one masterplan located in Ayrshire and Aberdeenshire respectively. Separated into two sections they can be read as comparative studies which account for two distinct manifestations of Scottish New Urbanism; a modified Anglo-European version promoted by the Prince's Foundation for Building Community and an 'imported' US version typically led by established urban designers DPZ (or Urban Design Associates), with both broadly receiving government support. The purpose of the research is to contribute to a better understanding of the movement's origins and subsequent recontextualisation in a specifically Scottish condition. This is arguably relevant not only to contemporary Scottish urbanism but to general scholarship on the organisation and politics of space.

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Writing a thesis can be a lonely process and Andrew Guest helped me greatly by

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Certain people made sure I could talk about my thesis conversationally – and surely

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Introduction: The New Urbanism in Scotland

The research topic began as a transnational analysis of the planning and architecture movement known as the New Urbanism with the objective of analysing how the movement, which has a truly international reach, maintained its core principles in widely differing regional variations. The research quickly moved to a (geographically) more local context as initial surveys found that New Urbanist developments were at advanced planning stages across Scotland (Figure 1) and seemed to be emerging from a Government-endorsed orientation.

The construction of the first built example, Knockroon, began in 2011 (Figure 2). It was decided that there were advantages to attaching the majority of the site study analysis to this development since it had a substantial self-generated literature and we had identified good access to other materials such as masterplans, drawings and plans. The secondary site study takes Chapelton (Figure 3, currently under construction) as its focus in an effort to present an account of two separate approaches taken by the Prince's Foundation for Building Community and the US firm Duany Plater-Zyberk (DPZ). My research demonstrates both the essential core (the CNU²) and international offshoots in Europe and the UK that I argue have directly led to the growing interest and adoption of New Urbanism in Scotland. The thesis is best understood as a map of this particular territory.

² Congress for the New Urbanism

Some would argue that the many thousands of words written about the New Urbanism leaves little room for originality, however, ambiguities remain about the movement and how it is reconfigured internationally. The thesis seeks to present broadly how the movement came about and the journey it has taken that leads to Scotland's specific examples. My interest in the movement stemmed from the aesthetics of New Urbanist architecture which predominantly employs a mixture of neo-traditional and neo-classical typologies. This remains an important element of the research that is augmented by an awareness and inclusion of the political, social and cultural aspects of the movement. The research observes limits which seek to frame the thesis within a useful series of scales. Each scale might be understood as a lens that adjusts its focus from macro to micro depending on the material.

Accordingly, at the macro scale is the review of the literature in Chapters 1 and 2.

The review of the literature is a survey of the key texts and key figures; significant events; canonical developments and key characteristics of the discourse. It sets certain limits to shape the text towards a local context. It follows reactions to the movement chronologically and geographically by synthesising the major publications, journal papers and events into a concise survey where one can easily chart the relative popularity and controversy on both sides of the Atlantic over a twenty year period. The literature review necessarily excludes a great deal of material that is important to the movement, but less useful to the subsequent task of mapping the New Urbanism in Scotland, so, in this way, key texts on 'Transport' and 'Transit Orientated Development', are not given the same attention as 'Place' or 'Community'. The latter are privileged as they are more closely related to the

aesthetics of New Urbanism which is at the thematic core of the thesis. At a medium scale are the site-studies which provide an overview of the two built and under construction New Urbanist developments in Scotland. These elaborate which theories and principles are being employed and provide an overview of the production of the development from charrette to masterplan, or where possible, built example. The focus is primarily on Knockroon and secondarily on Chapelton. Every other Scottish development (in planning) at the time of writing with evident official New Urbanist links is addressed throughout the thesis in conversation with specific topics and themes of enquiry—be they procedures (Longniddry charrette); politics (Tornagrain and Grandhome); or design (Ellon). The thesis is not a comprehensive economic and social history; there is a parallel story to be told but that is not the purpose of this study which examines a predominantly architectural discourse that is multi-layered. Below I expand on my methodologies and I will return to these in more detail in the first site study which is Knockroon (Chapter 5).

Fieldwork and Methodology

Scotland's New Urbanism is linked materially and formally with other leading international examples of New Urbanism such as Val d'Europe (Figures 4a, 12 and 13, Paris, France), Seaside (Figures 4b and 14, 15 and 16, Walton County, Florida, USA) Celebration (Figures 4c and 4d, Orlando, Florida, USA), and Poundbury (Figures 5, 6 and 7, Dorset, England). During the period of doctoral research I have visited all of the sites above. Each draws on precedents from local and regional architecture and reconstitutes them using contemporary building techniques to

produce housing developments that are both distinctive and profitable. At the forefront of my mind during these visits were the following questions: can these examples be said to be any more local than ordinary housing developments? How close or far are they located from the nearest urban conurbation? In what ways do they seek to encourage community or provide a sense of place? The idea was to discriminate between the contradictory accounts offered by the wide variety of voices who have contributed to the debate on New Urbanism. The fieldwork allowed me to experience New Urbanism in practice in various locations and begin to build a methodological framework with which to critique the built form of Scotland's New Urbanism.

Methodologies follow approaches taken by architectural or planning historians such as Nan Ellin (1996; 2006), Jill Grant (2006a, 2006b), Peter Marcuse (1997, 1998; 2000) and Sharon Zukin (2009; 2010, 2012) who move outside of singular disciplinary logics to include other fields, and who engage with contemporary theories about architecture and urbanism and the social aspects of cities. Other influential scholars are those who utilise a range of techniques for city research, such as Barbara Czarniawska-Joerges (2002) and Jane M. Jacobs (2008; 2012). My own cross-disciplinary training began with an undergraduate degree in applied design³; developed with a curatorial career in architecture and design⁴ and was further

³ BDes University of Dundee (2002)

⁴ Programme Manager, Six Cities Design Festival, The Lighthouse: Scotland's Centre for Architecture, Design and the City 2005-2008

expanded by a master's degree in urban studies⁵. My thesis is a study of discourse as well as a study of practice and employs a variety of urban research techniques. Qualitative methods, such as discourse analysis and narrative analysis are used to contextualise the different knowledge frames that comprehend the city (and acknowledge their situated production). Architectural analysis contained in the thesis is concerned with the visual and aesthetic, and employs techniques that 'read' buildings, photographs and masterplans for signs and symbols (U. Eco, 1980). Urban ethnography offers ethnomethodological traditions which inform my research (Certeau, 1984) while urban morphology is explored through maps, plans and spatial history (Rowe & Koetter, 1984). These all help to illuminate the power structures that produce the city as well as to document cultural currents and tastes.

I give careful consideration to the Anglo-European manifestations of New Urbanism and describe how an Anglo-European New Urbanism has been organised by referring back and forth within the structure of a metahistoric account. An analysis of the entanglements between New Urbanism's US and UK counterparts offers a nuanced understanding of their structural underpinning; these reveal mediated variations of New Urban techniques, conceptualisations, interpretations and built forms. Published research to-date demonstrates an opportunity to document the origins of New Urbanism's theoretical framework and ideological basis in historical and geographic perspective.

⁵ MSc in the City, University of Edinburgh (2008- 2009) delivered by the School of Arts Culture and Environment with considerable input and expertise from the School of GeoSciences: described as "one of the most interdisciplinary postgraduate programmes available anywhere in the UK" (2008).

The metahistory is threaded throughout most sections of the research. It enables the context of the thesis, which explores the New Urbanism in Scotland. The transposition of the US form to the UK might usefully take Scotland as a focus for site studies as it allows the narrative to settle at a physical limit. Sources range from the academic to the populist with newspaper articles and in places personal communication and blogs referenced only with explanatory introductions. One notable feature of New Urbanist literature in both its US and UK manifestations is un-dated material. Throughout my doctoral research I have consistently dealt with New Urbanist reports, media, masterplans, articles and drawings that are undated. This differs significantly from my experience of dealing with non New Urbanist material. Where possible I have found ways to accurately date undated material.

A more detailed description of methodologies utilised during the two Site Studies is contained at the beginning of Chapter 5.

Chapter 1. New Urbanist Literature, Theory and its Opponents

What follows is a literature review that sets out to describe the ideological and theoretical origins of the New Urbanist movement charting the scholarly, media-led and public discourse along the way before offering a synopsis of how the movement is broadly understood contemporaneously. At the time of writing, in 2013/14, phase one of the first built example of a New Urbanist development in Scotland is near completion, yet little attention has been paid to the New Urbanism in Scotland. As one of the most powerful contemporary forces in the shaping of urban space, the New Urbanist movement has made a significant impact within the Scottish planning system. Despite this, the important social and political implications have not yet been interrogated. In order to formulate the important questions to ask of New Urbanism's proponents in Scotland, and establish whether or not the movement is endorsed at government level, we might turn to the large body of urban scholarship examining New Urbanism in theory and in practice in the USA and Europe.

Since the official inception of the New Urbanism in 1993, marked by the establishment of the Congress for the New Urbanism (CNU), this planning and architecture movement has become one of the western world's most significant movements (in 1996 Herbert Muschamp opened a New York Times article with the statement "The Congress for the New Urbanism is the most important phenomenon to emerge in American architecture in the post-Cold War era." (1996).) Two of the

prototypical, canonical developments have matured; Seaside turned thirty in 2011 and Poundbury celebrated twenty years in 2013.⁶ Literature generated by the movement is diverse, polarised and arguably incomplete, with some scholars calling for new research (Beauregard, 2002b). The New Urbanism's broad diffusion extends to Europe with offshoots of the movement in both official and unofficial capacities.⁷ In the UK, New Urbanism has advanced at government level, with third sector organisations helping to support the dissemination of theory and the mechanisms of practice.

A metahistorical review of the literature to date is timely, and one which acknowledges the evolving European literature and debate. The literature review in Chapters 1 and 2 surveys: key texts and key figures; significant events; canonical developments; key characteristics of the debates; and criticism in the media and within the academy. It pays attention to literature generated in the UK and Europe that accounts for the mechanisms that have organised and produced New Urbanism historically until the present day, with a particular focus on the Charter of the New Urbanism (Arendt, Leccese, McCormick, & Congress for the New Urbanism, 1999) which is the movement's key text. An important dissemination device for New Urbanist theory, the Charter (1999) is a large-format, elegantly designed prescription for restorative city design. Printed on attractive uncoated paper-stock the graphic design, illustrations and typefaces are restrained and emblematic of a conservative American aesthetic. The inside cover of the book however features the signatures of

⁶ Prototypical New Urbanist developments in Florida, U.S.A and in Dorchester, UK (respectively).

⁷ For a detailed examination of this diffusion see Thompson-Fawcett (2003) A new urbanist diffusion network: the Americo-European connection.

the 266 attendees of the fourth Congress for the New Urbanism (1996). In this way the publication is clear that it regards itself as a radical manifesto rather than merely a proposition. The following section describes its intellectual lineage as well as its relationship to European theory and connected organisations.

Intellectual Lineage

The intellectual lineage of the Congress for the New Urbanism (CNU) coalesces around order coherence and community. It has emerged from a variety of sources that spans the USA and Europe, and has developed over more than a hundred-year period. Much of this theory is based on a stance that has been termed by some 'anti-modern' (K. Al-Hindi & Staddon, 1997) and neo-conservative (Vanderbeek & Irazabal, 2007), and is identified with responses that look backwards in history to primarily pre-industrial cities and towns (Handy, 1991 136) to find meaningful urban, and what later become suburban, conceptualisations of the contemporary city. Following Emily Talen, (2000a) the principles of new urbanism are "part of a long-standing, well-articulated school of thought about urban problems and their solutions" (319). Combined, the intellectual origins of the CNU amount to a repository containing a wealth of urban theory from both Europe and the USA that is selectively embedded within the CNU's principles. The New Urbanism is defined by its focus on two key aspects of the city; the aesthetics of the street (neo-traditional architectural typologies) and coherence (Dupuis, 2009). Most sources share a preoccupation with patterns, people and places. They chart, count, sketch, hypothesise and apply their findings to cities rather than individual buildings. All are

at some point or another interested in systems, whether for classical orders, moving elements or the mental 'image' of the city. All are interested in legibility and, to one extent or another, order and coherence, including notions of community.⁸ The following section surveys this intellectual heritage and points to the people and theories that have most influenced the movement and that have to some extent been collapsed into one phrase: The New Urbanism.

Camillo Sitte's theories about the aesthetics of the urban realm first published in 1889 *Der Städtebau nach seinen künstlerischen Grundsätzen* or *City Planning According to Artistic Principles* (1965) are especially influential to the New Urbanism. Sitte's experiential, pedestrian-oriented observations and his artistically and culturally educated critique of cities were informed by a sense of social justice that saw beauty in public, as well as private, spaces as integral to successfully cities. His principles, developed in the last decade of the nineteenth century, were a reaction to the modernisation of city form and the precursor to subsequent ways of thinking about cities that included morphological, aesthetic and what might be termed 'moral' considerations. Around the same time, in the late nineteenth century, Patrick Geddes' organic, utopian and humane theories began to take effect among Edinburgh's slum tenements. Geddes' approach to knitting, repairing and rebuilding the existing urban fabric contributes to New Urbanist principles about infill and his concern for the economic diversity of residents is translated by the movement into a commitment to a percentage of affordable housing in New Urban developments. Geddes' famous

⁸ Though arguably New Urbanism fails to account for different types of coherence such as so-called Everyday Urbanism, see (Chase, Crawford, & Kaliski, 1999)

Valley Section must be acknowledged as the motif that has most directly influenced the New Urbanist *Transect* and *SmartCode*. Similarly, Geddes' holistic and didactic approach to disseminating his ideas about cities in the form of his touring 'city exhibition' is comparable to the New Urbanist charrette (delivered by the Princes Foundation for Building Community as *Enquiry by Design*) which physically takes the movement's ideas in the form of drawings, diagrams and model examples to individual towns and cities for dissemination.

British social reformer Ebenezer Howard's radical ideas about Garden Cities, which sought to merge town life and country life, together with a social concern connected with the privations of city life that matched Geddes, were published in 1898. *First City Garden Ltd* began building Letchworth Garden City in 1903. Letchworth was designed in a 'traditional' style by Unwin and Parker, heavily informed by the anti mass-production, gothic revivalism of Ruskin and Morris. It is a precursor of the semantic confusion of New Urbanism's neo-traditional projects which predominantly recreate a town-and-country idyll out of sync with the historic and cultural context of the city on whose edge it resides.⁹ Howard is credited with influencing dozens of other garden cities worldwide, most relevant to the New Urbanism are those by John Nolan in the USA—often recognised as being a strong influence on the designs of Duany and Plater-Zyberk (DPZ) (Stephenson, 2002). Howard's vision was deeply committed to communitarian values of democracy and social justice (Fishman,

⁹ In the BBC television documentary *Abroad Again Heaven: Folkwoven in England*, Jonathan Meades tells the story of Letchworth, the first British garden city. Meades remarked of Letchworth's 'anti-modern' aesthetic, "If London was to be the city of the future then the future was to be avoided". Broadcast BBC2, Wed 30 May 2007, 19:00, Episode 4 of 5 (50mins).

1982), yet diluted variations of Howard's ideas of self-sufficient towns surrounded by green belt were later translated into the kind of speculative suburban sprawl that New Urbanism seeks to reform. Howard's ideas remain highly influential: the British Prime Minister, David Cameron and Deputy Prime Minister, Nick Clegg both promised "garden cities and suburbs of the 21st century" as part of their plan to build their way out of the housing crisis and tackle sprawl (G. Parker, 2012) (see also, Murray, 2014; O'Sullivan, 2014). The UK's previous Labour government advocated 'ecotowns' which were explicitly referencing Howard's Garden Cities, despite their dissimilarities in scale and ideology. Gordon Brown told the BBC ecotowns were part of a mission to help create a "home-owning, asset-owning, wealth-owning democracy" (BBC, 2007), clearly privileging the aspiring middle class and seemingly proving that Howard's ideas would always be misinterpreted. Heavily endorsed by Labour MP, John Prescott, the now abandoned ecotowns project failed to produce sustainable versions of Garden Cities. Rather—and only if they succeeded in overcoming widespread and vigorous NIMBYism (Heathcote, 2012)—ecotowns were self-consciously conceived of as commuter-focused, dormitory towns with varying amounts of what is opaquely referred to as affordable housing, notable for successfully bypassing restrictive planning controls (Hatherley, 2012).¹⁰ Similarly, it remains unclear how New Urbanism's adherence to neo-liberal development structures could produce the 'just' garden cities as Howard conceptualised them (Fainstein, 2000).

¹⁰ NIMBY is an acronym for Not In My Back Yard and refers to local residents protesting against new development.

In North America, another distillation of so-called anti-modern emerged. Prompted by Modernism's perceived failure to accommodate *civitas* (a key New Urbanist principle), humanist writers Lewis Mumford and Jane Jacobs contributed to the critical acknowledgement of the importance of the street itself to the idea of community in *The City in History* (Mumford, 1961) and *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (J. Jacobs, 1961). Their empirical observations, mainly of New York City, emphasised the importance of civil focal points and finely grained, mixed-use environments, economic integration and the security for residents provided by 'eyes on the street'. Both have influenced the privileging of the pedestrian and the prominence of notions of community in New Urbanist theory. However Jacobs herself was sceptical of the New Urban dissemination of her ideas. Before her death in 2006 Jacobs reflected on gentrification and New Urbanism in an interview with Bill Steigerwald (2001)

"... the New Urbanists want to have lively centers in the places that they develop, where people run into each other doing errands and that sort of thing. And yet, from what I've seen of their plans and the places they have built, they don't seem to have a sense of the anatomy of these hearts, these centers. They've placed them as if they were shopping centers." (Steigerwald, 2001 3).

New Urbanist developments are primarily built on greenfield sites, with little or no connection to existing communities (Seaside, Kentlands, Celebration, Poundbury, Knockroon) and ambiguities still surround the question of whether Jacobs' and Mumford's theories can be translated effectively at New Urban scale. Jacobs (1961) wrote "I hope no reader will try to transfer my observations into guides as to what

goes on in towns, or little cities, or in suburbs which still are suburban," she wrote.

"We are in enough trouble already from trying to understand big cities in terms of the behavior, and imagined behavior, of towns. To try to understand towns in terms of big cities will only compound confusion." (J. Jacobs, 1961 16). Jacobs' warning has demonstrably gone unheeded, though it is worth paying attention to within the thesis formulated as an overarching question, "what is urban about the New Urbanism"?

Charles Jencks makes the point that Jacobs' theories actually assimilate actors within the contemporary Modern vs Traditional discourse into a shared position.

"It is interesting that, in a critique of many architects, Richard Rogers puts forward a similar Jacobite theory in *Towards an Urban Renaissance*. This is a point when Jacobite theory, if we can call it that, is like ecology, so important for all parties to acknowledge. In spite of being on opposite sides of the equation, socially and stylistically, both the Prince and Rogers share the essence of *Jacobite*, that is, post-modern, urbanism." (my emphasis) (The Princes Foundation for the Built Environment, 2004 51- 52)

Jencks is right to deduce consensus between the seemingly opposing positions of the Prince of Wales and Lord Rogers; both would occupy a similar position on Nan Ellin's *Axes of Post Modern Urbanism* graph which depicted the formal ambitions of urbanists and their corresponding roles as businesspeople, social engineers and facilitators (Nan Ellin, 1996). Contemporaneously, in post-devolution Scotland 2014, as views on independence are shaped by attitudes towards the Union, Jencks' term *Jacobite* takes on a completely new meaning. In this thesis, the Jacobite revolution takes the form of an elite group with a shared set of values determined to remedy

placelessness and loss of community with an architecture that is equal parts order and nostalgia.

The term *imageability* was created by Kevin Lynch and is central to his classic text *The Image of the City* (1960). His research in US cities Boston, Jersey City and Los Angeles explored how citizens read, navigated and created a mental image of cities. His work on the representations of space, including later work, (1981, 1984) have influenced the New Urbanist emphasis on familiarity in urban or suburban environments. Lynch's suggestion that feeling lost makes people anxious; that planners and architects should provide visual cues using landmarks; and the importance of edges and recognisable districts with distinct identities are all well-rehearsed in New Urbanist logic. Again, where Lynch's ideas can be said to have been selectively appropriated is the lack of reflexivity in New Urbanist developments like Seaside and Poundbury. Michael Southworth (2003) contrasts the New Urban debt to Lynch alongside an architectonic preoccupation with end forms as opposed to more creative responses. He says: "Its disadvantages are that it is rigid and based on a single vocabulary of what is good. Design values are buried within it that have not been subject to public debate. Rather than starting with the locale and seeing what is right, the design code establishes the approach without question." (Southworth, 2003 215). Design codes, templates and pattern books are all important elements of the New Urbanism which seeks an antidote to the placelessness of contemporary sprawl in historic typologies. UK examples of New Urbanism particularly invoke some of urban designer and theorist Gordon Cullen's philosophy of urban design, *Townscape*. First published in 1961, and republished in the slimmer, more widely read *The*

Concise Townscape (1971), Cullen's theories emerged from the English Picturesque movement and outlined the experiential processes at work in comprehending the environment and forming visually distinct places.¹¹ This sphere of urban theory included ideas about how planning can borrow from art theory in terms of composition and imagination — Cullen encourages the reader to “isolate a piece of wall...take it out of context and regard the fragment as a picture. By doing so we are able to rid ourselves of many of the reactions to wallscape which are more proper to planning or to construction, reactions which prevent us using the painter's eye” (Cullen, 1971 156). New Urbanism borrows from Cullen's emphasis on a variety of architectural forms and the careful siting of buildings to create interest and drama within a streetscape. New Urbanist form-based-codes often replicate the image of historic townscapes (with little or no contemporary buildings) and arguably bypass the potential input and site-specific solutions of designers and builders by prescribing pre-determined templates of what has worked in the past. This suggests mistrust in the intuition of the architect as designer to ‘compose’ as Cullen advocated, based on the economic and socio-cultural specificity of places. The compositional ideas in *Townscape* are convincingly executed in phases one and two of Poundbury (Figures 6 and 7), though the absence of any historic infrastructure renders them somewhat contrived. In phases two and three the effect of the inclusion of volume builders is visible with the aesthetic organisation of *townscape* beginning to break down and resemble more closely generic (and often deemed ‘placeless’) suburban development (Figures 5, 17a and 17b). Cullen's ideas about townscape are less obviously attended

¹¹ Originating from ideas about accommodating modern and traditional buildings into a harmonious, artistic composition -- promoted by the *Architectural Review* during the 1960s with regular features and site studies. See (Macarthur, 2009)

to in North American New Urbanism which tends to follow gridded or neo-classical plans.

The particularly New Urbanist conception of place draws from Christopher Alexander's *A Pattern Language* (1977), where Alexander hypothesises a pattern language that he suggests is part of the "... archetypal core of all possible pattern languages, which can make people feel alive and human." (xvii). New Urbanists share Alexander's conceptualisation of place as something closely associated with coherence; timelessness and universal principles. The Charter (Arendt et al., 1999) cites Alexander's hypothesis (1979) on "the timeless way of building" and New Urbanism similarly advocates people working as communities, as opposed to individually, and incorporating vernacular building techniques and historic archetypes, though importantly, Alexander does not privilege the expert opinion of the designer as the New Urbanist does. For both, place is conceptualised in parallel with commonalities based on culture and customs and it is suggested that this homogeneity latterly produced "...places that were part of a larger, coherent, ordered, and intrinsically beautiful whole." (Bothwell, 1999 51). Some New Urbanists however characterise Alexander's approach as overlooking "the practicalities of common development processes". They rightly observe that [they] have accommodated all of the relevant actors necessary for contemporary city making (Moudon, 2000 38).

Form based codes are also used to ensure “compatibility” between buildings. Again, visual, as well as functional coherence and harmony is prized. The themes of harmony, coherence and compatibility are also key to the New Urbanist project. CNU founder and architect Stefan Polyzoides is concerned with continuity in the making of ‘place’, and writes, “The continuity of place-making is the critical dimension of a New Urbanist architecture.” (Polyzoides, 1999 128). “Regional traditions generate distinct regional languages” writes Polyzoides in the Charter of the New Urbanism (1999). Here “place” is theorised as potentially lying “dormant” waiting revitalisation (Polyzoides, 1999 128). Concerned with the value and relevance of past designs in a region, Polyzoides suggests that there is a “natural order” to existing places, “authentic” design will emerge from correctly identifying these (Polyzoides, 1999 128). Five photographs depict the town of Windsor, Florida which Polyzoides explains is harmoniously designed by many architects using a code for common architectural elements. Windsor is a private residential development which describes itself as “A private ocean-front community like no other” (Windsor, 2012). Windsor’s architects reject the temporal architecture of the contemporary single building design, which Polyzoides (1999) argues deliberately seeks to diminish and eventually subvert and destroy a “cultural commitment to coherence in the city and nature.” (127). He concludes “In contrast to an Architecture of Time, a New Urbanist architecture is an Architecture of Place.” (Polyzoides, 1999 127).

Aldo Rossi’s writing on the city in *The Architecture of the City* (Rossi, Ghirardo, & Eisenman, 1984) appears to connect with the New Urban preoccupation with history and memory. However it is less clear how the movement links to Rossi’s

conceptualisation of place with the more ephemeral aspects of architecture or 'urban artefacts'. The Charter (Arendt et al., 1999) cites Rossi's ideas about the soul of the city "... every city possesses a personal soul formed of old traditions and living feelings as well as unresolved aspirations." (Rossi et al., 1984 162). Yet the New Urbanism appears less able to engage with the latter. Its focus on coherence and rules leaves little room for conflict. Rossi's writing supports the careful siting of civic buildings within a New Urban masterplan, articulated in the Charter of the New Urbanism as "vertical infrastructure". Rossi's contribution can also be seen in New Urbanist theory about the legibility of form in architecture, and the role of civic buildings as monuments which operate as civic gestures, "A civic building can be an effective repository of a community's pride and a manifestation of its identity. To do so, the civic buildings must be readily identifiable as such." (Arendt et al., 1999 167).

New Urbanist literature — including the Transect (A. M. Duany & Talen, 2002) the SmartCode Manual (A. Duany, Wright, & Sorlien, 2008) and the Charter of the New Urbanism (Arendt et al., 1999) — widely selects theory which constructs and advances its own vision of the city. Jill Grant (2006b) writes:

"... the new urbanists pick and choose elements of theory from diverse sources. Thus they can claim both Camillo Sitte and Raymond Unwin as inspirations while simultaneously dismissing many of the ideas for which Sitte and Unwin became famous." (151).

As Grant (2006b) acknowledges, this is common in planning theory and practice generally. However it is important to be aware of the shifting balance of assumptions

that are made by the interdependent proponents of New Urbanism. As New Urban knowledge passes back and forth transnationally, between connections in and outwith academia, actors from government officials to freelance planners and private house builders readily adopt and adapt the well-established New Urbanist brand. Easily identifiable from the aesthetics of its architecture to its marketing, competing actors include the powerful image of community that New Urbanism has distilled from over a century of city theory and apply it in Powerpoint presentations, organise their own charrettes, write their own pattern books — these are inscribed with the moral authority of whatever the dominant power is in that particular place. The next section narrates and contextualises the background the movement emerges from.

Narratives and Imagery

"There was once a place where neighbours greeted neighbours in the quiet of summer twilight. Where children chased fireflies. And porch swings provided easy refuge from the care of the day. The movie house showed cartoons on Saturday. The grocery store delivered. And there was one teacher who always knew you had that 'special something'. Remember that place? Perhaps from your childhood. Or maybe just from stories . . . There is a place that takes you back to that time of innocence. A place where the biggest decision is whether to play Kick the Can or King of the Hill. A place of caramel apples and cotton candy, secret forts, and hopscotch on the streets. That place is here again, in a new town called Celebration." (Diski, 2000)

In the first section of Chapter Two, I enumerate where the New Urbanism takes some its urban theories from. While it is not a comprehensive account of the expansive theoretical terrain which New Urbanism draws from, it delineates the important ideological tropes that matter most to the movement. The movement seeks to unify a broad range of disciplines and interest groups and has, since its inception,

published a range of literature, the majority of which is heavily illustrated and written in very accessible, non-technical, non-academic prose. Texts communicate a teleological perspective of urbanism: they feature hand-drawn figure-ground plans, simple street diagrams, and images of predominantly traditional architecture. These characteristics appear throughout New Urban practice. Pre-charrette and post-charrette newsletters, charrette visual aids and design work, masterplans and final websites all utilise hand-drawn figure-ground drawing and painterly artists' impressions (Figure 8). Arguably this mode of representation connotes a friendly, caring, human-scale tableaux, designed to appeal to 'traditional' values. The New Urban symbolic landscape is a radical departure from much of the conventional, avant-garde and alternative modes of architectural expression during the past thirty years, many of which have sought to challenge authority, re-interpret commercialisation and even destabilise bourgeoisie taste (Chapman & Ostwald, 2009).¹² Both the hand-rendered figure ground drawing and the artists' impression have a great deal of agency within the New Urban story. They are activated within different procedural and ideological representations of New Urbanism that are multiple and multilayered. Critics dismiss the drawings in New Urban activities as nostalgic. Many are suspicious that their role is simply connected to marketing new real-estate; others worry that the drawings attract a homogenous group of society and implicitly deter unwanted communities. These criticisms are borne out to some extents in scholarship to date. However there is another role for these drawings. As Alex Krieger (1991) says, the overtly sentimental images used serve a didactic

¹² See *Unstable Ground: Scientific Frictions in the Analytical Techniques of Learning from Las Vegas* under the subheading Critical and Contextual Shifts in Urban Analysis in the 1960s.

purpose. The drawings percolate from the primary literature and websites through to materials calibrated to appeal to politicians, developers and future residents. They tell us not only how we might live, but how we should live, with developments describing themselves as model communities. Drawings appropriate the vernacular architecture of the region, but quote from very specific time periods that reinforce (or conform to) the imagined values from the era quoted; post-war buildings are excluded entirely. When noted modern architect Cesar Pelli was hired to design a cinema at Celebration he was briefed by Robert Stern that modern was fine "... as long as Pelli understood that as far as Celebration was concerned, modern ended in the 1930s." (Diski, 2000). Pelli eventually designed what has been termed a Google cinema but is in fact a post-modern distillation of 1930-50s Art Moderne. The cinema closed in 2010 (Diski, 2000). For the Scottish development Tornagrain, designers flown in from the USA copied streets from the planned village (and royal burgh) of Cromarty, rather than the nearby city of Inverness, for their pre-charrette illustrations (Figure 10). At Knockroon, nearby Cumnock is absent from the *Knockroon Design Code* and replaced with largely eighteenth century typologies from the planned (and contemporaneously, wealthier and middle-class) villages of Maybole and Eaglesham. In comparison, where volume-builders like Scottish-based company Cala focus on individual buildings and sell a lifestyle that is preoccupied with conspicuous wealth and status — including (very importantly) privacy — the New Urban approach focuses on community, public life and civility, a lifestyle that is underpinned by genteel middle-to-upper class values where leisure is plentiful and settlements are positioned in a romantic space where town and country meet. The effect is incongruous in comparison to the complexity and even the dirt, disorder and

incoherence of successful towns or cities developing in unexpected ways as they do in messy reality. In Brazil, where socio-spatial segregation is widespread (Lonardoni, 2009 2), architectural historian Cesar Floriano (2006a) notes that a New Urbanist development in Florianopolis “meets the taste of the Brazilian ‘new bourgeoisie’ seeking a symbolic capital which could ensure an image of living in a perfect and ideal society, where social problems typical of the capitalist city do not exist” (4).

New Urban literature is expansive. The following review is organised to account for the key aspects of the thesis’ focus: architecture and community. Firstly, it is important to understand the architectural and developmental context that the formation of the CNU grew out of.

“Whether you’re a designer, developer, planner, elected official, or citizen activist, this is the one source you’ll need to make urban change a reality.” Charter of the New Urbanism (Arendt et al., 1999 jacket cover)

Several things needed to be in place for the movement to coalesce in the first instance. The New Urbanism is multi-faceted and complicated by a variety of sometimes competing interests. The mistakes made by the architects of post-war urban renewal in North America and Europe are by now heavily documented, specifically in terms of a perceived fracturing of community. What the CNU were able to do, with a great clarity of insight, was to enlarge the role of the planner to include the aggregate professionals who are in reality equally responsible for city form in varying degrees. Road engineers, environmental experts, civil servants, statisticians and politicians were all engaged in creating a task force that understood

previous failures. And importantly, this group was well-equipped to devise ways to side-step the institutional tendency to block innovation or change by providing an offer that was 'tried and tested'. The historical precedents of traditional neighbourhood design used by the New Urbanism are absolutely their key attribute.

New Urbanism does not advocate an anti-development approach. It acknowledges that future development, including a propensity for single family homes built on the edges of cities, will happen. It stands for an improved version of what would happen anyway (Darley, 2008; Hebbert, 2003). It advocates higher than average densities, mixed use that includes elements — typically forbidden by outdated zoning laws — such as granny flats and work units, the integration of affordable housing (mixed tenures) to increase diversity, strategic location with regard to mass transit, and sustainability built-in (although this varies significantly from place to place) through paying attention to preserving agricultural lands and the topography and biodiversity of new developments. This is challenged by critics (Grant, 2006a; Alex Marshall, 2003) and supporters (E. Talen, 1999, 2000b, 2005, 2008b; Emily Talen, Ohio State University., & Knowlton School of Architecture., 2009) who state that many of these aims may not be achievable. New Urbanism's market-friendly sustainability was nevertheless a requirement for the movement to overcome the fear of the new. Elected officials are understandably wary of large-scale changes to the way that people live that are not tied to market-led consumerism.

The New Urbanists understood that to be successful the movement must react to rising environmental concerns by presenting its ecological-vision: higher-density

housing, provision for a decrease in car use related to pedestrian-focussed planning, and the preservation of natural habitats where possible, as part of an attractive market-driven consumer product. One element that is missing from the overall approach is any engagement with the conflict and contradiction of contemporary cities and competing visions and values. For example, critics such as Peter Marcuse (1998) argue “Sustainability is not enough” since the rhetoric of sustainability in housing “suggests the possibility of a conflict-free consensus on policies whereas, in fact, vital interests do conflict” (104). Similarly, and partly due to the New Urbanism’s formation in parallel with widespread use of the internet, the movement, following Angie Abbink (2001), has been able to “... keep expanding their repertoire ...” and are primed to adjust to critique and trends very easily (34).

What ties the ideas about theory, sustainability and community together to garner sufficient professional support is how new developments are organised. New Urbanists take three scales, *Region: Metropolis, City, and Town; Neighborhood, District, and Corridor; Block, Street and Building* and demonstrated how to design the placement of these along historic lines.

The New Urbanism’s interest in coherence translates into a system for cities that relies on historic patterns and form-based codes to produce order, legibility and harmony. The type of coherence aimed for is different to the planned coherence of post-war urban renewal, new towns and planned unit developments (PUDs) (Handy, 1991, 136); it is a coherence of human scale which is widely thought to have been lost when in the late 1950s the UK and the USA saw the powerful influence of

modernist approaches to reshaping cities. The Corbusian logic that informed both Glasgow Corporation's ill-fated Bruce Report (1945) and Robert Moses' famous parkways in 1950s and 1960s New York specified urban renewal projects that sought to use new technology, materials and theories about space and society to eliminate crowded slum areas with a commitment to social welfare. That kind of coherence depended in part on a fast-moving, efficient urban realm that privileged the motor vehicle. The coherence in the New Urbanist project is found in repetition. Codes and patterns produce and reproduce streets, blocks and neighbourhoods which adhere to strict guidelines. The hierarchy of buildings is organised by their civic or private status. Accordingly, a town hall will always recognisably be a town-hall by its positioning, materials and style. It is not an instrument to be used by architects for any critical response to the city and its contemporary conditions. The familiarity and common sense logic of the masterplans are compelling to decision makers. These are not hypothetical or futuristic whimsy: they are pragmatic, familiar and most of all, they are *proven* projects which pose little risk to politicians or developers — the two key enablers of large-scale development.

One of the most successful tools developed to achieve New Urbanist goals is the *Transect* (A. M. Duany, 1998), both a theoretical document and a pedagogical device which demonstrates and describes the New Urban approach. DPZ created the Transect which sets out an idealised, immersive zoning categorisation from the countryside to the city (Figure 18).

It closely resembles Geddes' Valley Section, though Duany states that he was introduced to the concept by his brother Douglas in 1983 (Chen, 2000).¹³ Each zone: *Rural, Edge; General; Center; Core*, has detailed provisions for density, thoroughfare dimensions and design, block dimensions, the design of parks, appropriate building frontages, the mix of uses, building design, parking and other aspects of the human environment (Steuteville, 2000). Alongside the Transect is the DPZ designed *SmartCode* (A. Duany et al., 2008)¹⁴ a form-based code that is a critique of conventional US zoning and advises on architectural standards. The provisions made in the SmartCode are designed to “contribute to a visually harmonious urban fabric” (A. Duany et al., 2008 C21) but moreover SmartCode is one of the most candid expressions of the New Urbanist conviction that it can construct an all-encompassing formula for city growth, a self-assurance that critics find frustrating, reductivist and unrealistic. Jaime Correa (2006) questions universal claims and cites the “transect violations” that occur when the Transect is applied to European, Islamic or Latin American cities to demonstrate its weakness in addressing the complexity of historic places and reducing “... every culture of the world to a single ethnocentric episode ...” (24). The authors of *Building Community Across the Rural-to-Urban Transect* (Bohl & Plater-Zyberk, 2006) acknowledge Correa's point (13) but stand by normative theories which “describe the world as it ought to be.” (6).

¹³ Chen is director of Smart Growth America, a Washington, D.C.—based coalition of 50 groups—including the Congress for the New Urbanism, the Natural Resources Defense Council, the American Farmland Trust and the Enterprise Foundation—that advocates affordable housing, urban reinvestment, preservation of open space and more reliable transportation.

¹⁴ Since 2004, the model code has been open source and free of charge.

"The SmartCode is a model transect-based planning and zoning document based on environmental analysis. It addresses all scales of planning, from the region to the community to the block and building. The template is intended for local calibration to your town or neighborhood. As a form-based code, the SmartCode keeps settlements compact and rural lands open, literally reforming the sprawling patterns of separated-use zoning." (Centre for Applied Transect Studies (null))

An acknowledgement that the city is constructed along socio-economic lines as well as planning requirements is expressed benignly in Duany's (2000) article *A New Theory of Urbanism*: "Not all possible environments fit into the Transect.[...] Airports, truck depots, mines and factories are also better off in their own zones." (A. Duany, 2000 03.2). This statement throws into sharp relief the reality that New Urban developments do not engage with heavy industry or large-scale transport infrastructure because tools such as the Transect are ill-equipped to cope with that level of complexity. In the UK the Princes Foundation for Building Community created similar documents for new developments including a *Register of Typologies* (The Prince's Foundation for the Built Environment, n.d) that informed the subsequent *Design Code* (The Princes Foundation for the Built Environment, 2010) for Knockroon. This is reviewed later in the Knockroon site-study in Chapter 5. These documents are some of the clearest indicators that New Urbanism's commitment to community is articulated through the spatial-determinism of neo-traditional architecture. The next section presents a survey of some of the critical voices that have participated in the past two decades of New Urban discourse spanning geographic boundaries, primarily praise or concerns articulated by planning theorists, social scientists and cultural commentators and the media. These have been selected to map out a terrain that features the debates about community, form-

based codes, universality and placemaking as a morally infused exercise — all issues that will be explored in a Scottish context through Chapter 3 and the subsequent site-studies.

Critical Voices

In 1994, beyond the consensus that led to the formation of the CNU, CNU members began to engage with issues outside of the confines of the Charter, including the New Urbanism's image, marketing and tactics. Articles by CNU members were published prolifically in *Places* — a journal broadly supportive of the CNU. Todd Bressi (1994) is the author of *Cautionary Notes on the New Urban Vision*. In it he questions why consensus was missing among developers or the public at large for the New Urban vision, a consensus that was palpable in post-war popular visions of home and community life, “the very atomized, standardized landscape against which...people...were [now] reacting” (Bressi, 1994 76). Dan Solomon (1994) writes in *Rallying Round the New Urbanism* about the controversy during the first Congress of the New Urbanism when marketing consultants involved in important New Urbanist developments were brought in to address the delegates with what Solomon calls “...a hard-sell spiel ...”, something that Duany and Calthorpe reportedly thought was “... necessary and useful propaganda.” (74). In *The New Urbanism, the Newer and the Old* Duany (1994) complained that citizens are a “distorting influence” in participatory planning as they are “usually against mixed use” and “always against high density” (A. M. Duany et al., 92). These articles illustrate that tensions within the movement were not only acknowledged, but also that the CNU felt sufficiently

confident to air uncomfortable truths transparently via CNU endorsed channels such as *Places* journal. The general debates surrounding form-based codes and style have been a recurring and contentious issue and remain so, wedded as they are in New Urbanist discourse to ideas about *civitas*. Here *civitas* should be understood in an Aristotelian sense as being about architecture at a human scale, producing sociability and the assumption that man is a social and political animal. In a translation of *Politics* by Jowett in the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (2014) 'state' corresponds to the Greek polis, which in the Latin translation is *civitas* and in English 'city'. Implicit in the New Urbanist codes is the notion that the Transect and SmartCode demonstrate and describe not just urban form, but a way of living (Figure 19).

Art historian Vincent Scully discusses the civilising effect of form-based codes in Seaside and New Haven in the publication, *Towns and Townmaking Principles* (1991) "Here is the place of the code to keep the city civilized, exactly as laws are intended to do. It is not conformity but decent behavior and intelligent conversation..." (A. Duany et al., 1991 19). Duany and Plater-Zyberk, Krier and Prince Charles all share a conviction that the idea of *civitas* is intricately bound to the design of buildings and public spaces; that a correlation lies between modernist, post-modernist and contemporary architectural design and the 'crisis' our cities face alongside the perceived failures of contemporary society. The weakly theorised connection between form and values that is central to the New Urbanism is described by architectural historian Dell Upton (2000) as,

“... naive materialism, derived from fundamental and long-held tenets of Euro-American culture ... This materialist tautology — if a good society produces good architecture, then good architecture can produce a good society — has been a recurrent element of Euro-American architectural faith throughout; New Urbanism carries on the tradition. Vernacular or traditional towns are good forms arising from more humane, more personal, more neighborly periods of American history, so close study of older towns can offer models for building new towns that would resurrect the desirable social qualities of traditional ones” (Upton, 2000 64- 5).

Upton goes on to caution that the values (as expounded by Scully *et al* in *Towns and Townmaking Principles*) of traditional communities, such as the Southern towns Seaside was based on, were actually received by many, in their time, as suffocating and often violently imposed (65- 66).

There has been much discussion in New Urban circles of the necessity for subduing the personal motivations of the designer-architect in favour of a more democratic generalist approach. The preferable option is the “modest” designer producing a “good copy” instead of a “bad original” (DPZ, n.d.). The private sector similarly cannot be trusted to provide suitable places for people (A. Duany, Plater-Zyberk, & Speck, 2001).¹⁵ Duany Plater-Zyberk (DPZ) developed codes for the Transect and SmartCode from the study of previous models to discourage experimentation and limit ‘bad originals’. Scully is positive about the prescriptive nature of New Urban codes on architectural freedom of expression:

¹⁵ Duany and Plater-Zyberk purposefully did not design any buildings in Seaside, firstly to demonstrate that their codes were adaptable to different designers, and secondly, to underline their modesty as architects and belief in their traditional urban plan.

"[They] know that they cannot avoid dictating forms to a considerable extent, and that, whatever their ingrained bias for freedom, they cannot leave the kind of loophole into which trendy posturing can insert itself to the detriment of the environment as a whole. These have not been palatable lessons for modern architects to learn, nourished as they have been on the romantic ideal of individual glory, but architecture demands that they learn them." (A. Duany et al., 1991 19).

Scully's comments are emblematic of New Urbanism's highly conservative impulse which views experimental architectural forms as corrupt and corrupting, and form-based codes as the solution. Architects number heavily among the critics of New Urban pattern books which predominantly produce traditional architecture.

Understandably reluctant to duplicate rather than create, designers question why pre-modern styles have come to dictate contemporary environments. Ada Louise Huxtable is an American architecture critic and the author of *The Unreal America* (1997b). On the issue of authentic reproduction Huxtable is precise, describing it as a con, and writes, "To imply equal value is to deny the act of creation within its own time frame, to cancel out the generative forces of its cultural context." (18). Of course the generative forces at work in New Urban environments are not in fact cancelled out as such; depending on your perspective, they are rather visible. Neo-traditional architecture is still produced by a combination of social, political and economic forces. Can neo-traditional architecture be read as contextual since it is reflective of the wider appetite for nostalgia, paternalism and conservative values? I argue that it is not and I return to this in more detail in the thesis in the section titled *Regional Specificity*.

New Urbanist figurehead Andrés Duany sees architectural style as a class issue. DPZ maintain that, “the exercise of democracy leads to traditional architecture and where this is not the case, it is a class issue. A few sophisticated individuals prefer modernist architecture, but not even those too poor to be choosy will tolerate it, as HUD has painfully found out.” (DPZ, n.d.).¹⁶ During the invite-only *Seaside Debates*, which took place in 1998, Duany argued for traditional forms along the same logic, saying

"Developers do constant research. They allocate \$40,000, \$50,000, to determine very carefully what people would like. The seriousness with which developers determine people's tastes would put sociologists to shame. If you don't like that, you have to confront the fact that you will be imposing something. Better architecture, at the moment, has to be imposed." (Bressi & Seaside Institute., 2002 151).

Duany's is a confusing and circular argument which contradicts itself. My interpretation is that Duany means while contemporary architecture is 'better' the average American will still choose traditional forms (Bressi & Seaside Institute., 2002)¹⁷. In a response to a later article by Ada Huxtable (1999) in *Preservation*

¹⁶ The United States Department of Housing and Urban Development, also known as HUD began as the House and Home Financing Agency. It was founded as a Cabinet department in 1965 as part of the “Great Society” program of President Lyndon Johnson.

¹⁷ The debate continues with the following ambiguous statements from Duany that try to deflect Robert Campbell's statement: "The industry shapes those desires before it asks." Duany replies, "Not our tests. we control for fairness, and we lose every time on the issue of style." Robert Campbell: "I'm saying that conventional developers shape people's desires, which they later satisfy. It's a much more complex cycle than what you're describing." Duany: "But I have seen it happen". Robert Davis interjects: "There's no question that consumer desires are shaped before they go into surveys. They are shaped by all sorts of images that the culture has put in front of them." Duany concludes: "Including every building that everyone here lives in. Your houses, your studio, my house, my studio. If we all

Magazine, which interrogated the idea of the copy in architecture and criticised New Urbanism, Duany (1999) vigorously defended the advantages of neo-traditional architecture, arguing (rightly) that,

“Traditional architecture is not aberrant or exceptional within the current reality of America; it is the dominant, overwhelming condition. Most of what is built today is in a style other than one of the modernist ones. Traditional architecture is, by sheer statistical weight, the preponderant modern condition.” (Andrés Duany, 1999).

Architectural historian Nan Ellin is supportive of form-based codes in *Integral Urbanism* (2006), listing the advantages of the *SmartCode* citing its "accessibility", "stylistic diversity" and spuriously, its capacity to "increase community spirit and trust" (40). Ellin (2006) makes the following statement: "Because the goal is healthy cities as determined by their citizens, the codes are not enforced on the basis of aesthetics but on the basis of the public good." (40). This statement is problematic if we choose to question the notion of 'public good' or 'stylistic diversity' but nevertheless this summarises the communitarian intentions behind the neo-traditional architecture produced by the Transect, Smartcode and the PFBC equivalents: the Register of Typologies and Design Codes.

Neo-traditional architecture is the predominant outcome of New Urbanism (and form-based codes) but it is the subject that New Urbanists least like to discuss. It is justified by New Urbanists widely as “democratic” and indicative of a “solid

live in traditional buildings, why should we be imposing something else on people?" (Bressi, 2002, 151).

American pragmatism” (DPZ, n.d.).¹⁸ Neo-traditional town plans such as Potsdam, Berlin by Rob Krier featuring contemporary architecture are dismissed by Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk as “horrible looking” (Stossel, 2000 paragraph 36), but overall there is a marked reluctance to discuss style, even *within* the movement as the following extract from *The Seaside Debates* (Bressi & Seaside Institute., 2002) demonstrates.

Harrison Fraker (2002), Dean of the University of California’s College of Environmental Design, deconstructs the superficiality that a formula or code for architecture can engender. Speaking about the very high density Carlyle in Alexandria, Virginia by Cooper, Robertson & Partners, Fraker says,

“It’s as if you took your favourite moves, put them in there, and it hasn’t resulted in any kind of internal logic[...] stylistic and textural pieces are overlaid onto this but don’t ring true. It seems to be a surface thought about the place, rather than an extension of some of the more real elements of the place. The reading of the context, especially when done by developers, is about three inches thick; thus the place becomes so disingenuous when you are there that it seems almost a mockery of the precedent. So the New Urbanism is tagged with advocating an application of formulaic urban pieces that aren’t necessarily tied to the place. That may explain why so many academics would take this to task as a superficial place. We should address those questions because it runs right at the heart of the critique that gets leveled at the New Urbanism.” (Bressi & Seaside Institute, 2002 109)

Further scholarly critique can be understood by surveying some of the recurring topics: spatial determinism; nostalgia; issues surrounding neo-traditional architecture

¹⁸ Duany on style: “When a building is designed through any sort of public process, one where the user, or even the passerby, has a voice, then we all already know that the preference would be for a traditional (i.e. copied) architecture. The many and varied reasons for this preference lies in stolid American pragmatism. The exercise of democracy leads to traditional architecture and where this is not the case, it is a class issue. A few sophisticated individuals prefer modernist architecture, but not even those too poor to be choosy will tolerate it, as HUD has painfully found out.” (DPZ, n.d.-b)

and planning; ironies or paradoxes (especially in relationship to modernism); claims about community/diversity/affordability; and in addition as something of an adjunct internally, what is posited as an exclusion from the academy. The following section synthesises the wider discourse into a narrative that offers an understanding of the key issues.

At the outset (1990s), criticism came principally from a human or critical geography background, from researchers interested in social justice and the connections across social and spatial differences (Desbiens & Smith, 1999 42). Critics read overt (and covert) spatial and social determinism (K. Al-Hindi & Staddon, 1997), colonial strategies of hierarchies and even racism (Davis, 1996; Harvey, 1997) into New Urbanist developments. Much debate over the movement centred on whether the neo-traditional typology of its architecture promoted a normative, anachronistic approach to city-making. Many academics' concern was what might be termed the 'moral logic' of New Urbanism as opposed to the media's preoccupation with aesthetics. This translates into a highly sceptical set of texts surrounding the New Urbanist movement — which has (broadly) gradually been added to with a more moderate presentiment contemporaneously.

According to critics, the early 1990s New Urban manifesto for a return to traditional town planning and pre-industrial urban design did not pay attention to the spatial turn in the social sciences marked by Michel Foucault (1977), Henri Lefebvre (1991) and Edward Soja (1989). Soja, author of *Postmodern Geographies* (1989) underlines the

importance of addressing the ideological and political aspects of urban planning. He writes,

“We must be insistently aware of how space can be made to hide consequences from us, how relations of power and discipline are inscribed into the apparently innocent spatiality of social life, how human geographies become filled with politics and ideology.”(Soja, 1989 6).

In socio-spatial terms the pedagogy of the Charter can be termed ‘normative’, advocating as it does what the city ought to be and which values are held as most important. Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk is quoted in the Charter describing the New Urbanism’s proactive approach: “In general, most codes are proscriptive. They just try to prevent things from happening, without offering a vision of how things should be. Our codes are prescriptive. We want the streets to feel and act a certain way.” (Leccese & McCormick, 1999 110).

The notion that the organisation of space holds ‘hidden’ motives is certainly one that is founded on in research which examined the first New Urbanist projects. *The Hidden Histories and Geographies of Neotraditional Town Planning: the Case of Seaside, Florida* (K. Al-Hindi & Staddon, 1997) was published in *Environment and Planning*. The authors’ deconstructive analysis centred on Seaside’s normative content and “attempt to resurrect an idealised past of uniquely American communitarianism” (349). The authors suggest that Seaside’s neo-traditionalism is a “carefully veiled form of what Hal Foster has called a ‘postmodernism of reaction’” — in other words a ‘hidden’ repudiation of modernism (349). The authors present

the paradox that New Urbanism's conceptualisation of liberating the resident from the oppression of modern sprawl and placelessness is heavily mediated by history. "Ironically, what is in fact the truly conventional in small town design can only become *unconventional*, and therefore good, when abstracted from its original context and juxtaposed against the denigrated other of conventional modernist urban planning." (354). Their chief objection is to a spatial determinism that seeks to appear natural (K. Al-Hindi & Staddon, 1997, 368).

Just as the movement is thought by some to 'rewind' to a pre-industrial past aesthetically, to some sceptics, the New Urban manifesto presented an interpretation of universal values that seemed to negate much of the contribution made to postmodern geography since the 1960s which explored subjectivity, inscribed discipline and called into question the authority of the 'expert'. In the Charter (1999), these concerns and others that more socio-spatial focussed planners might take into account are omitted in favour of a didactic approach to design, communication and consultation. Jill Grant (2006) argues that, "The new urbanists problematize the character of space rather than the social structure that generates it." (Grant, 2006b 22). We can observe this in key texts from the Charter (1999) which proffer instructions for the location and typology of buildings without any interrogation of what background the plan is emerging from — the general societal or political issues surrounding a site (religious, economic or cultural). Jill Grant (2006), writes in *Planning the Good Community*

"I worry that claims of universality serve in some ways to mask the exercise of authority: the designer as expert imposes his/her vision with the assertion of its universal application. As these illusions become a more significant part of the rhetoric of new urban approaches, I find myself questioning the paradigm." (Grant, 2006b, Preface XVI)

In Nan Ellin's (1996) important and thorough survey of Western urban design theory *Postmodern Urbanism*, neo-traditionalism can be understood as historicist architecture, and, following Tzonis and Lefaivre (1984), "an expression of nostalgia for an authoritarian past" (cited in Nan Ellin, 1996 173). Neo-traditional architecture has additionally been accused of being 'anti-historicist'. American theorist Doug Davis observes that Léon Krier, Robert Stern, and Quinlan Terry, who have all designed buildings in New Urbanist developments, "ignore the specific ideological or religious implications of the periods they quote [and] are in fact anti-historicist: they prefer history as arcadian symbol, not history-as-reality" (cited in Nan Ellin, 1996 160). Official literature, for example the Charter (1999) typically sets out the New Urbanist agenda with collections of essays and site studies written by practitioners and theorists which touch on a variety of urban factors and are explicit in their spatial idealism employing sentimental but easy to understand illustrations. This approach has been criticised for "replacing words with pictures, and goals with graphics." (Grant, 1994 xvii).

Alex Krieger (A. Duany et al., 1991), Professor of Urban Design, Harvard, unpacks DPZ's use of "sentimental" perspective vignettes which he argues, in *Towns and Townmaking Principles*, are employed to,

“[...]trigger a collective appreciation of precisely the ambiance that most contemporary environments lack, but which any good developer hopes (and often promises) will characterize his project. The sketches are presented to the developer as the rational consequence of following a set of simple, codifiable rules of planning without which the scenes could not be realized. Critics who question the overt sentimentalism overlook the more pragmatic intent of these renderings. They are Duany and Plater-Zyberk's own marketing tool for validating the principles which they seek to disseminate.” (A. Duany et al., 1991 14).

The principles Kreiger is talking about are concerned with a utopian vision of development and community, a vision that in Kreiger's eyes rapidly diminishes under scrutiny. He ultimately distances himself by publishing *Whose Urbanism? A Cautionary Tale* (Krieger, 1998). A critique of spatial determinism as the stage-managing of behaviours becomes more frequent (Abbink, 2001) and references to the Truman Show when Seaside is discussed for example follows (K. F. Al-Hindi & Till, 2001; Cunningham, 2005).¹⁹

Andrés Duany, as the most well-known spokesperson for the New Urbanist movement, has historically criticised the way that he suggests the CNU has been excluded by the academic community. Yet key New Urbanist people and theories have been profiled in prominent publications and conferences. The Harvard Graduate School of Design (GSD) hosted a conference in 1999 titled *Exploring (New) Urbanism*, with a full panel of New Urbanists and their supporters. To paraphrase Alan Loomis (1999), the GSD is the primary promoter of European Modernism in the U.S.A, rather than the academic home of American architects, consequently the

¹⁹ A film where an insurance salesman discovers his entire life is actually a TV show and his hometown (Seaside) is a stage set.

school represents, for the New Urbanists, the architectural culture's resistance to the movement. Nonetheless, the founders of New Urbanism are affiliated with major academic institutions, including the Suburb and Town Design program at the University of Miami, chaired by Plater-Zyberk. Thus the New Urbanists' self-styled alienation from the architecture academy appears at odds with their position. The Prince's Foundation for Building Community as well as INTBAU and TAG are similarly concerned by what they interpret as the exclusion of traditional architecture and planning from education (and in mainstream practice in the UK and Europe).²⁰ Despite this, the success of New Urbanism in bringing neo-traditional architecture and planning to policy-level popularity led Alex Krieger (Bressi & Seaside Institute, 2002) to note during the Seaside Debates (held by the Seaside Institute) "You are practically the establishment now." (51- 52).

The movement is explicitly utopian. However its notions of how to deliver the 'good' community is called into question due to its somewhat limited conception of urban living and competing visions of what community is and how it might be engendered. Architectural historians focus on the fact that the Congress for the New Urbanism (CNU) was founded by architects as a self-conscious reaction against CIAM and the Charter of Athens while maintaining their utopian, spatially deterministic principles. The movement's utopian credibility is called into question

²⁰ The Prince's Foundation for the Built Environment received strong criticism from RIBA in 2010 when it announced its intention to take over some of the design review work previously carried out by CABI of new UK developments. RIBA president Ruth Reed's main issues were around the perceived impartiality the Prince's Foundation might bring; its preference for specific styles over others and therefore a fear that the integrity of design reviews could be compromised (RIBA, 2010).

by David Harvey in his assessment of utopia in planning, *Spaces of Hope* (2000). Harvey outlines his thoughts on a 'dialectical utopianism', and asks why it might be that the critical force in utopian schemes can be seen to degenerate so easily. Harvey critiques the New Urbanist movement to offer some answers (169). While he is positive about the movement's regional outlook, its interest in the social importance of the street and its ecological ambitions, Harvey (2000) questions New Urbanist assumptions about 'community' as being civil and urbane (170), and the movement's, arguably unstated, belief in and utilisation of the power of community to neutralise the "... threats of social disorder, class war and revolutionary violence..." (Harvey, 2000 170). Here he illustrates that the 'degenerative' utopian community with its built-in social controls can be a "...barrier to, rather than facilitator of social change." (170).

Following architect Peter Eisenman, we might understand the theories in the Charter as *Arcadian* rather than *Utopian*. During a debate (2005) about New Urbanism and Post-Urbanism, Eisenman argued that:

"the notion of the 'project'...means some kind of reflection on the status quo, i.e., a critical view. The nature of that reflection is what separates the Arcadian from the Utopian, [even though they are both in one sense failed projects]." (Strickland, Eisenman, Littenberg, & Peterson, 2005 12).

Of New Urbanism's therapeutic impulse Eisenman asks, "Is there any validity today in the notion of a good plan?" and baulks at the belief in a city that can be healed (Strickland et al., 2005 12). Eisenman goes on to articulate that a two-sided, almost

contradictory viewpoint is required now to be critical. He asks for “enfolded negativity” which encompasses not only the utopian ideology but also “its opposite, its shadow” (Strickland et al., 2005 12). Eisenman is not asking us to accept an apocalyptic, or even, (following Fredric Jameson 2003) a Ballardian multiple end-of-the-world scenario. But he is relying on an invented future whereas New Urbanist theory looks firmly to the certainties of the past. The distinction between Arcadian and Utopian is a useful one, as while a utopian plan can still be understood as a critical project, an Arcadian plan is difficult to interpret outside of a classical idiom, arguably rendering it less able to respond to the multiple temporalities of the city. The Arcadian plan aligns itself more naturally with the themes of universality and natural laws in Christianity and ancient (Western) philosophy.

Planning and social theorist Robert Beauregard (2002) writes about New Urbanism’s unresolved inconsistencies in *Ambiguous Certainties* which he interprets as “... less a journey to a safe and stable new world than a complex negotiation of a deeply divided present” (182). He criticises the CNU on the grounds that the movement is not a neo-modernism that challenges both modernism and postmodernism, but instead an ambiguous project that does neither (184) and he posits that,

"New Urbanism is less of an alternative than its proponents attest; it retains much of the modernism it had hoped to displace and more than a hint of the postmodernism it had hoped to avoid." (181)

The aspects of modernism that New Urbanism might have hoped to displace were arguably: a preoccupation with style, a belief in the power of the designer to overcome complex social issues and an attendant utopian belief in universal values. Michelle Thompson-Fawcett (1998) has written widely on New Urbanism in papers which have a European origin, beginning with her interest in the organic revival in urban policy and practice led by Léon Krier. Later research included a transnational analysis of New Urbanism in *Urbanist Intentions for the Built Landscape: Examples of Concept and Practice in England, Canada and New Zealand* (M. Thompson-Fawcett & Bond, 2003). In *A New Urbanist Diffusion Network: the Americo-European Connection* (2003a), Thompson-Fawcett describes the important relationships that were formed between the USA and European key actors (Duany, Krier et al.) noting that “the frequency of formal and informal interaction between the two groups has enabled transmission and adaptation of the distinct ideas stemming from each” (259). Thompson-Fawcett (2003a) acknowledges the difficulty of discussing a movement that operates within ‘branded’ and more loosely assembled multidirectional exchanges, saying, “Tracing these influences is complex, particularly if attempting to keep strictly within the Congress for the New Urbanism (CNU) branding. The precise flows of influence are very diffuse. There has been a parallel (although not entirely independent) emergence of ‘new urban’ thinking and practice in the United States, the United Kingdom and other areas of Europe from the late 1960s (259) through to the late 1980s.” (243). Thompson-Fawcett (2003a) presents a detailed and thorough analysis of the interdependent nature of New Urbanist diffusion in the USA and in Europe and points to key differences in the way New Urbanism was implemented by the CNU and the UK’s Urban Villages Forum

(UVF). While the UVF developed mechanisms that supported public-private partnerships, the CNU operated within a largely private sector development context, an important area for this thesis to explore when examining the Scottish New Urbanism (259). Thompson-Fawcett's article of the same year, *Urbanist Lived Experience: Resident Observations on Life in Poundbury*, incorporated extensive fieldwork where the author interviewed residents of Poundbury as well as Matthew Hardy, a senior lecturer in Architecture and Urbanism at the Prince's Foundation for Building Community. In this case study, overall Thompson Fawcett (2003b) is sympathetic towards the movement but sceptical about its ability to perform on claims made surrounding 'community' and participation in the planning process.

Peter Marcuse (2000), Professor Emeritus of Urban Planning at Columbia University, is critical of the homogeneity he says New Urbanism produces. Calling the idealised image of the small town anti-urban and quoting Vincent Scully who has said it is a "new suburbanism" (4), Marcuse discusses the high income levels of residents of New Urban developments such as *Lakelands* (Gaithersburg, Maryland) and compares it with the ratio of 10% 'affordable' housing that is suggested by Duany and Plater-Zyberk to be the "right ratio for achieving a mix without diminishing value of surrounding properties." (A. Duany & Plater-Zyberk, 1992 7).

Tigran Haas (2008) has compiled a large collection of essays related to New Urbanism in *New Urbanism and Beyond*, an output from the conference of the same name which took place in Stockholm in 2003. First published in America, the book features a mixture of voices from Europe. This could be interpreted as reflecting a

contemporary inter-connected approach within the movement. However, the majority are names well-known to the CNU with a few new Scandinavian contributors to the debate. Louise Nystrom argues the case against sprawl, while acknowledging that Europeans have not broadly recognised 'sprawl' as a European issue until the 1990s (Tigran Haas, 2008 93). In summary, many of the essays argue for mixed-use and against sprawl in a compendium of urban research that is, typically for the New Urban style of literature production, rich with easily understood examples of how to plan effectively using traditional principles, but with little room given to an intellectual basis for the New Urbanism. Essays are short and many make much use of diagrams, drawings and photos, which adds to the reductionist accent of the book and which prevails in New Urban literature.

An overview of the important processes and outcomes of research to-date, largely situated around North American New Urbanism but encompassing international variations too, is presented in Jill Grant's (2006b) overview of New Urbanism *Planning the Good Community: New Urbanism in Theory and in Practice*.²¹ Grant (2006) has produced what may be described as one of the definitive studies of the movement. Her research looks at the cultural context of community planning. Grant's publications are numerous and posit that New Urbanism shows a reluctance to connect with contemporary theory in spatial planning and overlooks the importance of real estate interests in shaping the city. Ambiguities surrounding the New

²¹ Professor of, and former Director, the School of Planning at Dalhousie University

Urbanism are summarised by Grant (2006a) concisely in her report *Ironies of New Urbanism*. In Grant's opinion, the New Urbanism:

"... appeals to traditional forms and values while adopting modernist tactics; it supports enhancing the public realm while advancing the private realm; it advocates urban forms while building suburban enclaves; it calls for democratic and participatory communities and an egalitarian social vision while insisting on the need for expert judgement and producing developments for elite consumers." (2006, *Defining New Urbanism*, paragraph 2)

Emily Talen deserves special attention. As an active and committed member of the CNU she has persisted in interrogating key aspects of the movement in a detailed, measured and scholarly manner. As Robert Beauregard (2002) notes, she is one of the few people to have taken up the New Urbanism "... as a theoretical task" (191). Talen's research stands up to scrutiny because it is robust and also, because as a New Urbanist herself she illuminates areas that remain under-examined. Talen has widely published papers which attempt to account for whether or not key principles of the New Urbanism are successfully implemented. In *Sense of Community and Neighbourhood Form* (Talen, E. 1999) she questions the social doctrine of New Urbanism asking whether the movement can achieve its stated aim of producing a 'sense of community' through its approach to the built environment, and she discusses ways in which the "... social doctrine of new urbanism can be successfully supported or at least integrated with the social science literature which deals with the question of community formation." (1361). She points to a lack of evidence that might underpin the assumption that community *can* be created and acknowledges that advocates make claims that are "not modest". Talen (1999) refers to Léon

Krier's theory that a return to traditional planning will engender "a 'social synthesis' which will ultimately give way to a completely reconstituted civic realm" (1362). However she rejects the commonly expressed perception of design and community cohesion as simply axiomatic. Instead she questions the existence of 'universal' or 'natural' values which might support such assumptions in contemporary America. Talen (1999) notes the practice of essentially sacrificing some measure of privacy to encourage the community-building mechanisms of chance encounters and of designing streets as public spaces, and then presents a concise review of the specific theories — much of it from the Social Sciences — that New Urbanism uses as its basis for maintaining a link between design and behaviour. Here she identifies a binary between the *mechanisms* and the *environmental* factors (1365) and begins to refer to a variety of evidence that supports or undermines New Urbanist approaches, concluding with a *precis* that develops three main points about form and community. Despite the lack of empirical evidence showing a direct link between neighbourhood form and sense of community, one can trace a link between the design of an environment and the increased likelihood of 'neighbouring' (1365). Talen (1999) adds the disclaimer that the New Urbanist approach does not necessarily singularly offer these opportunities (1369). Resident interaction can be increased by design but it cannot guarantee 'community' since mitigating factors such as heterogeneity can have an inhibiting overlap. (1369). She refers to the contemporary trend towards a "community liberated" or "extra-spatial" phenomenon which negates the traditional influence of proximity (1369). When residents find their social needs met outwith the community (either by driving to meet with others or through technology), the design of their environment is less relevant (1369) and finally, since research records

successful examples of community in “... seemingly anti-communitarian neighbourhoods ...”, such as sprawling suburbs with little or no truly public space, Talen (1999) acknowledges that this problematises the assumptions made by the CNU (1369).

Emily Talen’s (1999) important point is that, with a lack of clarity on what precisely is meant by creating a sense of community, the New Urbanism might usefully concentrate on promoting what it *can* do, which is to increase interaction (even if superficial) by emphasising public space. In the same paper, Talen makes a move to examine ‘place’ in the context of the social doctrine of the New Urbanism. Here she suggests that a survey of how ‘place’ is iterated reveals a similar dilemma around the conceptual clarity of the term. She writes:

“It would seem that new urbanism would fare better if aligned with the affective components having to do specifically with the notion of place attachment.” ... “Clearly, it could be debated that place entails a much broader meaning than that envisioned by new urbanists, and that the affective dimensions involved are based on personal outlook as opposed to environmental effect. Again, as complexity of meaning increases, the link between neighbourhood form and social objective becomes more obscure. Sense of place would also seem a likely component of new urbanist social doctrine, but, as in place attachment, the term has more to do with individualised meaning than with specific environmental characteristics.” ... “In this regard, sense of place would seem to have very little to do with resident interaction.” (1999 1371)

The image of continuity

Talen refers to research by Rottblat and Garr (1986) that positively associates the age of a neighbourhood with resident satisfaction and psychological well-being. She notes that the authors found that older looking residential areas containing trees, traditional housing and with a diversity of age groups, engendered "the feeling of continuity in an era of rapid change and great household mobility in the United States." (E. Talen, 1999 1366). The post-modern economics of neoliberalisation and the effects of globalisation on technology and communications may have had a negative effect on how people experience the built environment. It seems that to feel part of a continuum is very important to some. Continuity in this context is understood as visually embedded in the built environment, a linear history that unfolds with regularity. 'Nostalgia' is a term used by critics of the New Urbanism but continuity is different. Nostalgia is a longing for the past or the notion of wanting to return 'home', while continuity is a stabilising counterweight to feelings of alienation and rupture. It is the anchoring effect of age. In a study commissioned by the Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment (CABE) called *People and Places: Public Attitudes to Beauty* (Ipsos MORI Social Research Institute, 2010), a broad cross-section of public attitudes suggested a preference for classical architecture, though it noted that materials and design were very important. A neo-traditional building with a poverty of detail was just as likely to disappoint as a modern one with the same deficiency. CABE reported that people told them "... older buildings conveyed a sense of longevity and 'grandeur' that actually made them more pleasing to look at. Compared with these, modern buildings, by the very fact they have not been around as long, give off a message of superficiality and

emptiness, because they have had less time to develop a history.” (35). The study concluded with a strong link that the public had made between beauty and ‘good society’. “In their ideal society, a place with more and fairer access to beauty, a high standard of upbringing and education was felt to be important for ensuring more ‘social’ spirit and behaviour at a local level; anti-social behaviour was a major barrier to beauty.” (61). The image of continuity is important to the New Urbanist movement: terms such as ‘timelessness’, ‘universal principles’ and ‘traditional’ are used prolifically. Following Charles Jencks, the aesthetic reasons for attitudes about plurality include: “... a dislike of visual complexity and contradiction, a desire to go back to harmonious simple languages, a city designed as a whole.” (The Prince’s Foundation for the Built Environment, 2004 51-52).²² Jencks discriminates between the New Urbanism that was presented by Jane Jacobs in 1961 and its present day, aesthetically permeated manifestation, saying:

“It is all about hybridisation: mixed-use planning, mixed ages of buildings, the pedestrianisation of the streets, and organized complexity. These qualities produce plurality, and visual discord. It takes until the mid-seventies for Léon Krier to turn that doctrine into another form of New Urbanism – a more visually integrated one.” (51- 52)

However, to return to the issue of neo-traditional architecture’s semantic confusion, the feeling of continuity that Talen refers to is complicated by New Urbanism in practice which typically builds new housing next to pre-existing suburban development from the post-war period until the present day. The image of continuity

²² Speaking at a conference organised by the Prince’s Foundation for the Built Environment in 2004 titled *The Order of Nature: New Science, New Urbanism - New Architecture?*

breaks down when it becomes recontextualised by its surroundings. On the subject of *Respecting the Narrative of Place*, traditional architect Robert Adam (2014) justifies the neo-traditional approach to coherence stating “While many residents or visitors may not have an analytical concept of historic narrative, it will nonetheless be understood and people will be disturbed when it is contradicted. It is the duty of responsible designers to respond to the narrative and character of an historic place in a manner legible to the community.” (English Heritage, 2014 27)

Themes of the populist discourse

Evangelism, Model-villages and Mickey Mouse

Criticisms in the media have tended to focus on style, a perceived lack of authenticity, social control and have reflected a kind of snobbery that belittles residents and is suspicious of New Urbanist leaders. Largely bewildered by the idea of suburbia having any value, and delighted by Celebration’s Disney connections, critics in the US and the UK media were quick to attack so-called ‘Mickey Mouse’ utopias as fake, fantasy and incorporating the worst aspects of the socially claustrophobic suburbs. Two main themes have been regularly employed in the media: evangelistic fervour and the ‘falseness’ or ‘Disneyfication’ of New Urban settlements, particularly by New York journalists Ada Louise Huxtable (1999), Herbert Muschamp (1996) and Michael Sorkin, (1998, 2006). Independent US journalist Alex Marshall (2007) characterises Duany and Plater-Zyberk as “central architects and missionaries of the New Urbanist movement” (paragraph 9); Marcus Field (1996) writes about architecture in Celebration in industry magazine *Blueprint*

employing the title *Mickey meets Plato*. British architectural columnist Jonathan Glancey's (2008) article, which is highly critical of Andrés Duany, is titled *Thou Shalt Not Follow Duany's Architectural Gospel*. Urban anthropologist Charles Rutheiser (1997) most explicitly conceptualised New Urbanism in a religious way at the outset of the New Urbanist discourse writing that it was a

“recombination of past and present cultural forms in response to conditions of contemporary crisis, not to mention the millenarian messianic zeal of its leading luminaries, the New Urbanism bears a spiritual kinship to what Anthony Wallace once defined as a religious revitalization movement (Wallace 1969), albeit a secular or civil religious one. The ‘newness’ of the New Urbanism thus does not consist of the originality of its elements, which are, after all ‘timeless,’ but rather in their contemporary re-articulation and application to the task of revitalizing the American Dream.” (Rutheiser, 1997 119).

Religious epithets may be unsurprising since proponents used them in early official texts as *The Second Coming of the American Small Town* (A. Duany & Plater-Zyberk, 1992) and key figures such as Léon Krier are referred to as the godfather of the movement.

In the UK, focus was necessarily usually on the first UK example, Poundbury. The New Urbanist movement attracted support from some popular, conservative, mainstream sources: *A Model Village Grows Up Gracefully* (Worsley, 2001) appeared in *The Telegraph*, while *In Praise of Poundbury* was published in *Country Life* magazine (Aslet, 2003), but it has been diminished by articles that focused their criticism on themes around nostalgia and ‘the good life’, claims made about

community and accusations of inauthenticity. Reporting amongst the UK architectural press is often deeply polarised and borderline hysterical. Its usefulness for analysis deteriorates in articles in the *Architect's Journal* such as: *Krier Attacks 'Idiot' Architects* (Vaughan, 2008) or *The Guardian's* Justin McGuirk's (2009) piece *Prince Charles's Poundbury Fire Station is a Daft Mess*. What are arguably the important themes get lost in amongst the diatribes surrounding style and taste.

Many of these themes were similarly rehearsed in some of the early sociological scholarship: *Celebration, USA : Living in Disney's Brave New Town* (Frantz & Collins, 1999), *The Celebration Chronicles : Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Property Value in Disney's New Town* (Ross, 1999a) and *Mouse Trapped* (Ross, 1999b). These texts share an understandable preoccupation with Celebration's founders, the Disney corporation, but, as researchers who shared a significant period of time living alongside some of the New Urbanism's first residents, was a welcome enquiry into the day-to-day lived experience which produced some positive reflections on New Urbanism in practice. Ultimately, the sociologists turned to the question of community at Celebration²³. Andrew Ross (1999a) found it wanting and concluded that 'community' was really a commodity, a front for maintaining property values. Frantz and Collins, a couple who actually bought a property in Celebration in order to write their book, were more optimistic, but despite acknowledging what was "inspiring and comforting about a place where neighbours know each other and help each other" (335), they were less sanguine about the

²³ The strap line for the Celebration homepage is "Celebrating 15 Years of Community" (2013) <http://www.celebration.fl.us/>

limitations Celebration offered them in engaging with the type of ‘community’ they might identify with, noting a troubling sameness and reporting that none of the houses they were invited into had any bookshelves (335). In the essay *Strolling Down Main Street with Dolores Hayden*, by Ilaria Salvadori (2012) the author engages with the work of urban historian and Yale Professor, Dolores Hayden and her thoughts on gender in New Urbanist communities. Of Celebration’s heightened security and enforced normative behaviour, Salvadori concludes, “Community in Celebration is strictly monitored, not lived; it is defined a priori, not achieved; its rules are learned, not negotiated.” (2012, 171).

Broadly, themes surrounding the New Urbanism in the mainstream and architectural press have now largely stabilised around New Urbanism’s core principles. Although critics remain divided²⁴, topics that centre around community, pedestrian-focused planning, higher density development, sprawl, car use, and sustainability are representative of the wider cultural and political landscape. Contemporaneously, the property and banking crisis affecting the West at close quarters has arguably made New Urbanism seem more relevant now than ever with developers and investors seeing the benefit of New Urbanism’s longer term investment value (Norwood, 2012).

²⁴ Stephen Bayley, described Poundbury in 2012 as a “sterile, suffocating dormitory town” (Norwood, 2012) while earlier Giles Worsley (2001) heaped praise on both Pummery Square and John Simpson’s £1M Brownsword Hall in the Telegraph article *A Model Village Grows Up Gracefully*.

Chapter 2. International Variants of the New Urbanism

People, Events, and Places

Key figures in the origins of the CNU are Léon Krier, Andrés Duany, Elizabeth-Plater Zyberk, Prince Charles and Peter Calthorpe. Krier is referred to as the godfather of the New Urbanism for good reason (Hetherington, 2006; Salingaros, 2001). His polemical call for *The Reconstruction of the City* (1978b), the study of the city and its typological components, the 'urban quarter' and the precise types of urban space (streets, avenues, squares, arcades, colonnades) is a direct precursor of the New Urbanist movement. Krier, the movement's champion, and one of the figureheads along with Andrés Duany, is the architect of two prominent New Urbanist masterplans, Poundbury and Seaside, and has contributed to much of the theoretical basis for the New Urbanism. His writing on urban design and architecture has its intellectual lineage in the study of classical European cities and the Rationalist architectural theories of Quatremère de Quincy. Krier's other influences range from the classical: Plato and the Renaissance humanists (with an emphasis towards citizenry and virtue); to the urban: Camillo Sitte's *City Planning According to Artistic Principles* (first published in 1889), and Ferdinand Töennies' concepts of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*. Closely tying community and architecture together is Maurice Culot and Léon Krier's rationalism (Culot & Krier, 1978; Krier, 1978a). Krier's theories were advanced further in his *Reconstruction of the City* (Krier, 1978b) a revised version of which was published in the British journal *Architectural*

Design in 1984 and *UIA International Architect* magazine (Krier, 1985)²⁵. Since the emergence of the *Movement for the Reconstruction of the City* in the late 1970s, and *The Reconstruction of the European City: an Outline for a Charter*, in 1985, architectural and urban scholarship has both supported and contested the resurgence of the traditional pre-industrial city as a model for contemporary urbanism.²⁶ Of prime relevance among Krier's many principles to the New Urbanist project is: "There can be no industrial zones, pedestrian zones, shopping or housing zones—there can only be urban quarters which integrate all the functions of urban life." (1985). The 1985 charter published by the *UIA International Architect* article featured extensive drawings and diagrams which are obvious precursors for the CNU's Charter for the New Urbanism in 1999. The term "European City" eventually became synonymous with an approach to planning that rejected globalisation and the paradigmatic homogenous US city (Molnar, 2010) and ultimately became not only embedded in the European architectural discourse during the contentious period of post Berlin wall planning, most memorably with the masterplanning of Potsdamer Platz, but also the dominant Northern European approach.

Publications such as: *Léon Krier: Houses, Palaces, Cities* (Krier & Porphyrios, 1984), *Architecture: Choice or Fate* (Krier, 1998) and *The Architecture of Community* (Krier, 2009) are of particular importance to the New Urbanist movement. They promoted a classical and vernacular revivalism in parallel with a

²⁵ The International Union of Architects (UIA), is a non-governmental organisation, a global federation of national associations of architects.

²⁶ A group of designers and writers including: Maurice Culot, Pierluigi Nicolin, Phillippe Panerai, Jaques Lucan, Jean Dethier, Antoine Grumbach, and Robert Delevoy (Larice & Macdonald: 2007: 231).

reforming, conservative response to the city. Krier's short essays and drawings aim to outline an accessible and common sense approach to modern cities and villages, which bears many similarities to the Transect and SmartGrowth theory. However this approach arguably encounters difficulty when confronted with post-industrial and post-capitalist realities of urban space. In Nan Ellin's (1996) evaluation of Krier's theories in *Postmodern Urbanism* she summarises some of the critique offered by his contemporaries: Manuel Castells (1983) maintains, that although Krier's typology "has a nice appeal" it is "reductive and ultimately meaningless" (157); Thomas Dutton (1986, 24) notes "a 'wide gulf between Krier's urban perceptions and prescriptions' rendering him guilty of misrepresenting the actual relationship between dominant and oppressed cultures, power and powerlessness, urban design and social change" which he says is "leaving the city to the reign of dominant institutions with business as usual". (Nan Ellin, 1996 157).

At the highly visibly forefront of New Urbanist theory in the USA are two of the founders of the movement, Miami based architects Andrés Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk. Their practice Duany Plater-Zyberk (DPZ) has designed hundreds of New Urbanist developments worldwide. Together they created the Transect which sets out an idealised, immersive zoning categorisation from the countryside to the city. Both studied at Yale and were heavily influenced by the architectural historian Vincent Scully. Duany and Plater-Zyberk joined the faculty at the University of Miami in 1974 and 1979 respectively and founded their practice DPZ in 1980. After becoming acquainted with Krier, and encouraged by his ideas and those of Christopher Alexander, Jane Jacobs and reference works like *The American*

Vitruvius, DPZ invited Krier to advise on Seaside (1981) which became the development most synonymous with New Urbanism in America. Seaside is mentioned by the Prince of Wales in his BBC television programme *Vision of Britain* (1987) and at around the same time—the late 1980s early 1990s—Léon Krier was approached by the Prince of Wales to advise on the masterplanning and design of Poundbury, near Dorchester. DPZ were also brought in as consultants in the early stages of Poundbury. In 1991 Andrés Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk published *Towns and Town-making Principles* (A. Duany et al., 1991) followed closely by an article in 1992, titled *The Second Coming of The American Small Town* (A. Duany & Plater-Zyberk, 1992). *Towns and Town-Making Principles* (1991) was edited by Alex Kreiger (then, adjunct professor at Harvard Graduate School of Design) and featured a foreword by architectural conservative Vincent Scully, and an afterword from Léon Krier. It sets the didactic tone for future New Urbanist texts. By 1993, Seaside is sufficiently famous, fashionable and in a sense ‘avant-garde’ to make the cover of *ANY* magazine—the issue is titled *Seaside and the Real World: A Debate on American Urbanism* (Mohney, 1993).²⁷ It features essays by Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, *Five Criteria for Good Design*, and Andrés Duany, *Coding America* that, I suggest illustrates their growing confidence about a widespread return to traditional values in architecture. It followed mainstream articles about DPZ et al, usually employing the term ‘neo-traditional’, in *The Atlantic*, *The Smithsonian* and *Time Magazine*. By 1996 Ellin reported that developers in California were so convinced by the New

²⁷ Other writers in the same issue include renowned social geographer Neil Smith, *Reasserting Spatial Difference*, Peter Eisenman, *Is It Style or Ideology?*, Diane Ghirardo, *The Persistence of the Fetishized Object*, Robert A.M. Stern, *Jumping-off Points* and a section titled *Correspondences* featuring essays with titles like *Letter from EuroDisney* (Jean-Louis Cohen) and *Letter from the Mall* (Robert Segrest).

Urbanism's popularity that they believed only plans with substantial New Urbanist elements would be approved (Nan Ellin, 1996 81).

Codes to keep the city civilized, ordered and harmonious, and neo-classical planning and neo-traditional architecture using local precedents to create character and community are at the forefront of Krier, Duany and Plater Zyberk's project and can be seen distinctly in the founding statements of the CNU and in later publications including the highly successful *Suburban Nation*²⁸, which remains on Amazon's best seller list more than 10 years after its first printing (A. Duany et al., 2001), *The Lexicon of the New Urbanism* (a precursor to the Transect and SmartCode) published in 2003 (A. Duany & Plater-Zyberk), *The New Civic Art* (A. Duany, Plater-Zyberk, & Alminana, 2003), an enormous publication which is styled on the *The American Vitruvius* (first published in 1922 (Hegemann & Peets) and reissued with preface by Léon Krier in 1988) and describes itself as the "essential reference and textbook for decades to come", and most recently, *Garden Cities: Theory & Practice of Agrarian Urbanism* (A. Duany, 2011), published by the Prince's Foundation for the Built Environment.

Peter Calthorpe is less concerned with style and more interested in regional planning and infill. Calthorpe's ideas are rooted in an environmental (in the context of ecological) awareness that he formed at Berkeley in the 1970s, and he has been

²⁸ 93 Customer reviews and Amazon Best Sellers Rank: #11,626 in Books #11 in Politics & Social Sciences, Politics & Government, Public Affairs & Policy, Environmental Policy #31 in Books , Politics & Social Sciences, Sociology, Urban [data downloaded 24 January 2013].

writing on anti-sprawl since 1979 (P. Calthorpe & Benson, 1979). Calthorpe is a progressive, well respected architect who co-founded the CNU on the basis of twin goals: combatting the damaging patterns of sprawl and over reliance on the automobile. His vision is for larger metropolitan regions to integrate mass transit at a macro level and for planners to integrate transit and auto-use at a micro, neighbourhood level. His proposition is not a utopian architectural manifesto but rather a comprehensive survey of American urban and suburban patterns. Calthorpe published *The Next American Metropolis* in 1993. He is of particular importance to the movement because he leads the practical, non-style-led debate. Calthorpe's ideas accords the CNU a thorough, pragmatic position on car use and pedestrian-orientated design. His ideas, Transit Orientated Development (TOD) and infill need much more investment from local officials and sometimes struggle to get properly established but he is useful to divert criticism away from socially prescriptive and overdetermined plans as well as accusations of nostalgia.

The Prince of Wales is in many ways the figurehead of New Urbanism in the UK. Despite the fact that no formally instituted association exists between the Prince and the CNU, myriad links to the New Urbanist approach frame the Prince's contribution to UK urbanism. The Prince's television documentary and publication *A Vision of Britain* (1989), put forward a highly visible advocacy for traditional architecture in the late 1980s. The Prince of Wales' Institute of Architecture was established shortly after in 1990 (formally dissolved in 2001) and the Prince helped to develop the burgeoning Urban Village concept and formed the Urban Villages Forum in 1993. The Urban Village concept is widely thought to have been discredited due to

inconsistent practice and tensions between the competing commercial interests of some actors. It has been described as vague and loosely defined, leaving it open to abuse by house builders looking to speed up planning consent (Biddulph, Franklin, & Tait, 2003; Biddulph, Tait, & Franklin, 2002). The lack of control that the Urban Villages Forum eventually had on the concept and practice of 'Urban Villages' has arguably been tackled by the re-configuration and consolidation of The Prince's Foundation for the Built Environment (also replacing the Architectural Institute) in 1998. This has since been superseded by *The Prince's Foundation for Building Community* (TPFBC),²⁹ a charitable organisation which is involved in over thirty developments, constructions and projects around the United Kingdom (Prince's Foundation for Building Community, n.d)³⁰.

The Formation of the CNU and INTBAU: a Complicated Relationship with Style

The movement's complicated relationship with style is typified by a number of texts which record the origins and key figures of New Urbanism in the US and in Europe. The US procedure is arguably just as heavily invested in style but less willing to

²⁹ The Prince's Foundation for Building Community has an expanded role reflected in a name change from The Prince's Foundation for the Built Environment. The organisation were quick to clarify the name change with Chief Executive Hank Dittmar saying "We're not moving away from architecture. We're using architecture to help people." and explaining that "The Prince's Foundation has been limited by the essential wonkiness of the term built environment" (Fulcher, 2012a)

³⁰ At the time of writing, ten of the Foundation's projects are in Scotland. Projects range from events to engage the public with design and sustainability in the built environment, to generating pattern books and masterplans. In some places, such as Nairn, potential first phase planning applications are currently being considered, while in Ellon, Aberdeenshire construction began in 2012.

discuss it than European counterparts; where they both converge is in their eagerness for reform. At once distancing the CNU from the intransigent style debate and arguably undermining the precursive contributions made by Krier, the Prince of Wales and the publication *A Vision of Europe* (1992) is an article by Peter Katz (2012). Katz was founding executive director of the CNU and co-author of *The New Urbanism: Toward an Architecture of Community* (Katz & Bressi, 1994), still considered a seminal New Urbanist text in shaping the central principles and applications of the New Urbanism.³¹ In his article discussing the origins of the movement Katz (2012) describes the informal discussions that led to the formation of the CNU, the main progenitors and the self-conscious link to CIAM that was made by the adoption of the nomenclature ‘Congress’ and ‘Charter’. The article described the reforming approach to planning that was at the forefront of the group of architects participating in the meeting.

“In the spring of 1992, Andrés Duany, Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, Elizabeth Moule, Stefanos Polyzoides, Peter Calthorpe, and I met in New York at the Lotos Club, a private dining club on East 66th Street.” ... “The individuals who met at the Lotos Club were clear in their intention: they did not want to create an ongoing organization for its own sake. Rather, they wanted to issue a clear statement about the need to reform planning practice in America.” (Katz, 2012)

Katz (2012) describes clearly the reasons why the founding group of six chose to disassociate themselves from what might be termed their European ‘counterparts’.

³¹ The publication features essays by Calthorpe; Duany & Plater-Zyberk; Elizabeth Moule & Stefanos Polyzoides; Todd Bressi and features an afterword from Vincent Scully. The book was the precursor to the Charter of the New Urbanism (1999).

“The idea of an international congress ... grew out of another important conversation that took place during the Lotos Club meeting. Several participants expressed concern about an overly strong classical design agenda that was, at the time, actively promoted by several leading urban design practitioners in the United Kingdom and Europe. The Prince of Wales had recently organized his Institute of Architecture, tapping many classicists as faculty. At Léon Krier’s recommendation, Duany and Plater-Zyberk were invited to teach in the Institute’s Summer Program. The group ... felt that the sort of long-winded academic debates about style taking place among the Institute’s faculty would be of little relevance to the American situation. Furthermore, they felt that such debates would be a turn-off for non-architects involved in the implementation of new planning approaches. As a result, the participants agreed not to actively seek international members for the CNU, at least not until the organization had more fully defined its own point of view.” (Katz, 2012)

Katz reports that the CNU founders found that the Anglo-European movement was too focused on style and as the CNU presents its vision as *transcending style*, the Anglo European discourse was thought to be a barrier to a faster dissemination of the initial ideas.³² Conversely, Matthew Hardy, Senior Lecturer in Architecture and Urbanism at the Prince’s Foundation for Building Community, in personal correspondence, reflected that the Prince’s Institute was just two years old in 1994 and focused more on vernacular construction techniques and community planning than style. Hardy (M. Hardy, 11 January, 2013) notes that

“... style was however very much a subject of discussion and debate at the Prince of Wales’ American Summer Schools, which were led by faculty from the ICA & CA (an American organisation based in New York). They emerged as central at the Prince of Wales’ Institute of Architecture only later with the arrival of the director Dr Richard John, a classicist architectural historian and student of distinguished Cambridge

³² In the Charter’s third and final section, *The Block, Street and Building*, Stefanos Polyzoides, a founding architect of the CNU, discusses transcending style. “Style is replaced by a search for form suited to the harmonious evolution of the city and nature” (Polyzoides, 1999 128)

architectural historian David Watkin, and lecturers like Renaissance architectural historian Victor Deupi from the US. Because the press portrayed HRH as a classicist the school attracted young classicists, and as a result the graduate programme (1994-1999) was always more focused on traditional architecture than the original Foundation Course (1992-2002).” (M. Hardy, 11 January, 2013)

Furthermore, Hardy (2013) suggests that the explanation given by Katz (2012) is a post-hoc rationalisation of the CNU’s decision to keep New Urbanism “all-American” (M. Hardy, 11 January, 2013). He makes a compelling point saying, “They would not have wanted NU to look like a European import, rather as an indigenous development. That was of course to deny Léon Krier's seminal writings of the 1970s, the Ecole de la Cambre's leading urban renewal studios under Maurice Culot, the PoW's influence after 1983, and the prior establishment of A Vision of Europe (est 1992). Really CNU was following along when it appeared in 1994 as you can see from Andrés’ comment about visiting Europe to have his spine stiffened.” (M. Hardy, 11 January, 2013).³³

As I have illustrated, the New Urban movement is far from monolithic, it is multiple and multilayered and as such, a better understanding of the differing motivations in and around the movement is necessary to evaluate what aspects of both the US and Anglo-European procedures are pertinent to a Scottish condition. An incident at the subsequent signing of the Charter at the fourth CNU conference in Charleston, South

³³ In an interview given to trade magazine Building Design Ellis Woodman (June 2013) describes Duany’s initial encounter with Krier writing “A new engagement with urbanism followed their attendance at a lecture given by the young Leon Krier. “He was absolutely spectacular,” Duany recalls. “I thought Lenin must have been like this. And, of course, at first I reviled him. I spent two weeks in a yellow fury.” (Woodman, 2013 paragraph 17).

Carolina (1996) indicates tension between the US and European ideological narrative. According to the late journalist Herbert Muschamp (1996) the event was overshadowed by its keynote speaker, Léon Krier's refusal to sign the document.³⁴ Muschamp reported that this was due to the inclusion of an uncomfortable phrase aimed at architects who replicate historic forms. The incident also highlights an *internal* conflict in the movement's complex and sometimes contradictory relationship with style. The following section accounts for how the Anglo-European discourse was unfolding during the same period to better understand the historic origins of the New Urbanism in Scotland as well as the U.S and Anglo-European procedures that Michael Hebbert (2003) describes as being heavily integrated by 2003,

“Above all, they share an environmental discourse which transcends territorial boundaries. They're part of a new Internationale, formed by the challenge of sustainable development.” (194).

A Vision of Europe

The Re-invocation of Classical and Vernacular Architecture

In the same year in which the first CNU discussions took place (1992) a monograph culminating from an exhibition titled *A Vision of Europe* (Gabriele Tagliaventi, O'Connor, & Giorgio, 1992) was published. In a contemporary context the book

³⁴ See also Page 256 for Krier's refusal to sign. (Michelle Thompson-Fawcett, 2003 256)

would almost certainly be described as a New Urbanist publication.³⁵ *A Vision of Europe* (1992) is organised with striking similarities to the founding principles of the Charter of the New Urbanism (1999) reflecting their shared preoccupation with the spatial organisation of traditional cities. Section titles like *Cities, Quarters, Blocks, Public Buildings* and *Private Buildings* mirror sections in the CNU Charter such as its three urban categories; *Region: Metropolis, City, and Town; Neighborhood, District, and Corridor; Block, Street and Building*. Similarly both discuss the need to combat 'placelessness', sprawl and alienation in the built environment attributed to post-war renewal projects. The key difference is that the Charter (if not individual New Urbanists) stop short of advocating any particular style whilst the first Anglo-European literature sets out a classical and vernacular revival at the outset. It includes short, often one page, snapshots of the early 1990s vision that the Anglo-Europeans were proposing; masterplans, photographs and architectural drawings from architects that regularly feature in the New Urban discourse are included such as Robert Adam, Léon Krier (Poundbury and the knowingly fantastical Project for the new town of Atlantis), Demetri Porphyrios, Scott Merrill, Lucien Steil and Quinlan Terry as well as founding members of the CNU Duany and Plater-Zyberk (DPZ's Seaside and Kemer).³⁶ Featuring a foreword from the Prince of Wales, essays by Maurice Culot and Ivo Tagliaventi and Léon Krier's *Charter for the Reconstruction* proposition this was an important monograph of European neo-classical architecture and traditional urbanism linking traditional forms to ideas about *civitas* and community. It does however reflect the comments about style made in

³⁵ Originally conceived and delivered in an exhibition format by the University of Bologna.

³⁶ Also included is Terry Farrell's Royal Regatta headquarters (1983-85) at Henley-on-Thames, one of the most vividly Post-modern styles in the collection.

Peter Katz's (2012) article above about the formation of the CNU. Essays in *A Vision of Europe* (1992) present not only a compendium of contemporary neo-classical architecture and planning, but an adversarial refutation of modern planning and post-war urban renewal. Some are reflective of the 'long-winded' description given anecdotally by Peter Katz. For example, David Watkin rehearses his call for the reinstatement of piety and reverence of classical architecture (made earlier in *Morality and Architecture* (Watkin, 1977) and argues that the lack of acclaim awarded to Edwin Lutyens "timeless abstract classicism" in comparison with contemporaries such as Le Corbusier and Wright demonstrates "propaganda for the modern movement." (Gabriele Tagliaventi, O'Connor, & Giorgio, 1992 26- 27). The argument made against modernist architecture is heavily rehearsed in New Urbanist texts with the USA typically being more vocal about modern planning while in the UK and in Europe architecture is discussed more often.

The charge that New Urbanism levels at contemporary architecture, that it is overly concerned with the individual building, that it ignores historic context and scale, is arguably mirrored in the tendency to omit deeper historical and political characteristics of specific regions when proposing New Urbanist projects. Examples given in *A Vision of Europe* (1992) omit to engage with the regional specificity and context of individual places and renders the masterplans and propositions static, deracinated and in some ways less relevant than they could have been.³⁷ At worst, New Urbanist developments such as Val d'Europe articulate the unravelling of

³⁷ See my critique which is located in the conclusion to this Literature Review (Page 18-19) and Masterplans for the reconstruction of the city core of Warszawa in (Tagliaventi et al., 1992 139-143)

regionalism, the tipping-point of which is, following Canizaro (2007), “when the myths begin to separate from the factual history and / or place—when the reference is a mythical place; and second, when that vision is codified and legislated as the representative mode.” (25). Val d’Europe’s Haussmannian boulevards terminate their axes with open fields dotted with Disney theme park attractions and hotels (Figures 12 and 13). Place du Toscane (Figure 4a), an Italianate style plaza is the centrepiece to this new town which is a thirty minute high-speed train journey from Paris. Part of the mall has been effectively turned inside-out to present itself as a clean and secure (supervised) gated main-street occupied by high-end fashion and lifestyle brands (Figure 20-29).

The important European organisations involved in the New Urbanist movement vary in both their connectivity, interdependence and their relationship to each other and to the CNU and leading New Urbanists. These relationships are important because they underline the top-down nature of the movement’s leaders. The International Network for Traditional Building, Architecture and Urbanism (INTBAU) was set up in 2002. INTBAU’s patron is the Prince of Wales and the advisory group at the outset was a mix of theorists: Maurice Culot and Léon Krier; US practitioners Andrés Duany, Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, Stefanos Polyzoides and Robert Stern;³⁸ UK based traditional architects Demetri Porphyrios, John Simpson, Quinlan Terry and Italian architect Pier Carlo Bontempi³⁹ (Michelle Thompson-Fawcett, 2003a). The aforementioned are now listed as The INTBAU Committee of Honour (ICoH).

³⁸ Stern masterplanned Celebration in Florida.

³⁹ Designer of the Italianate/Île-de-France style Place du Toscane at Val d’Europe, Disneyland Paris.

Matthew Hardy states that one of the reasons INTBAU was set up was to create “an umbrella group encompassing urbanism and traditional architecture, which was omitted from the CNU charter. Thus INTBAU was the umbrella under which urbanism, classicism, vernacularism, regionalism, traditional architecture, urban morphology, etc. could all sit.” (M. Hardy, 11 January 2013). Similarly, Hardy suggests that in seeking a rounded idea of the origins of both New Urbanism and neo-traditional architecture one might add the "Francophone situationists" Krier and Culot to the “Dutch structuralism” (of van Eyck and Hertzberger) plus the "Anglo-Saxon empiricism” of Hillier and Lynch and the “Latin Rationalism of Italian urban morphologists (students of Caniggia, Muratori)” (M. Hardy, 11 January 2013).

Following Virag Molnar (2010), the Council for European Urbanism (CEU) institutionalised the concept of the European City as a direct counterpoint to other spatial-cultural units (the American city, the socialist city) and which has come to dominate late 20th century and early 21st century urban thinking⁴⁰. The CEU was established shortly after INTBAU in 2003 in Stockholm (supported by INTBAU who own and manage the CEU’s *Euro-urb* mailing list). The CEU states aims which mirror those of the CNU in the section titled, *What We Believe*. “The Council for European Urbanism believes that European cities, their environs, and countryside are threatened by development trends which cause: waste of natural and cultural resources; social segregation and isolation the expansion of monofunctional uses/

⁴⁰ Matthew Hardy pointed out to me that it had arguably already institutionalised at that point, by things like the 1975 European architectural heritage year and associated *ICOMOS European Charter of the Architectural Heritage* (1975), as well as the Berlin IBA of 1984)” (M. Hardy, 28 April 2015).

single use zones; the loss of local, regional, and national uniqueness and cohesion.” (INTBAU, n.d). The Council for European Urbanism (2003) presented its own Charter titled the *Charter of Stockholm* in 2003 which contains a set of principles that are in keeping with and arguably almost identical to those of the CNU Charter (Arendt et al., 1999).⁴¹ Matthew Hardy, Senior Lecturer in Architecture & Urbanism at the Prince’s Foundation for Building Community describes it as “derived from the CNU charter but with alterations, deletions and additions for a European context.” (M. Hardy, 3 December 2012). As to whether the Prince’s Foundation practice New Urbanism, as the term is understood in the U.S.A, Hank Dittmar, chief executive of the PFBC, reflected in an interview in *Planning* (2006) that [they] are guided by similar principles and strategies as the CNU and are adapting the same technical tools such as codes, pattern books and techniques such as ‘Enquiry by Design‘ which Dittmar compares to the U.S charrette (Dittmar & Sayer, 2006 33).⁴² Dittmar resigned in November 2013 to pursue personal projects according to the Foundation (“Planning guru quits his job” 2014). Matthew Hardy noted to me in personal correspondence “I certainly don't remember the term 'new urbanism' ever being used in the office, under any circumstances.” (M. Hardy, 28 April 2015)

⁴¹ See appendices for full list of Charter of Stockholm principles.

⁴² “I would say that the term works better in the United States than over here, although the techniques, principles, and strategies that guide the Congress for the New Urbanism are similar to those that guide the foundation. I think new urbanism is more important in the States because the country has not seen the same degree of evolution of traditional urbanism in planning practice as here. New urbanism has provided the foundation with a clearly articulated set of tools and techniques for engaging with stakeholders and documenting existing urban patterns. We use many techniques and tools, such as coding, pattern books, and enquiry by design (like a charrette in the U.S.) that are familiar to American planners. We're adapting them for use within the planning system here.” (Dittmar & Sayer, 2006 32-35)

The Prince's Foundation for Building Community has emerged as a powerful and increasingly multi-faceted organisation, strengthened in part by the withdrawal of funding for the Government's own, non-departmental public body for the built environment, the Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment (CABE). CABE – itself the successor to the Royal Fine Art Commission – was established in 1999 as a result of recommendations by the Urban Task Force led by Lord Rogers in 1998 during a Labour Government. CABE has since merged with the Design Council (2011) where its role in Design Review and Localism and Planning is currently under review. This is relevant to the expanded role of The Prince's Foundation for Building Community which has arguably stepped into the void created by CABE's much reduced staffing and subsequently much reduced remit.

Whose Urbanism?

Despite its critics, there remains no formalised opposition to the New Urbanism. No CIAM architects exist to take on the Charter of the New Urbanism—and if they did, they might wish to point out the many similarities between the CNU's self-proclaimed 'anti-modern' manifesto and the Athens Charter (Vanderbeek & Irazabal, 2007). Commonalities identified in both Charters by Vanderbeek and Irazabal (2007) include: importance of region; comprehensive plan; history, preservation, tradition; criticism of contemporary urban approaches; distain for the suburbs and listing the negative externalities of suburbs (44-45). Significant events help to gauge how much relevance or impact architectural and planning movements have had within their own disciplines and the New Urbanism has been the focus of a great many conferences,

debates and symposia between the mid-to-late 1990s and the present day.⁴³ The following study summarises some of the most important events in chronological order and presents two themes that characterise the debates: a reluctance to discuss style and the lack of any formalised, collective opposition in the form of an organisation, group or movement. Within this vacuum there are many critics of New Urbanism, but there is no specific paradigm being referenced, no ultimate figurehead and no collective response either in the form of built work or theory. Very few prominent practitioners are willing to engage in the debate that is put forward by the New Urbanists.

One of the the first major meetings to be organised internally and created to provide an academic critique of the movement's characteristic projects, *The Seaside Debates* symposium took place in 1998 at the prototypical New Urbanist development Seaside in Florida.⁴⁴ A record of the discussions was published by Rizzoli in the eponymous *Seaside Debates* (Bressi & Seaside Institute., 2002). The meeting sought firstly to confront how the movement might better engage with design schools and secondly to perform a 'crit' of selected projects. Despite the limitations of its format (internally organised and therefore self-consciously inward looking) the symposium offered an insight into some of the struggles practitioners face within the movement itself. A distinctive feature of the discussions was the marked reluctance to discuss style, a recurring leitmotif of the New Urban discourse. Judy Di Maio (Bressi &

⁴³ See also CNU conferences; Conference at the University of California Berkeley College of Environmental Design (REF pre 2002, mentioned in *Seaside Debates*) *New Urbanism and Beyond* conference in Stockholm, 2004 which led to the publication of the same name (Haas, 2008).

⁴⁴ Conference organised by the Seaside Institute.

Seaside Institute., 2002), Dean of the School of Architecture and Design, New York Institute of Technology said "I have noticed that issues of design do not come up in the discussion of some of these projects, and nobody really seems to want to talk about formal issues. We have had some comments from Allan, Colin, Robert, and me, but it doesn't provoke anyone into wanting to really talk about it. There is no dialogue." (144)

This reluctance undermines the legitimacy of New Urbanism's preference for neo-traditional architecture and leaves it vulnerable to those who submit that the preference is less to do with *civitas* and more closely related to marketing. *Exploring (New) Urbanism* was held in 1999, the year that the Charter of the New Urbanism was published. The Graduate School of Design at Harvard were sufficiently interested in the movement to host the conference which included a "non-debate" between Andrés Duany and Rem Koolhaas moderated by Harvard's Alex Krieger (Loomis, 1999). Alan Loomis (1999), a delegate at the conference suggested that it may "... perhaps be remembered as the defining moment in late 20th century urbanism". Participating were six of the CNU founders: Peter Calthorpe, Andrés Duany, Elizabeth Moule, Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, Stefanos Polyzoides, and Dan Solomon, as well as a number of their supporters: Robert Davis, Ray Gindroz, Doug Kelbaugh, and Harrison Fraker Jr.⁴⁵ CNU member and architectural blogger Loomis

⁴⁵ The following is provided by delegate at the conference Alan Loomis. "The conference took place in March 1999. Among the participants were the six New Urbanist founders (Peter Calthorpe, Andrés Duany, Elizabeth Moule, Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, Stefanos Polyzoides, and Dan Solomon), a number of their supporters (Robert Davis, Ray Gindroz, Doug Kelbaugh, Harrison Fraker Jr) and long-standing critics (Alex Krieger, Margaret Crawford, John Kaliski), other American urbanists, architects and landscape architects (Michael Sorkin, Michael Pyatok, Rudolfo Machado, George Hargreaves),

(1999) reviewed the conference and noted the apparent vacuum where one might expect a coordinated counter-project to the New Urbanism to be. “In the end, the debate between Andrés and Rem, and also among the New Urbanists and their critics, was nonexistent, and, therefore, inconclusive. New Urbanism won the day, not on the strength of its arguments, but because alternative urbanisms failed to engage the debate”. This links to the movement’s singularity and the perception amongst architectural critics that is not a critical project but rather a brand that co-opts.⁴⁶ *New Urbanism & Beyond* took place in 2004 in Stockholm. This conference was described by Tigran Haas as the “... largest ever gathering (after the famous *Exploring New Urbanism* conference at the Harvard Graduate School of Design in 1999) of what Professor Manuel Castells has called ‘some of the brightest urban minds of today.’” (Tigran Haas, 2008 13). The four-day summer course with conference and debates was held at the Royal Institute of Technology in Stockholm with speakers Andrés Duany, Peter Calthorpe and Jan Ghel. An important outcome was the large format publication with the same name edited by Haas (2008) — a comprehensive examination of the movement with advocates (Christopher Alexander), practitioners (Léon Krier, Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk) and critics (Lars Lerup, Ayssar Arida) as well as analysis from social scientists such as Emily Talen

architectural historians (Robert Fishman, Robert Campbell, K. Michael Hays, George Baird), and a small collection of politicians (New Urbanist Milwaukee mayor John Norquist, Las Vegas mayor Jan Lavery Jones, Tulsa mayor Susan Savage, Oregon congressman Earl Blumenauer).” (Loomis 1999)

⁴⁶ See Loomis (1999) “That a major conference on the urban environment should focus on New Urbanism represents the movement’s most brilliant and disturbing success. In attempting to achieve its evangelical mission of reforming the American City, the movement has not only created an urban agenda of singular clarity, but one that is also necessarily limited and directive. Without an alternative, the singular and limited agenda of The New Urbanism, as it is known by its practitioners, is quickly redefining the possibilities and language of urbanism everywhere by co-opting the very terminology of urbanity.” (Loomis, 1999)

and Saskia Sassen. The absence of a formulated opposition surfaced during the *Michigan Debates On Urbanism* (2005) where the organisers pitched opposing key figures against each other but failed to generate much consensus on who might represent a tangible, critical alternative. The debates, organised by the University of Michigan, were part of a series of three events that were later reproduced as a series of three publications: Margaret Crawford vs. Michael Speaks in *Everyday Urbanism* (Crawford, Speaks, & Mehrotra, 2005), Calthorpe vs. Lars Lerup in *New Urbanism* (Peter Calthorpe, Lerup, & Fishman, 2005), and Peter Eisenman vs. Barbara Littenberg and Steven Peterson in *Post Urbanism & ReUrbanism*, (Strickland et al., 2005).⁴⁷ The urban ‘positions’ that are ascribed to the speakers are mostly unconvincing with some speakers even classifying new urbanisms.⁴⁸ This should be understood in relation to the discourse that developed around Landscape Urbanism surfacing around the turn of the twenty-first century. A critical reaction to neo-traditional planning, landscape urbanism synthesised modernist ideas in an effort to negotiate the complexities of city scale urban planning. Ultimately it has failed to oppose New Urbanism in any significant way and has remained on the outskirts of the populist discourse. This is despite being adopted by elite schools such as Harvard, London’s Architectural Association (AA) and MIT and is due in no small part to its predilection for philosophical obscurantism (Thompson, 2012). For example, and following Thompson (2012), in comparison to the New Urbanist deployment of pictures and simplistic categorisations, an excerpt from the AA’s

⁴⁷ All three studied under the late Colin Rowe (Strickland et al., 2005 3)

⁴⁸ Eisenman describes three urbanisms: “Arcadian”, “Utopian” and “Koolhassian” (Crawford et al., 2005 3)

Landscape Urbanism (Mostafavi, Najle, & Architectural Association, 2003) would be indecipherable to non-experts:

“The physical conditions in the fabric are reduced to a system capable of receiving non-physical determinations through variations in its configuration. Determinations are categorized as informational inputs, then quantified and sedimented in the organization as they are associated one by one to simple parameters of variation in the geometry. A single matrix indexes them in the organization of the river edge.” (Mostafavi et al., in Thompson, 2012 21)

Léon Krier’s invitation to present Poundbury at *Supercrit #6* (2008), a public debate series, is indicative of how important New Urbanism was to contemporary architectural debate in the UK at the time.⁴⁹ Aimed at scrutinising key international projects, and overseen by a panel of invited experts, *Supercrit #6* was the most popular in the series, reportedly superseding previous famous participants Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown, Cedric Price and Rem Koolhaas (Darley, 2008 41).⁵⁰ In the *Architect’s Journal*, Darley (2008) reported that Krier ‘failed to convince’ the assembled audience yet the high profile nature of the event suggests that the architectural establishment agreed that New Urbanism in the UK was worthy of serious discussion (41). Major events preceding 2008, and their subsequent publications, demonstrate that contemporary relevance of the movement was high but arguably not yet influential within the academy. Furthermore, the absence of an organised opposition speaks to the nature of the CNU, which by setting itself up as a reaction to CIAM and the Charter of Athens, locates its debate in a fixed past. The

⁴⁹ Organised in 2008 by the University of Westminster’s Research Centre for Experimental Practice (EXP)

⁵⁰ Experts were Sean Griffiths, Jules Lubbock, Sarah Wigglesworth, Michael Wilford and James Woodhuysen (Darley 2008).

majority of architecture and planning in the post-modern, contemporary age, aided by the majority of design schools in the U.S. A. and the UK, does not define itself by a school of thought. In this way the New Urbanism presents its case to an unwilling status quo with no charter or congress of their own to hinge a meaningful debate on. In Europe the INTBAU and TAG organisations jointly held a symposium with speakers from twelve countries responding to the global economic crisis, called *After the Crisis: Is This a New Era for Traditional Design?* (2011, London).⁵¹ The meeting is significant because it concluded with the drafting of principles (collated and edited by Robert Adam) known as the Queen Square Statement (INTBAU TAG, 2011).⁵²

European Consensus

Principles of the CNU

The Queen Square Statement is important to this thesis because it sets out the European consensus and differentiates its approach from the principles of the CNU. The following close reading of the Queen Square Statement in comparison with the CNU Charter suggests that the six principles in the Queen Square Statement broadly mirror many of the ambitions of the Charter of the New Urbanism:

“Architecture and urban design serve the public. The views of the public should be respected and expert opinion should be moderated by democratic principles. Diversity in architecture and urban design should be encouraged and made freely available for informed public choice.”
(INTBAU TAG, 2011)

⁵¹ International Network for Traditional Building, Architecture and Urbanism and the Traditional Architecture Group

⁵² INTBAU are affiliated with both TAG, The Prince’s Foundation for Building Community and New Urbanism’s theories and practitioners through links to education, professional development, community interventions and via direct links with the Congress of the New Urbanism (CNU). INTBAU’s patron is the Prince of Wales.

The idea that members of the public should participate in the design of the built environment is in parallel with the CNU's 'charrette' processes. The use of the word 'diversity' is used here to denote diversity of style. Both INTBAU and TAG are explicit that in their opinion the public majority favours traditional as opposed to contemporary architecture.

"Architecture and urban design are liberal disciplines. In a liberal discipline different ideologies and principles will coexist and be practised and debated without obstruction or constraint. While adherents of differing ideologies and principles will support their views with passion and vigour, progress will always depend on mutual respect and freedom of practice and expression." (INTBAU TAG, 2011)

The CNU's Charter (Arendt et al., 1999) does not contain a statement like principle number two (2011) which refers to the tension between contemporary and traditional architecture and planning at the highest levels of the profession and within governments in the UK and Europe. This subject was addressed at the symposium by Gabriele Tagliaventi, author of several European New Urbanist publications and papers including *A Vision of Europe* (Gabriele Tagliaventi, O'Connor, & Giorgio, 1992), *The European Transect* (2006) and *From SLAB-urbia to the City* (G. Tagliaventi & Bucci, 2006).

"Architectural and urban design education trains professionals who will serve the public. Education should always be a liberal discipline. Students should be given a full breadth of history, knowledge and practice in all building, architectural and urban design types and principles. Education in architecture and urban design should provide positive support for the pursuit of different design philosophies without obstruction or constraint." (INTBAU TAG, 2011)

Principle three (2011) is similar to the CNU's position on integrating traditional design into architecture school education (and indeed general school curriculum).

However the Charter (Arendt et al., 1999) does not include this directly in any of its 27 principles.

“Identity is fundamental to human society. Identity of place is a key component in the make-up of individual and community identity. Global uniformity is threatening the distinctive identity of local places. Architecture and urban design should support and promote the identity of place for local communities. New buildings and places should be understood by communities as a contribution to their understanding of the identity of their place.” (INTBAU TAG, 2011)

Principles four (above) and five (below) of the Queens Square Statement (2011) are similar to the Charter's (1999) stance on identity in [its] principles 24 and 26 (1999)

“Architecture and landscape design should grow from local climate, topography, history, and building practice” and “All buildings should provide their inhabitants with a clear sense of location, weather and time.” (Arendt et al., 1999). The Charter (1999) similarly privileges the continuity of the regional aesthetic of identity over technological solutions.

“The efficient use of energy, raw materials and water are major challenges for the future of mankind. All avenues of research and understanding should be investigated to this end. These will include scientific, economic and social studies. An understanding of the techniques, practices and living patterns of periods before energy became easily available can make a significant contribution to the advancement of energy conservation today.” (Arendt et al., 1999)

Whereas the Queens Square Statement (2011) in principle 6 is more generalised, where it discusses ‘all sectors of society’ it sits in parallel with the Charter's

preamble to its principles. “The Congress for the New Urbanism views disinvestment in central cities, the spread of placeless sprawl, increasing separation by race and income, environmental deterioration, loss of agricultural lands and wilderness, and the erosion of society’s built heritage as one interrelated community-building challenge.” (Arendt et al., 1999).

In Summary

To summarise how the New Urbanist movement is understood contemporaneously I will synthesise some general observations gleaned from a wide ranging literature review, of which this meta-history is only a small component. Broadly, the early years of New Urbanism were regarded with some suspicion and not a little hysteria in some quarters of the press. These are indicative of a tendency to critique New Urbanism as a false construct, though of course New Urban sub-divisions are arguably no more real or false than myriad other new developments which pivot their marketing on community or employ traditional architectural simulacra to connote heritage and, accordingly, value. Nevertheless falseness or inauthenticity is often used to criticise the movement. In her article *Living With the Fake and Liking It*, Ada Louise Huxtable (1997) situates Umberto Eco’s (1986) earlier ‘spin’ on authenticity within an architectural framework in a way that is useful in separating the duplicity that critics read into New Urbanism from what may be a legitimate attempt to offer a culturally acceptable version of urbanism. Huxtable (1997) cites Eco (1986) saying, “Rather than liking reality or the real thing too little, he says, Americans love it too much. We are obsessed with reality, with the possession of the object, determined to

have it at any cost, in the most immediate and tangible form, unconcerned with authenticity or the loss of historical, cultural or esthetic meaning.” (paragraph 24).

Details such as the bricked-in windows at Poundbury continue to provoke the discourse around neo-traditional planning and architecture as an expression of a past that never existed or a “yuppie infantalist fantasy” (E. Talen, 2008a 278); or as inventing tradition (Arefi, 1999; E. J. Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983; Molnar, 2010; Till, 1993) with the urban quarter or urban village (and cultural values) as historic artefact reconstructed (Maudlin, 2009; Wood, 1991).

When Todd Bressi (1994) wrote his *Cautionary Notes on the New Urban Vision*, he questioned why consensus was missing among developers or the public at large for the New Urban vision. This consensus has largely been achieved in 2014 yet fundamental issues remain. New Urbanist developments are predominantly built on greenfield sites and the movement is reluctant to deal with contemporary and historic sprawl. In *New Urbanism and Beyond* (Haas, 2008), Robert Beauregard (2002) writes, “The point of my essay is to chide New Urbanists and their critics for ceding the suburban ground to private developers. In a country where suburban development prevails, ignoring its design deficiencies is socially and professionally irresponsible. With suburbs spreading globally and one country after another adopting this form of American urbanism, the omission is of even greater concern.” (105). On a positive note, contemporary New Urbanist debate points to growing consensus on transit-orientated development (TODS). Beauregard (2002) describes the appeal of TODS in a short essay within *New Urbanism and Beyond* (Haas, 2008), “The clustering of housing, retail, office activities and even community services around mass transit

stops meets the density and mixed use requirements that both [critics and New Urbanists] consider essential. . . . Transit-Orientated Developments (TODS) also match their shared bias (stronger with critics than New Urbanists) against the automobile. In addition they constitute rudimentary edge cities and therefore bridge the divide between suburban and urban development patterns” (104). Michael Sorkin took part in a debate organised by MoMA in 2012 titled *Foreclosed: Rehousing the American Dream* where he debated New Urbanist Ellen Dunham-Jones. Sorkin says in his essay in the subsequent publication, *Back to the Burbs*, "Ongoing attempts to reconceptualize the suburbs in favour of a pattern of "transit-orientated-developments" are surely on the money and, indeed, seek to repattern suburbanisation along the lines of one of its originary motivators, the streetcar, itself the victim of a conspiracy of automobile and oil company collusion." (Sorkin in Bergdoll & Martin, 2012 58).

A bigger issue remains which is that of community: Can it be created? Who is it for? Is community just another word for ‘good behaviour’? These questions remain topical, along with a growing cynicism among critics that community is not reflected in the policies of advocates within local and national government departments (see Clegg promises ‘garden cities and suburbs’ (G. Parker, 2012).) In *Architect Knows Best*, Simon Richards (2012) asks why the shaping of human behaviour is seldom acknowledged directly in architecture. Richards interviews architect-planners like Krier and Duany and questions the way in which New Urbanism conceals what he interprets as a judgemental stance. In personal correspondence he posits “... it is no less an attempt to shape human behaviour ‘for the better’ ... than the more overt

behavioural determinism that went before with CIAM. ... architect-planners should handle it much more responsibly and be less cagey about it, as basically it involves passing judgment on the ostensibly 'defective' lifestyles of great swathes of the human population." (S. Richards, 6 November 2012). This is a rarely used and powerful word: 'defective' is implicit in the discourse that has for nearly 30 years debated the 'crisis' in society and ways to 'heal' the city. At the same time that the very poorest members of society are encouraged to 'aspire' their way out of poverty to join the middle classes and become homeowners, the post-baby-boomer middle classes are arguably bored with the blandness of the suburban dream they were sold. Community is proffered in place of the privacy that the detached villa with gardens and driveways delivered, with its corresponding isolation from urban amenities. With higher prices, restrictive covenants and private homeowner associations New Urbanist suburbs offer a version of the city with a unique selling point that cannot be bought anywhere else: *civitas*.

How 'place' is theorised in New Urbanist literature is largely informed by historical precedents and patterns and form-based codes are utilised as a 'frame' to create places that are described as coherent and ordered. Critics have claimed that aesthetic codes may inscribe a moral order (K. Al-Hindi & Staddon, 1997). However form-based codes have been eagerly received by government departments with little discussion about the cultural implications (Grant, 2006b). The New Urbanist perception of 'order' and 'disorder' in suburbia has been closely associated with its approach to place. The suburbs represented an aesthetic of disorder in the Charter of the New Urbanism (Arendt et al., 1999). Suburban patterns were not seen as part of

an organic social process, but as an imposed, disjointed problem to be resolved by the reintroduction of the orderly grid of the traditional city plan. “The suburban pattern of alternating strip malls and circuitous street systems may be visually seductive, but they suggest an underlying lack of order, an endlessly repetitive, piecemeal approach to development.” (Bothwell, 1999, 49). The solution to this lack of order has been well documented, but what might be edited out with a New Urbanist approach? I am particularly interested in an area that may be under-investigated which I will refer to as regional specificity.

Regional Specificity

I intend to draw together some of the economic, socio-cultural, political and spatial conditions of places missing from contemporary New Urbanist developments currently being planned and built. This involves the pulling together of often disparate literatures, a methodology which remains largely unattended to in contemporary scholarship on New Urbanism. I use the term regional specificity as a methodological device to frame the silences or *things left out* which were recurrent in my research on New Urbanist theory and practice.

New Urban advocate and urban sociologist David Brain (2005) acknowledges that “... new urbanists have not recognized important social and political implications of their project ...” (27). Very little urban scholarship deals with what effect New Urbanist developments, which advertise themselves as model communities, have on their neighbours in existing settlements. Similarly under examined is the movement’s

paradoxical concern with diversity and affordable housing next to its tacit approval of gentrification (Slater, 2013). Contemporaneously, official New Urban literature continues to be produced with little acknowledgement of the important social and political implications of their project. The tendency for a contextually myopic framing of the city is evident in a recent New Urbanist publication which was advertised as an 'encyclopedia' of urbanism yet its selectivity was explicit. *The Language of Towns and Cities* (Thadani, 2011) featured a six page monograph on Lutyens' New Delhi, but remarkably, no examples of towns or cities that have developed chaotically or which signify disorder in any way. My review of the book made some observations about what I perceived to be missing.

“... the unintentional ‘everyday urbanism’ of New York and Los Angeles, the adaptive architecture of Tijuana and Casablanca, or any mention of Asia and Africa’s rapidly urbanising regions. The book’s highly selective approach to content demonstrated its theoretical and ideological bias; ‘Megacity’ is confined to a 14-word bullet point while ‘Meadow’ occupies a whole page; Postmodernism is missing where sections on ‘Porches’ and ‘Planters’ are included.” (Hunter, 2011 141).

The Language of Towns and Cities (2011) tightly curated vision of what its authors thought urbanism ought to be edits out much of urban history in the process. Why is what is left out so important? I argue that if the publication was presented as a New Urbanist guide to towns and cities it would be a perfectly reasonable editorial decision to include and edit out with impunity. However the publication, like New Urbanism, asks us to understand it in more pluralistic terms; to be apprehended in the

language of the commons — a universalising dichotomy that is also reflected in its approach to development.

The potentially important historical or political detail that is often left unsaid in New Urbanist literature is important to acknowledge. Following Thompson-Fawcett and Bond (2003) “They hide important silences and absences within their illusory unity” (2003 155) and furthermore,

“The discourses associated with neo-traditional urbanism are undeniably disjointed and subject to divergent explanations by the discursive communities that operate within them. Nevertheless, clearly discernible discourses with powerful influence exist. To a significant extent, that influence is achieved by the discursive communities setting out and consciously representing their ideology within text, plans and tangible urban design. In this way, traditionally oriented urbanists can manipulate the representation of urbanisation issues and even universalise meaning for others. This control is closely linked to notions of social power that can be institutionalised in such codes as masterplans and community management systems. The protagonists attempt to produce a hegemonic treatise, albeit resisted or only selectively sanctioned. Such treatises are not ingenuous. There is always an agenda associated with them, often linked to the material interests of those involved.” (M. Thompson-Fawcett & Bond, 2003 155)

Silence in place of regional specificity is evident in a publication that is highly significant to our understanding of the origins of the European chapter of emerging New Urbanism. *A Vision of Europe* (Gabriele Tagliaventi, O'Connor, & Giorgio, 1992) presents some international competition entries for the site of Warsaw's Palace of Science and Culture. The first image is a photograph with the caption “View of Stare Miasto (old town square) Warsaw” (139). The photograph is undated but it looks like a contemporaneous [to publication date] photograph of an old European

square. The caption and text leave unsaid the fact that ‘Stare Miasto’ is a painstaking postwar reconstruction of the original 17th century square, produced almost as one single unit in the late 1940s after its almost total obliteration during the Warsaw Uprising in World War II.⁵³ The book section introducing competition entries selected for *A Vision of Europe* (1992 139-143) also leaves unsaid the status of the Palace of Science and Culture — which is described benignly as “a gift from Joseph Stalin to the Polish Nation”. The building, also known as ‘Stalin’s Finger’, is, of course, a deeply contentious, imposed icon onto Warsaw’s urban fabric, interpreted by many as a symbol of Soviet oppression (Dorrian, 2010 98).⁵⁴ The ‘successful regeneration of the city core’ that is described, in optimistic terms in *A Vision of Europe* leaves unsaid a detail from the aerial photograph given of the competition site. The photo features prominently the former parade ground of the Warsaw Pact armed forces where tanks, soldiers and political rallies were once part of the recent historical spatial past. Following the collapse of communism the site functioned as an ad hoc marketplace/bazaar. It is not at all demonstrable from the entries that the designers engaged explicitly with these disruptive aspects of the site. G. Tagliaventi, L. O’Connor, and L. Guardigli present a masterplan and axiometric view that depicts the Palace of Culture decapitated, with the upper tower and spire replaced with a neo-roman pitched roof (1992 141). Altuna, J.P. Garric, V. Negre, and M.L. Petit present a similar masterplan that retains a permanent marketplace, a department store, stock-exchange and offices, an intact Palace of Culture and high density,

⁵³ Partly using paintings by Bernardo Bellotto

⁵⁴ Described by Mark Dorrian as “... the contemporary city’s most unrelenting and difficult physical inheritance.” (2010, 87).

mixed-use blocks with courtyards (1992 142). P. Choynowski & E. Collet present a tightly arranged grouping of courtyard housing blocks and buildings set aside for leisure/work/prayer including a theatre, chapel, a business sport centre, a hotel, a bank and a stock-exchange (1992 143). The contextual point is that the reconstruction of the town square took place from 1945 onwards, the Palace of Science and Culture opened in 1955, the fall of communism leading to the unofficial 'change-of-use' from military parade ground to black-market bazaar took place in 1989. These are all within living memory; part of a lived experience of Warsaw's urban history, yet the publication presents a sanitised, reductive reading of the city. The photographs selected together with their lack of chronological/historical data edits out Warsaw's convulsive past. The selected propositions advocate a programme that features a stock-exchange and a department store on a site whose nineteenth century fabric was flattened because it was "representative of the oppressive class structure of capitalism" (Elzanowski, 2010 74). My term *regional specificity*, attempts to shine a light under areas of New Urbanist theory and practice that erase specificity in favour of homogenisation while claiming to revive regional place histories with traditional typologies and morphologies.

By definition, *Regional Specificity* is different from *Critical Regionalism*, the latter term was firstly employed in Tzonis and Lefaivre's seminal text *The Grid and the Pathway* (1981) to reevaluate architecture through the lens of the region. They were taking forward Lewis Mumford's call in the late 1940s, via his regular *Skyline* column, for a rethinking of modern architecture apropos of the increasingly mechanical international style. (Lefaivre & Tzonis, 2003 20). Later, Kenneth

Frampton (1983) would employ the term slightly differently to describe an approach that moves away from scenography towards an (so-called) authentic architecture that intrinsically values place. For Frampton, architecture must resist the homogeneity produced by globalisation and technology. In *Prospects for a Critical Regionalism* Frampton (1983) cites from Lefaivre and Tzonis (1981) and quotes Paul Ricour (1961) extensively to connect architecture with the conundrum of contemporary, global urbanisation:

“That is the paradox: how to become modern and to return to sources; how to revive an old dormant civilization and take part in universal civilization...” (Ricour in Frampton 1983 471)

Regardless of how tempting it is to imagine that *Critical Regionalism* achieves this, following Keith Eggener (2002), arguably it fails to be what Frampton claims; that is a procedure or a unique process rather than a style. The limitations of the concept are presented in *Placing Resistance: A Critique of Critical Regionalism*. In it, Eggener argues that as a concept, critical regionalism “sought to be both general and particular” and “ended by reinforcing the former at the expense of the latter; that is, it became a general theory of the particular.” (235) On examination Eggener’s critique is relevant to my definition of *Regional Specificity* which calls for a comprehensive and pluralistic audit of local architecture and social conditions. It is worth further definition here in order to demonstrate that my issue with the propositions in *A Vision of Europe* is not based on an assumption that one particular history of the site in Warsaw is more authentic than another, it is a call for a complexity that is derived from specifics as opposed to convenient tropes. A question that corresponds with this

is also in Eggener's (2002) paper, he summons historian Ella Shohat's important question regarding identity (regional or otherwise), she asks "who is mobilizing what in the articulation of the past, developing what identities, identifications and representations, and in the name of what political vision and goals?" (231)

Scottish Independence

As Scotland positions itself as a country that should be understood as independent from the rest of the UK, if not wholly politically, certainly culturally, one might expect an architecture policy which confronts a universalising architecture with a degree of regional specificity. On March 21st 2013, Scotland's First Minister announced that a referendum on Scottish independence would take place the following year on the 18th of September. The latest policy on architecture, the first to be backed by the Scottish Nationalist Party (SNP), was published by the Scottish Government on the 21st of June—only weeks after the UK government's (Conservative) Culture Minister Ed Vaizey had publicly appointed Sir Terry Farrell to lead a UK wide review of architecture and the built environment (Fulcher, 2012). As I propose in the introduction to the thesis, New Urbanism does not pay attention to the complexities of the recent spatial-social history of places and adds to the semantic confusion of new places generally.

If we are drawn to an approach that is able to process conflict, a critical urbanism that following Lefaivre & Tzonis (2003), "... recognizes the value of the identity of a physical, social and cultural situation, rather than mindlessly imposing narcissistic

formulas ...” (11) then a national architecture policy must embrace risk; give wide-ranging freedoms to architects; simplify and democratise public procurement and endorse intelligent and sustainable design. In the following review (Chapter 3) I suggest that of the Scottish Government’s successive policy statements since 1999, official support for and promotion of New Urbanist developments in Scotland have been demonstrated alongside the implementation of New Urbanist theory applied to planning and architecture. I argue that the government’s recent focus on place and community is a delimited one that belies its economic imperative which places the highest priority on growth. Place and community are activated inside a discourse where the topic of growth is loaded with social and political obstacles (NIMBYism, environmentalists, campaigners for land reform) in order to help diffuse opposition.

My research on New Urbanism in Scotland is concordant with accounts from planning theorists who have found that the movement serves the interests of power (Grant, 2006a, 2006b; Kenny & Zimmerman, 2004; P Marcuse, 2000). Grant (2006b) writes “Its practitioners communicate through an elitist discourse that disempowers and coopts community members. Its promotion of universal principles facilitates globalization and standardization.” (225). I posit that government support — both explicit support in form of funding and advocacy and implicit support in the form of granting planning permission — for three New Urbanist developments, including the two new towns Tornagrain and Chapelton, indicates institutional preference for growth over social equity. Importantly, this results in the subordination of all regional cultures to one profitable regime (Zukin, 2012).

The following section examines the architecture policy statements that have been issued since 1999 and the emergence of New Urbanist theory applied within Scottish architecture policy which is manifested in a deepening neo-traditionalism, a belief in universal principles and an uncritical acceptance of the power of spatial design to solve social problems.

Chapter 3. The Uptake of New Urbanism in Scottish Architecture & Planning Policy

Now that I have dealt with a variety of international themes, my focus narrows to Scotland. In the following chapter I demonstrate the effects of New Urbanist theory on the constitution and mediation of architectural procedures in Scotland. Small but significant changes in Scotland's conceptualisation of its urban and suburban development are manifest in changes in language and terminology, especially the use of community, place and 'place-making'; built form — in particular, what has actually been built with government support; policy documents which evolve post-devolution into more prescriptive documents; and finally, significant events or moments in the urban discourse where elected or public officials lend support to or participate in a particular ideological approach. In isolation these can appear to be minor events, but to the interdisciplinary urban scholar, when combined, they converge and radiate out into the broader urban sphere underpinning at times both political agendas and private interests. This chapter examines events, masterplans, places and documents using qualitative methods that are receptive to representations — figurative and discursive — which include archival research, discourse analysis and correspondence with relevant agencies and individuals. Within this interpretative framework the effect that New Urbanist theory has had on the constitution of and the mediation of architectural procedures in Scotland is explored and defined.

I suggest that an emerging interest in, and subsequent adoption of New Urbanism into Scotland's architecture policy is indicated by official policy documents

published from 1999 onwards by successive Scottish governments. I will demonstrate that in the ten years since the launch of the first official architecture policy, two devolved governments and the senior civil servants advising them produced and promoted an increasingly New Urbanist approach. A de-emphasis on architecture in parallel with an emphasis on sustainability emerged. Commentators have noted that government sustainability agendas commonly remain unquantified (Guest, 2009). Successive policy documents and PANs (Planning Advice Notes) have presented undefined objectives and employed a strategic vocabulary employing the terms: community, traditional, placemaking, context, identity and coherence (Scotland. Scottish Executive., 1999; Scotland. Scottish Executive. Development Department., 2003a, 2003b, 2005a, 2005b, 2006; Scottish Executive, 2001a, 2001b; Scottish Government, 2010b). The most striking aspects of a New Urbanist influence can be seen in imagery employed by official documents which reproduce masterplans, design statements and examples of neo-traditional developments such as Poundbury. A number of significant junctures point to government support for New Urbanism. Financial and procedural support for New Urbanist developments such as Knockroon and Tornagrain as part of the Scottish Sustainable Communities Initiative (SSCI) is a key indicator. Additionally, public advocacy linking decision makers to key figures in New Urbanist practice has been consistently recorded. Ministerial and councillor study trips to Rennplatz (Figure 30) in Bavaria (2002) and Poundbury in Dorchester in (2009) indicate significant interest in neo-traditional themes in planning and architecture.

Advocacy and Policy Mobility

In 2006, the Chief Planner for Scotland, Jim Mackinnon, gave an enthusiastic opening address to a New Urbanist charrette led by Andrés Duany which prefigured the proposed neo-traditional town for 10,000 residents near Inverness known as Tornagrain (Lewis, 2006). An event titled ‘Drawing Places’ (April 2013) organised by The Scottish Government and The Prince's Foundation For Building Community brought local authority planners, engineers and development control officers together alongside the Prince of Wales and Scottish Minister for Planning and Local Government, Derek McKay. The group convened at Dumfries House for presentations followed by a guided tour of Knockroon. The dominant social science literature on *policy transfer* (McCann, 2011) acknowledges the agency of national policymaking elites who “import innovatory policy developed elsewhere in the belief that it will be similarly successful in a different context” (Stone 1999 in McCann, 2011 110). The political actors engaged in policy transfer includes: elected officials, political parties, civil servants, transnational corporations, pressure groups, policy entrepreneurs or experts as well as what Stone (2004) identifies as key agents including: think-tanks, research institutes, consultancy firms, and philanthropic foundations (McCann 2011, 111). It is clear that the component actors necessary to enact policy transfer are in place in the context of New Urbanism in Scotland: the combination of Duany Plater-Zyberk (DPZ) & Urban Design Associates (UDA) — both private consultancies; The Prince’s Foundation for Building Community — presented as a more philanthropic foundation; the Scottish Government’s ministers

and civil servants within the department of Planning, and its Architecture and Place division; various local and regional council bureaucrats and individuals at schools of architecture and planning who organise conferences and lectures. Jim Mackinnon, who pioneered the Scottish Sustainable Communities Initiative, retired from the Scottish Government in 2012 and now serves as a trustee on the Prince's Foundation for Building Community board (The Prince's Foundation for Building Community, 2014).

Scotland's Ambiguous Urbanism

Though New Urbanism has pervaded the discourse on planning and architecture in Scotland, it occupies an ambiguous position. Despite competing urban visions, New Urbanism has successfully established itself within an official construction of Scotland's post-devolution built landscape despite public officials rarely explicitly voicing support. This contrasts sharply with the way that New Urbanism, in the form of the CNU, formally and very publicly aligned with the US federal government in the form of the HOPE VI urban renewal programme. HOPE VI distributed over \$5 billion to over 100 local housing authorities across the country, resulting in the demolition of approximately 140,000 public housing units nationally (Elliott, Gotham, & Milligan, 2004 375). To understand the success of the New Urbanist project in Scotland alongside its relative anonymity, it is useful to treat New Urbanism as a discursive object with overlapping and sometimes competing objectives. Historically, discourses associated with neo-traditional urbanism have been extremely polarised as I have described in Chapter 2 of this thesis. I return to

Thompson-Fawcett and Bond's (2003) paper *Urbanist Intentions for the Built Landscape* where they describe the discourse as

“... undeniably disjointed and subject to divergent explanations by the discursive communities that operate within them. Nevertheless, clearly discernible discourses with powerful influence exist. To a significant extent, that influence is achieved by the discursive communities setting out and consciously representing their ideology within text, plans and tangible urban design.” (155).

I argue that the adoption of the New Urbanist charrette, which predominantly produces neo-traditional urbanism, by the Scottish Government is indicative of the kind of setting out of a particular ideology that Thompson-Fawcett and Bond (2003) describe. In Scotland the principles of New Urbanism are employed by various actors in different ways, often as a political opportunity, following Elliott et al., (2004) to “adopt and espouse selective new urbanist themes and imagery to construct and advance divergent visions of *what urban space ought to be*.” (my emphasis) (Elliott et al., 2004 373).

In a Scottish context this seemingly straightforward move towards neo-traditional planning and architecture can be interpreted as an extension of an impulse that is felt UK-wide. On the other hand it can be apprehended as “design by regulation”; a direct result of how, following Daniel Maudlin “... in an increasingly globalized world, national governments appropriate vernacular building traditions to support national identity-building political agendas. (Maudlin, 2009 51). I argue that the emergent New Urbanism is representative of a widely felt longing for a sense of

community perceived to be lacking aligned with the privileging of upper middle-class tastes and lifestyles which are held as the dominant representation of cultural life (S. Zukin, 2009 546). Simultaneously, a move towards neo-traditional planning and architecture it is also a politically sanctioned strategy for economic growth that often prioritises growth over sustainability.

I rehearse a chief concern raised by other scholars, but in a Scottish context: Jill Grant (2006a) writes:

“The urban lifestyle that new urbanism idealizes through its principles proves almost impossible to realize through the application of those principles, except for a small urban elite in a few choice locations.”
(Urban / suburban, paragraph 5)

To date, New Urbanist towns or urban villages in Scotland are primarily being developed by wealthy landowners on farmland. These include the Prince of Wales (Knockroon), the Earl of Moray (Tornagrain) and most recently, the new town Chapelton — Scotland’s largest new settlement for a generation — is being built near Aberdeen by the Earl of Southesk, using land owned by his father, the Duke of Fife.

In addition to Scotland’s New Urbanist developments in and of themselves, I am interested in the apparatus being employed to generate New Urbanism in Scotland, particularly the use of charrettes, design codes and documents such as the Prince’s Foundation for Building Community’s *Register of Typologies* and subsequent *Design*

Codes. These procedures promise on the one hand to democratise the planning process for citizens and on the other to tighten control of design elements to produce and reproduce specific typologies. Following Fawcett-Thompson and Bond (2003) “... traditionally oriented urbanists can manipulate the representation of urbanisation issues and even universalise meaning for others. This control is closely linked to notions of social power that can be institutionalised in such codes as masterplans and community management systems.” (155). The importance in this context of the government’s Charrette Mainstreaming Programme becomes heightened since its agenda – to enlarge public participation in the planning system – is undermined by its dependence and privileging of expert opinion.

At the time of writing (2014) Scotland’s first built example of New Urbanism (Knockroon phases 1 and 2) has welcomed its first residents. Two further, much larger New Urbanist new towns, Tornagrain⁵⁵ (10,000 residents) and Chapelton, (whose long-term masterplan includes seven neighbourhoods creating the potential for up to 8,000 homes) have won planning permission and Chapelton began construction in 2014. Other sites in Scotland earmarked for New Urbanist developments that are being developed by the Prince’s Foundation are: Ballater — an extension of 250 homes within the Cairngorms National Park approximately 40 miles east of Aberdeen; Cove, located on the south-east edge of Aberdeen, is a suburban retro-fit project, the plans comprise 737 new homes and 1525 square

⁵⁵ Tornagrain has been designed by Andrés Duany of Duany Plater-Zyberk & Company (DPZ) the developer is Moray Estates Development Company Ltd. The plans (which have received planning permission) are for a new town at Tornagrain, mid-way between Inverness and Nairn, and close to Inverness Airport. The town, when complete, is expected to be home to 10,000 people.

metres of commercial and retail space. At Ellon, North Aberdeenshire, a masterplan and pattern book have been created and the first phase of 250 homes is under construction (Figures 33 & 34). At Nairn, a seaside village east of Inverness, a first phase planning application is being considered. Projects at Ellon, Cove and Nairn are led by partnerships between Urban Design Associates (UDA) — the US based practice who designed one of the earliest developments for Disney, *Celebration* in Orlando, Florida — and the Prince's Foundation for Building Community. In Edinburgh Andrés Duany and his practice have overseen the masterplan for Edinburgh's Garden District as well as the Grandhome and Chapelton developments in Aberdeenshire. This underlines that although one can identify two distinct strands of New Urbanism in Scotland, they quickly converge making the distinction between a European and a US approach harder to pinpoint. It may be too early to predict what effect neo-traditional procedures may have on Scotland's built environment and whether or not this approach might come to dominate future developments. However it is time to interrogate the various mechanisms in place which have produced the contemporary New Urbanist landscape in Scotland and ask 'Why New Urbanism? Why now?'

Setting and Data

The following section presents close readings of the key Scottish policy documents alongside a discourse analysis of media reports and statements made by public officials. I introduce the government's *Scottish Sustainable Communities Initiative* (SSCI) (2008), the *SSCI Charrette Series* (March 2010) and the subsequent enactment of the official *Charrette Mainstreaming Programme* (2011- 2012).

The Two Strands of New Urbanism in Scotland

Scottish New Urbanism, as advocated by government policies, could be understood as a more diffuse New Urbanism, however the reality of the two forces of New Urbanist practice in Scotland reveals that there are two strands, both partially supported by government and private landowners or developers. This binary would benefit from a deconstruction that illuminates the differences and similarities between the two categories. Accordingly, two site studies position the two strands vis-à-vis one another later in the thesis: Chapters 5 and 6 examine Knockroon and Chapelton for this purpose. Generally speaking, there are two distinct variations of New Urbanism operating in Scotland. The first is led by the Prince's Foundation for Building Community, a UK organisation, the second is an imported version from the US with many shared objectives—typically led by Duany Plater-Zyberk (DPZ). The Scottish Government has been linked to both.

Organisation and Methodology

Firstly, I review of Scotland's architecture and planning policy in order to posit the development of a New Urbanist approach. Scotland's urban policies are organised in this section in a sequence from 1999 onwards that charts how Scottish architecture and planning policy has increasingly been shaped by a New Urbanist design language. Despite a lack of explicit advocacy for New Urbanist principles, in particular with reference to the neo-traditional architecture typically employed by the

movement, successive policy documents progressively emphasise a New Urban approach. This chapter analyses photography, design language, diagrams and theory, paying close attention (as in chapter 2) to 'community' and 'place' within official discourse. The aim is to demonstrate which aspects of New Urbanist theory are important to Scottish policy.

Mapping the post-devolution architecture policy

Foregrounding Scotland's first policy on architecture in 1999 was the first meeting of the devolved Scottish Parliament. It took place at the General Assembly Hall of the Church of Scotland, not the custom-built but heavily delayed Scottish Parliament building designed by Enric Miralles that would eventually open to fanfare and controversy in equal parts in 2004. The late opening of the first Scottish Parliament Building may have diminished confidence in the public sector's ability to produce major infrastructural projects, however Scotland was optimistically responding to the status conferred on it by devolution and its reconfigured political role. In 1999 Glasgow had been designated *UK City of Architecture and Design*; the accolade came nine years after the city had been designated *European City of Culture* by the European Union. That marked a milestone in Glasgow's efforts to negotiate with its post-industrial heritage and amalgamate with the western world's focus on inner-city revitalisation; as Elliot Tretter observed in 2009, "Glasgow is a primary example of an industrial city that has reinvented itself through the exploitation of its cultural resources, and its experience continues to be held up as a significant symbol of

success throughout the professional literature on urban renewal. (113).⁵⁶ Scotland's public officials were arguably highly cognisant of what Robins (1991) called "The importance of place-marketing in placeless times (in Urry, 1995 41). Indeed planning historian Cliff Hague describes Glasgow's *Miles Better* campaign as the "foremost piece of municipal image building" in the 1980s (Hague et al., 1990 291).⁵⁷

In 1999 The Lighthouse opened. *Scotland's Centre for Architecture, Design and the City* was the first of its kind in Scotland and a significant achievement.⁵⁸ The building was a conversion by Page/Park Architects of a former newspaper building designed by Charles Rennie Mackintosh (1895). The Lighthouse opened to the public in the same year that Daniel Liebskind's Jewish Museum and Norman Foster's Reichstag were reopened in Berlin; while in the UK the Millennium Dome designed by Richard Rogers and London's Jubilee Line Extension were both completed in time for millennium celebrations. Scotland's first architecture centre was a highly optimistic symbol of an emerging self-confidence borne out by the Scottish Executive publication of that year titled *The development of a policy on architecture for Scotland* (1999). This important precursor to Scotland's first

⁵⁶ Throughout the late 1970s and 1980s the Scottish Development Agency (SDA) pioneered a dynamic (and radical in political and economic terms) urban regeneration programme; the best known output of which was GEAR (Glasgow Eastern Area Renewal). The SDA managed to survive Thatcherite pushes for centralising planning but was eventually killed off in 1991 when the newly merged SDA and Highlands and Islands Development Agency were merged with the Training Agency to create the woefully incapacitated Scottish Enterprise (Hague, Montgomery, & Thornley, 1990 295- 296).

⁵⁷ Rightfully given credibility by GEAR, the Garden Festival and its community based housing associations. (Hague et al., 1990)

⁵⁸ The Lighthouse Trust went into administration in 2009 and is now under the control of Development & Regeneration Services (DRS) within Glasgow City Council. A+DS run a programme of exhibitions and events with a much reduced remit and staff. The name was changed to omit 'the City' from the title and is now The Lighthouse Scotland's Centre for Architecture and Design.

architecture policy was ultimately ambiguous, vague in places and a tangible example of Scotland's lack of confidence when discussing architecture.⁵⁹

According to Dr Stuart MacDonald, founding director of The Lighthouse, the development of an architecture policy “was well in hand from the advent of devolution in 1999, coterminous with the opening of the Lighthouse.” (S. MacDonald, 10 February, 2013). The historical background from which the architecture policy was emerging from had been discussed by some commentators in terms of a vacuum where a policy might be expected; the Architect's Journal (1994) reported in the article: *Scotland's Vanishing Architecture Policy* that the Scottish Arts Council's attempt to improve its architectural influence had been unsuccessful “... despite the promotion of architecture as an important part of their civic marketing by such cities as Edinburgh and Glasgow.” It continued, “A report on a policy for Scottish architecture submitted in 1993, which suggested the creation of a new, ultimately independent agency to promote discussion of and education in architecture, has not been further discussed.” (Matheou, 1994 11). The idea that Scotland should have its own specific architecture policy—linked to culture and tourism—was arguably felt to be overdue. However, what differentiated Scotland's ambitions for architecture from what had existed previously? Despite the vacuum where a policy, or an outline of a policy, may have been, is there precedence for a turn towards neo-traditional urbanism?

⁵⁹ I worked at The Lighthouse from 2004 until 2008 curating public programmes of design and architecture. I found Scottish Government officials involved in funding the centre's activities to be controlling; micro-managing the most trivial of matters. Civil servants exhibited a hyper-cautious attitude to public facing projects and fear of failure manifested itself in the way funding was allocated.

During the first decade of devolution Scotland was governed by a (new) New Labour–Liberal Democratic coalition. Following Lloyd and Peel (2009) the coalition experience in Scotland may have carried with it some of the “... prevailing and dominant political and economic ideas associated broadly with New Labour in Westminster” (106). This is borne out in the earliest Scottish documents which do not differ substantially from the central UK government's influential Urban Design Task Force report. The conclusions drawn by *Towards an Urban Renaissance* (Urban Task Force. & Rogers, 1999) were virtually indistinguishable from those in the CNU's Charter, advocating design led regeneration and public participation in planning. New Labour's deputy prime minister, John Prescott later (in 2002) fully endorsed the New Urbanism at an ‘Urban Summit’ in Birmingham stating the need for the UK to begin,

“[...] defining a new vision of what we mean by sustainable communities – what the Americans call “New Urbanism”. (Michelle Thompson-Fawcett, 2003a 265)

Prescott's speech used terms such as ‘Home Zones’ and ‘sustainable communities’ and also said “I want to see town planners developing a new school of thought on sustainable communities, working with the architects, the developers, the builders and the local community to inspire and motivating people in a way they've not done before.” (Society Guardian, 2002). This vision was shared by the Scottish Government which has not veered from these principles since devolution.

The publication of *The development of a policy on architecture for Scotland* (Scotland. Scottish Executive., 1999) with its front cover featuring Miralles' designs for the new Parliament, was an important procedural milestone in the process of Scotland positioning herself within a new cultural landscape where the idea that every region must have its own "vision" had become increasingly dominant (M. G. Lloyd & Peel, 2005 41). In *City-visions: visioning and delivering Scotland's economic future* Peel and Lloyd (2005) summarise neatly the Urban Design task Force report and the origins of the visionary rhetoric we have since become accustomed and which has become increasingly prevalent since the mid- 1980s

“[...] the mission statement of the Urban Task Force was to ‘establish a new vision for urban regeneration’ (DETR, 1999). Its Final Report bemoaned the ‘short-term vision’ of the industrial city with its continuing slums and pollution problems and explained how the ‘visionaries’ of the 19th and 20th centuries sought to enable society to escape from the cities. The Report noted how a number of authors have promoted the ‘romantic vision of a lost pre-industrial order and innocence, which still affects attitudes towards our towns and cities today’ (DETR, 1999, p. 26). In the introduction to the Urban Task Force Report, Lord Rogers stated: ‘We need a vision that will drive the urban renaissance’ (DETR, 1999, p. 8). (M. G. Lloyd & Peel, 2005 41).

Scotland's urban vision rehearsed much of the ideas surrounding 'lost order' that the Urban Task Force Report (1999) had established. At the outset *The development of a policy on architecture for Scotland* (1999) framed Scotland's first architecture policy within a therapeutic, restorative discourse highly concerned with 'community' and 'civic pride' (two terms that are arguably flattened to become the term *civitas* by

New Urbanists)⁶⁰. The introduction by Rhona Brankin MSP, Deputy Minister for Culture and Sport, told readers that:

“[...] arts and culture have a central role to play in shaping a sense of community and civic pride in the new Scotland. [...] it is the purpose of architecture not only to meet the most basic of our practical needs but also to respond to the social and cultural values to which we as a nation aspire.” (Scotland. Scottish Executive., 1999 1)

The new government was not only developing its first ever national policy on architecture, it was articulating the social and cultural and even economic ambitions which architecture was expected to contribute to in the ‘new Scotland’. *The development of a policy on architecture for Scotland* (1999) began with an introduction which discussed symbolic needs, “... such as the need to express a sense of cultural and national identity in our civic buildings” and referred to the interconnected relationships within the urban realm saying,

“Just as buildings can bring order, meaning and value to our activities as individuals, so our collective existence is made more or less humane by the physical quality of our urban and rural environments.” (Scotland. Scottish Executive., 1999 2).

The emphasis on order and the assignation of ‘humane’ to conceptualise the built environment is synonymous with a New Urbanist ideology; as is the statement, “Good architecture affirms regional and national identity and enriches our culture” (Scotland. Scottish Executive., 1999 5). The document looks to historic examples for inspiration, “The buildings of Scotland’s cities, towns and villages and countryside

⁶⁰ Please find my explanation of how to understand the New Urbanist use of *civitas* on page 38

are a testament to the skills and imagination that our forbears brought to solving the problems of living” and describes the aspects of contemporary Scottish architecture that were said to be lacking, “many new buildings are monotonous, spiritless in design and do not relate to their surroundings.” (5). It goes on to describe some urban environments as “anonymous and placeless” and describes much of the recent housing stock as “of mediocre and indifferent design quality” and planned without regard for the “urban traditions and landscapes of Scotland.” (05). It would be difficult to find many people, whom upon evaluating Scottish architecture and urbanism in 1999, would have delivered assessments that differed much with the above, however the purpose of this analysis is to look for patterns that relate to the rapidly progressing New Urbanist project being led by the CNU in the US and the more incremental project being led by the Prince of Wales in the UK. This analysis looks for silences in texts as well as where emphasis is placed and seeks to chart a map of the ideological and contextual terrain.

Many of the same ingredients present in the Charter of the new urbanism (Arendt et al., 1999) are visible in the Scottish Government’s first policy document of the same year. This is likely to represent a shared set of concerns being felt internationally in response to the impact of neo-liberal capitalism on the built environment which produced de-industrialisation, suburban sprawl, Big Box retail and the demise of the traditional high street. Modernism and Post-Modernism had helped to produce the patchwork that was the late 20th century Scottish city, and all of its attendant anxieties. 1999 was also the year that the *Exploring (New) Urbanism* conference was held by the Graduate School of Design at Harvard. In this way one can position the

1999 document *The development of a policy on architecture for Scotland* within a wider debate that was increasingly concerned with (western) urbanism.

A Perception of Placelessness

The development of a policy on architecture for Scotland (1999) employs the same rhetoric (12) about “timeless human values” and “timeless qualities of culture and community” found in the Charter of the new urbanism (1999); Léon Krier’s *Architecture Choice or Fate?* (1998); and the earlier *A Vision of Europe* (Tagliaventi et al., 1992). It is similarly preoccupied with ‘continuity’ and ‘harmony’ and advocates a return to Scotland’s traditional built heritage stating

“A sense of place, of regionality, has un-selfconsciously and effortlessly been an important part of our architectural past.” (Scotland. Scottish Executive., 1999 12).

The development of a policy on architecture for Scotland (1999) asks “How can we ensure that we get good architecture?” (06). It dismisses singular solutions, rejecting “arcane theory” and “stylistic dogma” but remains opaque about any particular movement or paradigm, leaving the question of whether or not modernist architecture is being critiqued hovering uncertainly (06). The document moves to connect earlier statements about placelessness with the modern movement saying,

“Theories of architecture have argued for a disassociation from the forms and values of the past ... The harmony that has built up over time between buildings and their setting has often been eroded and replaced by a dislocated architecture that looks the same wherever it is built. Such an architecture both debases and devalues our culture.” (Scotland. Scottish Executive., 1999 12).

In the foreword to the Charter for the new urbanism (1999) which describes the debates and discussions that foregrounded the formation of the Congress for the New Urbanism (CNU) in 1993, ‘place’ enters into the discussion firstly by way of the term “placelessness” (Poticha, 1999 1). Placelessness is not elaborated on or defined descriptively, but it is mentioned in the context of modern suburbs and “... zoning codes that produce an ugly sameness to permeate all communities regardless of regional climates and traditions.” (1). The implication is that ‘placelessness’ is linked to homogeneity of typology.

The “narrative of loss” that permeates a discourse around community decline and the built environment. What ties all of the above together ideologically is the assumption that disruptions and changes in the built environment are directly linked to a failure of community. Scottish policy at the outset settled on a commonly asserted end-of-the century view, which held that a crisis existed in both the inner city and the outer suburbs. A narrative of loss characterised the discourse on place and community (Arefi, 1999 179). Some urban scholars describe loss of community being perceived as near continuous since the 1960s (Brain, 2005) and “... a fundamental characteristic of the modern industrial age.” (Rutheiser, 1997 129). CNU member James Howard Kunstler made his provocative views on place and community

popular with the publication of *The Geography of Nowhere* (1994) saying “[...] we did away with the public realm, and with nothing left but private life in our private homes and private cars, we wonder what happened to the spirit of community. We created a landscape of scary places and became a nation of scary people.” (273). Kunstler (1994) omits to engage with either the politics of place or the darker side of communitarian spirit that, following David Harvey (1997) is deeply connected to social oppression and repression. Harvey (1997) addresses the need to “understand urbanization as a group of fluid processes in a dialectical relation to the spatial forms to which they give rise and which in turn contain them. A utopianism of process looks very different from a utopianism of spatial form.” (3). Similarly, in *Communities of Dread* Simon Richards (2003) problematises the expert opinion of the planner and policy maker who, when their conceptualisation of community is primarily spatial rather than social, can diagnose whole communities as “unsuccessful” (115). Richards credits David Riesman (in *The Lonely Crowd*, 1950) as being among the first urban sociologists to criticise the hypocrisy of the “neo-traditionalists' and city planners railing against 'urban anomie’”. Reisman (1950) noted that despite the own relative mobility and urbanity the officials and elites sought to delimit the suburban resident, even to “freeze them into communities in which friendship will be based largely on propinquity ... ” (S. Richards, 2003, in Menin, ed. 114).

Following Thomas J St Antoine (2007) rhetorical scholars link loss of a sense of place with a loss of citizenship “... and have despaired over the disconnection between our discourse and our material communities and circumstances.” (129).

However social and urban historians dispute such assumptions with strong evidence. Becky Nicolaides (2008) is an acclaimed academic with a focus on suburban histories; despite noting that she'd like to live in a New Urbanist development some day, Nicolaides has studied links between suburbia's social damage and design and remains sceptical that a spatial fix can solve the perceived problem of community decline (17). Her analysis of the studies of William H. Whyte Jr's *The Organization Man* (1956) and Mary Pat Baumgartner's *The Moral Order of a Suburb* (1988) charts three generations of suburban life and notes that broadly the 1950s and 1960s found moderate to excessive community connections in suburbia with community disengagement recorded after 1970 (16). Nicolaides' (2008) long-view research asked why, if the built environment remained constant, is the architecture of the suburbs blamed for a diminished sense of community? (17).

The development of a policy on architecture for Scotland (1999) states that

“... good building design and good architecture affirm social values and bring coherence and order to our built environments for the benefit of us all.” (Scotland. Scottish Executive., 1999 11).

The *image* of community (Harvey, 1997 2) becomes a key factor in this analysis if we ask what does good architecture— that which affirms social values look like? Weeks (2012) argues that while placelessness is widely held to be produced by globalisation, the contrived production of place has real consequences for what constitutes community—including whether or not the contrivance is authentic or ethical (44- 55).

Form based codes and prescriptive planning are of the utmost importance to the New Urbanist project; in comparison, *The development of a policy on architecture for Scotland* (1999) places the responsibility for the quality of architectural design fully with designers and clients with government only providing guidance on “broad design matters” such as “scale, layout, density, massing, height, landscaping, access or the use of materials” so as not to inhibit originality, experiment and initiative (27). However, scale, layout, density, massing, height, landscaping, access and the use of materials are employed as (political) representations of the social ambitions of architecture; the authors presented their framework to control planning and development as minor regulating elements when in fact they significantly limit the role of the architect or urbanist. The Scottish approach at this stage, was not nearly as controlling or prescriptive as the pattern books and form-based codes being advocated contemporaneously by the New Urban movement.

The development of a policy on architecture for Scotland (1999) under the subheading *The Role of the Media and Criticism* observed that the presentation of architecture had been neglected by the media and inadequately presented thus far; it stated “Much of the best critical writing about architecture is necessarily aimed at a specialist audience and is often couched in abstruse, codified and inaccessible language.” (35). It called for a new approach that would speak simply and directly about architecture. Importantly, the document referred to the need for a reassertion of the “social and democratic purpose of architecture” (35). These passages illustrate that the development of the first architecture policy was concerned with greater

community involvement in architecture and the democratisation of the prevailing discourse. That desire shares characteristics with the rapid rise of the Congress for the New Urbanism (CNU) in the US and its significant role in handing government agencies such as the U.S Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) the tools with which to achieve greater community participation using simple language and diagrams (Arendt et al., 1999; Cisneros & Engdahl, 2009; Elliott et al., 2004; Hanlon, 2010). *The development of a policy on architecture for Scotland* (1999) similarly described harnessing the combination of educators, communities, and the media as well as agencies, institutes and special interest groups concerned with architecture and building design. It recognised the powerful role of the conservation movement as well as grassroots movements which emerged from the 1960s onwards demanding more say in decisions about public space, planning and housing.

The early CNU recognised the benefit of radically increasing the network of actors involved in urban issues. Herbert Muschamp (1996) wrote “The schools; the news media; elected officials; public policy makers: the Congress for the New Urbanism has cemented working relationships with virtually every sector that affects the art and business of building.” (paragraph 6). The significant ideological change in attitude towards public participation in UK planning can be traced back to Labour’s *Skeffington Committee Report* in 1969, that publication *People and Planning* reportedly “prompted new interest in openness and public involvement across the UK”. (RTPI, 2010 15). Indeed, British Labour Party MP Arthur Skeffington’s election address in 1970 foregrounded the language of social justice employed in contemporary Scottish planning procedures: “Policy must be based on sound moral

principles; on the ideals of justice, fair play, the worth of the individual and, indeed, the whole Christian ethic.” (RTPI, 2010 15). Arguably certain historic and cultural aspects provided a foundation for Scottish policy to head towards a New Urbanist approach but is there any evidence, at this early stage, that an unstated model may have prefigured the stated, and therefore official, narrative?

The Scottish policy narrative in 1999 had focussed on developing a wider audience for architecture beyond the sector and, following Stuart MacDonald, “the nurturing of an architectural culture in Scotland.” (S. MacDonald, 10 February, 2013).

Macdonald is well placed to advise on the question of whether the New Urbanism was embedded within the Scottish civil service at the outset; Macdonald participated in discussions about what the Lighthouse’s contribution would be to underpinning the policy narrative. It was firmly focussed on developing a wider audience for architecture beyond the sector, with an emphasis on education, didactic exhibitions and online material. Macdonald interpreted the emphasis on civic pride and community as an attempt to “chime with the social policies of the incumbent Labour administration rather than any conscious aligning with the New Urbanism.” (S. MacDonald, personal communication, 10 February, 2013). Accordingly, *The development of a policy on architecture for Scotland* (1999) document is a useful precursor to an analysis of the policy documents that were to follow; as well as to understanding how they would be received.

Scotland's "risk averse" architecture policy

Contemporaneous with the publication of the first architecture policy in 1999, the Scottish government had been criticised by an architecture profession which described their approach as 'risk averse'. The public reception to the first development plan included a call for increased specificity. In response to the plan, The Royal Society of Edinburgh, itself a widely regarded bastion of conservatism, advised that

"those commissioning new buildings within the Scottish Office and its agencies should be less fearful of risk." (Royal Society of Edinburgh., 2000, *The Role of Government*, paragraph 2)

and cautioned that "The intellectual base, definitions, and structure for making judgements should be strengthened within the document." (paragraph 2). It called for "a simple definition of what constitutes good architecture." (*A Framework for Action*, paragraph 1). A suggestion made by the Royal Society that resonates with future government support for New Urbanism, was that there should be a policy of publishing guidance on matters of architectural design and town planning, citing the Royal Fine Art Commission in England for guidance. The Royal Society's (2000) response simultaneously called for more specificity, more guidance and more risk taking; all illustrative of the pressures placed on many government departments to fulfil aspirations that are multiple and multi-layered. However at the heart of the discourse there are synergies between both the Scottish government and the architectural profession's ambitions for fundamental change and improvement. The response (2000) memorably reflected that "At present, the current system has

devised a process whereby the (theoretical) elimination of risk has driven the majority of government patronage to a very limited range of ‘safe’ architects with large professional indemnity insurance.” And, paraphrasing Scottish architect David Page, “Not only has it been said that the most creative Scots architects would be much better off in Denmark, they would probably be better off in London ...” (The Role of Government, paragraph 2). An ingrained aversion to risk is endemic throughout every policy document published from 1999 until the present day and is, I suggest, linked to not only a lack of political and popular confidence (which I explore further in this chapter) but typified by a strong preference towards the neo-traditional; in housing especially, which has been suggested by scholarship in this area to be a reaction to modern-day anxiety. (N. Ellin, 2006; Williams, 2004).

In Malcolm Holzman’s (2002) opinion piece about *The development of a policy on architecture for Scotland* in Mac journal, he stated at the outset that the first document, though ambitious, was also ambiguous and ultimately disappointing (Holzman, 2002).⁶¹ He questioned the graphic design, stating that the many blank white spaces and lack of illustrations of buildings on the pages sent conflicting messages; Holzman posited that they might suggest “a correlation between minimalism and architecture” or alternatively “a dearth of architecture suitable for illustration” (Holzman, 2002 20). That particular criticism is upheld in later official Scottish policy publications which become increasingly heavily illustrated with diagrams, drawings and photographs many of which bear many similarities to New

⁶¹ Mac journal was published and produced by Glasgow’s Mackintosh School of Architecture.

Urban documents. Holzman (2002) observes that if a policy about architecture is to succeed, “it must be distinguishable from a public relations effort ...” (20). Holzman questions whether Scotland needs a policy on architecture, and the question remains pertinent today (See Hague, 2012, page 138 of this chapter).

Architecture and Design Scotland (A+DS) was created to supervise the development of projects and their execution. A tightly curated, top-down *National Programme* for architecture was implemented by The Lighthouse with direct involvement from the same civil servants who were advising the government on policy.⁶² Holzman (2002) makes the point that the 1999 development document poses unanswered questions and only a partial outline for the future, however that is arguably to be expected from an initial attempt at forming a coherent strategy. In Holzman’s opinion, the first documents have no point of view, and he rightly predicts that,

“Eventually, a point of view will emerge and will have to be adopted during the development of a first ever national policy on architecture” (Holzman, 2002 20).

There is no clear indication from examining Scottish policy at its very earliest stages that would predict that within a decade Scotland would have five new urbanist communities in advanced planning stages ranging from urban extensions to Scotland’s largest neo-traditional New Town Chapelton (Figures 1 & 2). However a point of view has emerged. It has grappled somewhat unsuccessfully with the

⁶² An education and awareness raising project in the form of exhibitions and events hosted by The Lighthouse.

challenge of articulating a specific vision however it is evidently a point of view that is preoccupied with reforming and healing; democratising public participation; creating identity and community; learning from (and privileging) pre-Modernist historic forms of planning and architecture, and democratising public participation. These elements share many synergies with the broad-base of urban theory that underpinned the Charter of the New Urbanism (1999).

While official contemporary policy documents portray contemporary designs alongside the neo-traditional, the biggest contemporary developments in Scotland in the past five years, *Chapelton* and *Tornagrain*, have both chosen from a palette that exclusively features a neo-traditional quasi-rural aesthetic. Chapelton's (Figures 1 & 2) neo-traditional architecture is assembled using precedents from some of Scotland's prettiest small towns and villages. It evokes not only post-World War I welfare state English domesticity but the anti-modern longing for a rural idyll typified by E.M. Forster in *Howards End*. As the Garden City model emerges again in 2013, seemingly with the same set of priorities, what are the consequences for Scotland's built environment? As historian Charles McKean (1995) wrote on the subject of the 1917 Royal Commission into the *Housing of the Working Classes*, when the tenement had effectively been banned in favour of

“... the suburban houses on the Garden City model, recently imported into Rosyth: laid out at 12 houses to the acre with sheltered back drying greens. Letchworth with a kilt on. As a direct consequence, the environs of all great cities and most of the principle towns in Scotland were overrun with class-segregated suburbia - Arts & Crafts housing for the poor on one side, and livid red brick bungalows from the Home Counties on the other. Vast swathes of such building obliterated the urban edge

which gave so many Scots cities their identity." (McKean, 1995 167-168)⁶³

As the environs of Scotland's cities once more appear to be dominated by class-segregated suburbia - with Tesco-land volume built sprawl on one side and New Urbanist neo-georgian for those with taste on the other – how do we now understand heritage?

The role of heritage in Scottish policy

The 1999 policy document *The development of a policy on architecture for Scotland* criticises post-modern, pastiche architecture in the historic towns and cities of Scotland saying that they,

“...mimic superficial stylistic elements but ... debase *genuine heritage*” (my emphasis), (5).

While it may not be the role of policy documents to debate theoretical issues around authenticity, a discussion about what might constitute “genuine heritage” would go some way to determining the assumptions that underpin official policy. In the New Urbanist city, unified styles of fake historic architecture are employed to encourage a sense of place and a sense of community and following Daniel Levi (2005), for some

⁶³ It is notable that this area of Rosyth was known as Rosyth Garden City until the name fell from use, indeed it was closely linked to Letchworth with the first phase of 150 houses designed by an Edinburgh based firm of architects, Greig and Fairbairn, with their work overseen by one of Unwin's pupils A H Mottram.

tourist cities, fake historic architecture is used as a tourist promotion strategy. (157). Academic discourse surrounding heritage in architecture has described how architecture is increasingly mobilised for the “tourist gaze” (Urry, 1990); as well as the “pervasive modern search for sources of ‘real’ identity” (S. Zukin, 2009 543). In *Cultural Heritage And The Future Of The Historic Inner City Of Amsterdam* (Deben, Salet, & Thoor, 2004) Maarten Hajer & Arnold Reijndorp discuss the future of the historic inner city, “All the remnants of the past are screened for their symbolic power. Those buildings that were seen as an obstacle in the 1970s are now the core — or rather the front — of a new strategy of revitalisation. It is an obvious and promising strategy. Inner cities have to safeguard their economic and sociocultural future in the coming years, and by recognising historic artefacts as qualities the historic centres make a strength of what used to be seen as a weakness: limited car-accessibility, smallness and seemingly erratic layouts.” (44). Heritage architecture is pertinent to *The development of a policy on architecture for Scotland* (1999) which connects architectural design with economic development without interrogating the intrinsic sociological consequences. It is unclear how the authors intend to incorporate a historicism that is not synonymous with kitsch; a classic post-modern conundrum. I suspect that the authors of the 1999 policy document would have interpreted the built form of Knockroon, which seeks to help ‘regenerate’ Cumnock with a neo-traditional urban extension, as a more authentic expression of “*genuine heritage*” rather than the pastiche employed by post-modernism (Scotland. Scottish Executive., 1999 5).

Authenticity haunts the 21st century European city just as much as it did the 20th century (De Swaan, 2004 37) and in Scotland, successive architecture policy documents conflate heritage with authenticity as well as defining architecture from specific eras as embodying community. Scottish policy documents from 1999 onwards increasingly attempt to define a sense of place, to produce community and to promote design through the narrow scope of the New Urbanism's traditional archetypes. In some ways official policy succeeds at beginning a conversation about urbanism; it attempts to engage with decision makers in local government as well as developers and the professions. However I argue that as Scotland's planning procedure increasingly aligns itself to New Urbanist theory, architecture policy follows. Subsequent official publications reveal a reluctance to deal with tangible structural obstacles to good urbanism and instead rely on the off-the-shelf solutions offered primarily by the Congress for the New Urbanism. It is however worth acknowledging, following Peck and Theodore (2001 in McCann, 2011) that when examining policy transfer, the concept of 'off-the-shelf' implies a literalism that belies the complexity of a process that is "selective and multilateral" (111). I begin the next section with a summary of the context for the first policy on architecture in combination with a close reading of its contents.

An Emerging Urbanism

In 2001 the Scottish Executive, at that time led by a newly elected Labour government, launched *A Policy on Architecture for Scotland* (2001b). The first national architecture and planning policy statement for Scotland had been

constructed around the framework document which had reportedly been “strongly endorsed” in the public consultation with “broad support for the sentiments expressed.” (Scottish Executive, 2001b 2). In a section on *Principles* the Executive took responsibility for the quality of the built environment stating that to do so was because of three reasons: importance to social and economic objectives; continuity of built heritage and finally, the promotion of national culture (Scottish Executive, 2001b 2). In total the document contained 40 principles, only one of which directly referenced the term ‘place’.⁶⁴ *A Policy on Architecture for Scotland* (2001b) takes the themes from the development document and turns them into principles and objectives in the form of forty commitments. It is a weakly articulated document which discusses advocacy and promotion; improvements to public buildings and the importance of good design and how it “adds value” (6). *A Policy on Architecture for Scotland* (2001b) is a slimmed down (12 page) version of the 1999 framework document, and it is more akin to the five year plan of an architecture centre than a government policy with objectives like: promoting the benefits of good architecture; fostering excellence in design and encouraging interest in the local built environment. It is only really in the area of planning, which at that time was a separate department with much more economic power than architecture, that the objectives become more tangible and design comes to the forefront. The following marks the influence of the parallel planning strategy documents on architecture policy and the foundations of an emerging urbanism. The statement promises to

⁶⁴ Principle 2: “... the quality of our architecture, and of our urban and rural places, is a reflection of our cultural aspirations and is vital to the perception of Scotland as a place of imagination, creativity and innovation;” (Scottish Executive, 2001b)

ensure that design quality is accorded greater significance as a material consideration in the determination of planning applications. It encourages the development and use of design briefs and design strategies in support of development plans; similarly it promises to encourage the schools of planning and architecture to work collaboratively and strengthen the teaching of urban design in order to ensure that appropriate professional skills are available in the planning process, and to review the status, organisation and remit appropriate for a national design review body to provide independent advice on development proposals (Scottish Executive, 2001b 12).

A Policy on Architecture for Scotland (2001b) was followed, later that year, by *Designing Places* (Scottish Executive, 2001a) which is a markedly different type of document. It is much more focused on ideas surrounding 'place', the document directly references place more than 70 times (41). The significance for this thesis is the role that place and regional identity will take in New Urbanist developments in Scotland. Government policy in Scotland is, like much European planning policy, preoccupied with 'place' and New Urbanist theory and practices are being readily adopted. There are self-evident differences between Scottish and American urban histories, however New Urbanist literature assumes a universality to its approach. Scotland's small size, topography and socio-economic and political history has produced a series of relatively autonomous regional approaches to architecture and planning. New Urbanism advocates form-based codes, specific planning patterns and a socially prescriptive approach that modulates the residential environment within narrowly defined parameters. By observing how 'place' and regional identity is

discussed in New Urban literature we can better understand and examine the context for the emerging Scottish New Urbanism. *Designing Places* (2001a) is a policy statement, meaning it is not regulatory. However it is “a material consideration in decisions in planning applications and appeals” and it is heavily focused on design. *Designing Places* (2001a) was written by the London based urban designer Robert Cowan, director of Urban Design Skills (UDS) an award-winning practice who have provided planning and design training to over 50 local authorities as well as community groups and agencies.⁶⁵ Robert Cowan is also the author of a number of urban design publications which emphasise ‘place’, the processes of participation and the importance of design including: *By Design: urban design in the planning system, towards better practice* (2000) co-authored with CABE and DETR and described by Urban Design Skills (2013) as “probably the UK’s most influential design guidance document”.

Scotland’s aversion to risk and anxiety about national identity

Designing Places begins with the conservative preamble:

“Where are the conservation areas of tomorrow?” (Scottish Executive, 2001a 1)

It is arguably an extraordinarily hesitant way to frame the first post-devolution design statement. It is also, I suggest, dismissive of what was being produced

⁶⁵ Awards include: RTPI Urban Design Network Award project of the year (Capacitycheck), RTPI Planning Awards for Small Planning Consultancy of the Year (Finalist), Regeneration and Renewal Awards (Harlesden Town Charter) Highly commended, Scottish Government and RTPI Awards for Quality in Planning, and Scottish Government Awards for best practice in community regeneration.

contemporaneously. To connect the inaugural policy on the design of places with conservation demonstrates a regressive stance as well as a lack of confidence. A lack of confidence in Scottish design is key to the eventual success of the New Urbanist approach which promises risk free templates for complex urban development. New Urbanism is less concerned with morphological continuity than with patterns and typologies (Hebbert, 2003 200) and privileges the neo-traditional (usually termed vernacular) over any other style (the few forays into contemporary styled New Urbanism have been dismissed within the movement). These characteristics are precisely what makes the New Urbanist approach attractive to a nation that is fearful of failure. In *The Scots' Crisis of Confidence* (2011), author Carol Craig describes a talk that she attended given by architect Sir Terry Farrell in Edinburgh—at that time Farrell was Edinburgh's 'City Design Champion'—where the post-lecture question and answer session was dominated by negative comments.

“For example, one said, ‘Do you not often wonder, Sir Terry, what kind of city you’ve got involved with? — look at the waste paper bins and lighting in Princes Street. We can’t even get street architecture right.’ Another said, ‘When you walk round this city and look at buildings like the St James’s Centre you have to ask yourself what kind of culture would put up stuff like this and ruin its heritage?’ ... There were so many comments in this vein that Sir Terry eventually said that he had read *The Scots' Crisis of Confidence* and it was like one of the chapters coming to life.” (Craig, 2011 254)

What *Designing Places* (2001) shares with the New Urbanism is the conviction that the city is in crisis and requires a therapeutic approach to combat the crisis. Another crucial *leitmotif* is the use of examples from an urban past as prescriptions for future practice. Both attitudes have been described in terms of nostalgia and historicism,

however in the Scottish context I suggest that they are symptomatic of an ingrained aversion to risk and an anxiety about national identity.

This anxiety is felt internationally and is synonymous with the wave of retrospective conceptualisations of the future produced in a postmodern, globalised society identified by Baudrillard (1994) and Jameson (1991) where history is selectively reproduced and linearity is a type of menu which one chooses from. Throughout *Designing Places* (2001a) any intervention is discussed in terms of a binary between an action itself and a corresponding preventative measure. So, the siting and design of single houses is: capable of revitalising rural communities but it must not “undermine the area’s distinctive qualities” (4). The document is preoccupied with who might be responsible for unnamed failures; it asks “who the real trail of responsibility” leads back to? (5). It states that “In recent years we have learned a great deal, often through painful experience, about design principles ...” (5). The unarticulated failures remain a subtext to the main thrust which is to emphasise the importance of design and the expert opinion of the designer.

In a more candid critique of post-war urban renewal, the authors justify their outlook,

“Scotland’s confidence in making its urban future has been shaken, as elsewhere, by instances where some of the hopes of 20th century planning and architecture turned out to have been misplaced. We have learned by bitter experience the financial and human cost of building against the grain of the natural landscape and the patterns of human life. After three difficult decades, we are becoming more confident that we understand what makes successful places.” (Scottish Executive, 2001a 7)

This closely mirrors the terminology used during the post-wall rebuilding of Berlin where, following Virag Molner (2010) the demolition of East German architecture was not explicitly called for while an aspiration to correct the “inadequacies” of the postwar urban layout was (Molnar, 2010 292-3) and the 1996 *Planwerk* referred to “... the rectification of postwar planning ‘mistakes’.” (293). By pinpointing the 1970s as the moment of realisation, *Designing Places* (2001a) explicitly refers to the modern movement and critiques the perceived inhumanity of post-war urban renewal. The use of the word ‘we’ is arguably a way to speak to the reader with an assumption that she shares the same ideological frame and similar urban dissatisfactions. The document tells the reader “we have learned” and invites her to accept her role as a participant in that certain knowledge. (7)

The (2001a) document goes on to say “The conservation of historic buildings was the starting point. It is now accepted that the best of what has been handed down to us should be protected. The rise of the conservation movement has involved a rediscovery of what makes places work.” (7). Again, the thoughts expressed are not atypical, however the rise of the conservation movement is mobilised in this text to speak for the city; what the “best” *is* remains unarticulated as though the complete consensus that the documents posits was in evidence (7). The excision of complexity, and the seemingly incontestable viewpoint of the authors is rehearsed in the official New Urbanist literature produced by the CNU, Léon Krier and to a slightly lesser degree in Europe by Gabriele Tagliaventi and the Prince of Wales. On the subject of collaboration, *Designing Places* (2001a) advocates including people with little or no design training who control the planning system locally, such as councillors and

council officers, or developers and agents; the document urges an approach that avoids the specialised language of planners and urban designers since it “excludes many of the people who should be involved in the process of planning for design” (27). A considerable proportion of the document is given over to advice for local councils on what their local plans should contain suggesting that *Designing Places* (2001a) is aimed at a specific audience of public officials as opposed to practicing architects. The lack of professional expertise amongst public officials is underlined by the inclusion of a section that calls for every planning authority to have at least one member of staff with an urban design qualification or skills. The document also states that “Planners, architects, landscape architects, engineers and surveyors should be encouraged to study urban design at postgraduate level” and in this way *Designing Places* delineates urban design from these professions (28).

I argue that while *Designing Places* (2001a) is the clearest indicator (until the publication of *Designing Streets* (2010)) of New Urbanism in Scottish policy, it is also suggestive of a superficial reading of core New Urbanist theory. The absence of serious attempts to incorporate mixed-use is notable; for example there is no indication of precisely how local planners might challenge the conventional model of office and industrial estate planning.

The following section analyses how ‘place’ and ‘community’ become increasingly important to the conceptualisation of Scotland’s architectural procedures in official documents. National planning policy in Scotland is guided by The National Planning Framework and Scottish Planning Policies (SPP). *Planning Advice Notes* (PANs)

provide advice on good practice and other relevant information which can act as a reference point for developers and local authorities. Succeeding the first policy on architecture (2001b), and *Designing Places* (2001a), are various PANs, such as: *Housing Quality* (Scotland. Scottish Executive. Development Department., 2003b); *Design Statements* (Scotland. Scottish Executive. Development Department., 2003a); *Housing in the Countryside* (Scotland. Scottish Executive. Development Department., 2005a); and *New Residential Streets* (Scotland. Scottish Executive. Development Department., 2005b).

Two Planning Advice Notes (PANs) published in 2003 are particularly relevant to a review of the Scottish Government's approach to architecture. Both PAN 67 and PAN 68 referred to design statements and housing quality. PAN 68 (2003b) strove to underline the importance of design statements and explained what design statements were intended to achieve, when they were required, and how they should be presented. This was put forward in a way that made it clear the readership was understood to be mainly local authorities and applicants seeking favourable planning permission. The document was not prescriptive about style, it is more concerned with making sure that the applications it received would be well structured and with consistency across the board from applicants. PAN 68 (2003b) stated "Design is a material consideration in determining planning applications. Council's may refuse an application, and defend their decision at appeal, *solely on design grounds*" (my emphasis) (7).

The document mirrors research by Lloyd and Peel (2009) which found that Scottish devolution appeared to lead to the design of planning policy that reflected a greater sensitivity to space and place. The authors note that "... in Scotland New Labour has had to mediate its political objectives in coalition with the Liberal Democrats. Here, the technocratic–economic imperative has been mediated with democratic and public interest considerations." (113). This is played out in the PANs relating to architecture published in 2003 which emphasise both public involvement and contextual considerations around identity and sustainability. PAN 67 (2003b), titled *Housing Quality*, sought to apply the principles of the 2001 design statement *Designing Places* specifically to the issue of housing. The document praised the efforts of architects working in Scotland but justifiably criticised the standard of volume built housing by mainstream developers. Labour's technocratic–economic imperative, which Lloyd and Peel posited had been mediated with the Liberal Democrats democratic and public interest considerations, manifests itself in the following passage,

"There is no single market for housing. Some buyers of new homes are enthusiasts for modern design and committed to urban living. Others are looking for a suburban lifestyle, in a house that looks reassuringly traditional, and they enjoy the mobility that one or more cars provide. Every type of buyer gives life to a part of the housing market. The challenge is to use the planning system to work with the market in producing results that are more likely to be admired in years to come. Planning cannot prescribe good architecture or guarantee successful places, but it can create conditions that make them more likely." (Scotland. Scottish Executive. Development Department., 2003b 5).

I have quoted from the passage extensively because I suggest it is emblematic of the balancing act being played out behind the scenes, where senior civil servants were

applying a peculiarly Scottish distillation of New Labour's modernising programme and economic ambitions while tethered to prevailing notions of urbanism being generated and disseminated by organisations like the CNU and INBAU. Following Lloyd and Peel in *New Labour and the Planning System in Scotland* (2009) in relation to the effect of devolution on policy innovation, "... institutional memory and established practices and cultures can continue to prevail even in a changed devolved state that promises the potential of a clean slate." (108). In this way paying close attention to the wording and specific aims of policy documents can offer a nuanced insight into the political and ideological intricacies and shifts in national agendas. This in turn helps to answer the bigger questions surrounding why New Urbanism has successfully shaped Scottish policy so extensively.

A Re-invocation of the Masterplan

One of the most important indicators is the re-invocation of the masterplan. Following Tiesdell & Macfarlane (2007), the approach taken by the Scottish Government reflects an increased interest in masterplans in the UK as well as "high profile projects using masterplans, such as the Canary Wharf development in London's Docklands (begun in the late 1980s) and Crown Street in Glasgow (begun in 1990)." (407). In their article *The Part and the Whole: Implementing Masterplans in Glasgow's New Gorbals*, (2007), Tiesdell & Macfarlane establish the consistent use of masterplans in UK urban government guidance from 1994. The authors cite *Designing Places: A Policy Statement for Scotland* (2001a) and *PAN 67 Housing Quality* (2003b) alongside the fact that masterplanning has also been a "... key

element of New Urbanist practice in the USA and elsewhere (Katz, 1994; Dutton, 2000) with the development of Seaside in Florida, masterplanned by Duany & Plater-Zyberk” (407).

PAN 67 (2003b) (Figure 31) features an aerial render of curvilinear buildings on the edge of a masterplan for Oatlands in Glasgow which is intended to underline the importance of context. Also depicted is West Mill in Edinburgh, a neo-traditional development which appropriates Edinburgh vernacular architecture. The example of West Mill conflates tradition with identity “... designed to reflect traditional Scottish housing design. This gives the scheme a strong identity.” (6). PAN 67 (2003b) (Figure 32) iterates New Urbanist theories about achieving ‘urban’ qualities in housing developments that are situated on the edge of settlements or in rural areas. The documents advocates places with distinctive identities “ ... rather than one that could be anywhere.” (8).

Belonging... anywhere

Robert D. Yaro, an executive director of the Regional Plan Association in New York City and a co-author of *Rural By Design: Maintaining Small Town Character* (1994), begins one of the Charter of the New Urbanism’s (1999) first essays on metropolitan regions by identifying the ways in which Seattle has built places in the Northwest that “... look as though they belong” (Yaro, 1999 24). According to Yaro, Seattle has developed a style of architecture that is “... specific to its setting ... Many buildings combine locally harvested materials with Native American, maritime,

industrial, and vernacular designs.” (24)⁶⁶ He writes in the context of how a regional outlook will preserve natural landscape, invest in sustainable transit and seek to become more profitable as it attracts the creatives, the entrepreneurs and the ‘techies’ — what Richard Florida would term the ‘Creative Class’ — who are both highly mobile and searching for the best quality of life. For Yaro (1999), regions must first find their cultural and architectural heritage, exploit its aesthetic and identity-building qualities and concentrate these within an urban growth boundary that contains 24 hour regional central business districts (CBD) containing “... major cultural, educational, governmental, retail, entertainment, and employment activities...” (25). In this way, we can observe that one New Urbanist interpretation of ‘place’ in a regional context is linked to constructing an image of shared heritage across a wider metropolitan region with the aim of attracting and maintaining tax payers and stimulating economic growth. The issue of mixed use (an integral component of New Urbanist logic), is addressed somewhat opaquely. PAN 67 (2003b) states that “Every development should be part of a place with a mix of uses. This does not mean that housing should always be peppered with other uses, or even that every development proposal should have more than one use. But every development should be planned and designed as part of a place that does more than just house people.” (10). In attempt to define the problem of poor design, PAN 67 (2003b) gives photographic examples (Figure 32) of Scottish suburban sprawl with labels like: “Houses that could be anywhere.”, “Standard house types”,

⁶⁶ Seattle’s adoption of Native American symbols has been discussed by Coll Thrush (2009) in his *Native Seattle* as an attempt to maintain a sort of static and noble historical Native authenticity, which masks the realities of contemporary Native existence - both the very serious problem of Native homelessness, as well as the continued, active roles of successful urban Natives in the city.

“Inappropriate materials”, “Dependency on the car” and “Single use separated by roads” (10). The problems depicted are Scottish iterations of examples used in New Urbanist publications and rehearse the same arguments against poor zoning laws and bland housing typologies. What is being posited in PAN 67 (2003b) is that a holistic set of design solutions can come together to mitigate the political and economic effects of uncontrolled development, tackling the triumvirate of contemporary urbanisation issues: unsustainable low-density single family home enclaves; built on greenfield (further and further from urban infrastructure); and automobile dependency.

PAN 67 (2003b), similarly to the Charter of the New Urbanism (1999), is concerned with presenting simplistic diagrams and examples that often alienate architects and designers, such as a ‘before and after’ set of photographs depicting a standard roundabout with and without generic landscaping. However it is clear that it is not prescriptive about style and it advocates modern, as well as traditional, housing types throughout. “It is not possible to be prescriptive on design: good design will not be produced by slavishly following rules, irrespective of place or context.” (14). The issue of style is of course absolutely key to New Urbanism, however, as outlined in chapters one and two of this thesis, a subject that is typically avoided. The Charter for the New Urbanism (1999) states that,

“Individual architectural projects should be seamlessly linked to their surroundings. This issue transcends style.” (Principle 20)

Architect Robert Adam neatly summarises the sensitive issue of style in the context of New Urbanist organisations in *The Globalisation of Modern Architecture* (2012). Discussing the formation documents of the *Council for European Urbanism* (CEU) in 2003, Adam writes that there was much debate about aesthetic objectives and that it was clear to all “contextual urbanists” that architecture was significant in producing character and that “existing character was largely made up of traditional buildings” (Adam, 2012 252- 3). Adam reports that architects who held a modernist viewpoint and those who were reluctant to alienate the contemporary design profession did not want to commit to any particular stylistic dogma, and as reported earlier, (see Muschamp 1996a and Thompson-Fawcett 2003a) Léon Krier refused to sign the CNU Charter because of its failure to commit on architectural style issues. Adam (2012) explains that the thinking behind context and traditional style in *A Vision of Europe* and *INTBAU* is explicit whereas “... the insertion of phrases such as ‘this issue transcends questions of style’ in both the CNU and CEU Charters...” and “‘simultaneously responding to current needs, changes in society’ in the academy of urbanism manifesto ... were all inserted to try to make the stylistic neutrality of these organisations clear.” (252-3). In practice, stylistic neutrality has not been achieved by New Urbanist practitioners. The dissemination of best practice policy documents such as PANs present macro-scale issues as design problems with design solutions. The solutions selected for dissemination act as visual as well as spatial guidelines. In this way style is intricately attached to the discussion on sprawl and housing in Scottish policy. By following the New Urbanist approach, which rejects contemporary suburban sprawl replacing it with a differently organised but

inherently similar product, PAN 67 (2003b) on housing and land use privileges design over a multitude of other factors associated with sprawl.

In both Scottish architecture policy and the Charter of the New Urbanism (1999), the aesthetics of place are understood to be closely associated with coherence. The pairing of place with historic patterns and vernacular architecture is also emphasised. Place in the Charter is informed heavily by people (working as communities as opposed to individually), vernacular building techniques and historic archetypes. Place is conceptualised in parallel with universal principles and commonalities based on culture and customs and it is suggested that this homogeneity latterly produced “...places that were part of a larger, coherent, ordered, and intrinsically beautiful whole.” (Bothwell, 1999 51).

PAN 67 (2003b) offers site studies of successful developments including Rennplatz (Figure 33) which employed detailed specifications such as the height and type of buildings and fenestration. Precise roof pitch and tiles were specified, with more freedom given to general forms of buildings and colour schemes, though guidelines were issued for these features too. PAN 67 (describes the outcome as “... a development which consists of a variety of building types, that are by no means uniform, but create a harmonious whole.” (2003, 40). This demonstrates the interest in pattern books and codes which are also widely deployed in New Urbanist developments.

Legibility and control in connection with place and safety is a feature of both PAN 67 and the Charter. The connections between places must be easily understood in order to encourage an understanding of city form— to prevent people from feeling lost (Arendt et al., 1999 135). In the context of neighbourhood streets (and safety) Ray Gindroz (1999) writes in the Charter that a well looked after street with well-tended gardens and houses with large windows has the effect of making a newcomer aware that “...he will be seen and made to feel either welcome or not. The message is clear, this is a managed environment, ‘owned’ by the neighbours who live there, and under control.” (Arendt et al., 1999 135-6).

The Scottish policy documents produced in 2003 literature share with New Urbanism an acceptance, if not a preference, for suburban development when it cautions that local authorities should not “abandon any expectation of achieving such qualities just because a site is classified as suburban. It is in suburban settings that opportunities for good design are most likely to be missed.” (Scotland. Scottish Executive. Development Department, 2003b 10). Was this due to a Labour majority government revising its green belt planning policy in response to increased development pressure? In 2004 Scottish communities minister Margaret Curran acknowledged development pressures had increased since the previous policy review almost 20 years before. However she noted that many planning authorities were treating green belt as a “land bank” for future housing (“Scots green belt to become tighter” 2004). Despite New Urbanism’s theoretical support for urban infill as opposed to suburban sprawl, its preference to build on greenfield land instead of difficult and degraded areas is well known (Harvey, 1997 2). The fact that developments often replace

farmers fields or protected areas is also accounted for (J. Grant, 2006a). It is on greenfield that Scotland's New Urbanist projects are sited yet this is at odds with the Scottish Government's stated policy focus on sustainability. The economic imperative to build new towns, on greenfield with no links to existing settlements increasingly looks to have superseded the more incremental, gradual growth that has traditionally been the norm in Scottish urbanism.

New Urbanist Theory Reflected in Scottish Policy

Place-making is widely acknowledged to be commensurate with the term *New Urbanism* sharing as it does the key aspects of the latter movement's theory and practice (Porta & Romice, 2010). A review by the renamed Scottish Government in 2008 (led by the Scottish Nationalist Party) announced a scaling back of planning advice issued by the government, with some PANs being withdrawn and others updated (Scottish Government, 2010b). PAN 76, *New Residential Streets* (2005) was superseded by the document *Designing Streets* in 2010 which marked the iteration of place replacing the prior focus on traffic management. *Designing Streets* (Scottish Government, 2010b) stated "... a change in the emphasis of guidance on street design towards place-making and away from a system focused upon the dominance of motor vehicles." (Scottish Government, 2010b).

Designing Streets (2010b) should have been pivotal to Scottish policy. It positioned itself at the centre of planning, transport and architecture policy and encompassed three main elements of New Urbanist theory: an "intelligent response to location"

(involving context and tradition as outlined in PAN 67 and PAN 68); the rejection of zoning — described in *Designing Streets* as “the rigid application of standards, regardless of context” — and a charrette style approach to process (described as “a design-led approach which involves early engagement with all relevant parties.” (Scottish Government, 2010b 3). The 63 page document (2010b) features morphological sketches by Léon Krier (7), walkability diagrams drawn by Poundbury’s chief transport engineer Andrew Cameron (26), as well as photographs of Poundbury used as examples for approaches to parking, street lighting and junction arrangement.

A short paragraph on Page 20 of *Designing Streets* (2010b) briefly touches on the difficulty of implementing mixed use saying:

“Government policy now supports the creation of mixed-use neighbourhoods with well connected street patterns, where daily needs are within walking distance of most residents. Layouts built on these more traditional lines are likely to be more adaptable and will lead to lower car use, thus contributing to wider transportation and environmental objectives.”

Designing Streets (2010b) continues overleaf with a case study of Polnoon, a development the Government worked on directly with the house builder in 2008 in order to incorporate its new principles (21). The complete absence of a mixed use approach on the Polnoon site directly contradicts the principles on the preceding page.

The visioning statement prepared by US planners *Urban Design Associates* (2010) for a New Urbanist settlement at Dubford, Bridge of Don, is a candid indicator of Scotland's adoption of New Urbanism into official policy. In *A Visioning Workshop for Dubford* (Urban Design Associates, 2010) the authors describe how the previous three years have seen considerable changes in both development practices and in public policy and how the Scottish Government has set policies for sustainable development, including more compact development (reducing land consumption) and preserving natural features. The report details how the policies and guidelines promote mixed use development in walkable communities, with interconnected networks of streets both between and within developments (Urban Design Associates, 2010 2). In the context of Dubford, the report articulates just why the turn in policy is so important to Scottish cities, towns and rural places.

“The City is now under pressure to provide additional housing. [The] site has been recommended for consideration in the most recent program of development sites. However, *the City cannot support any new development of the same type that has been built for the past several decades. Therefore, any development on this or other sites must comply with the new policies*, as well as depending upon additional capacity in the transport system to enable expansion.” (my emphasis) (Urban Design Associates, 2010 2)

In this way, we are able to see clearly the knowledge transfer between theory generated in the USA, disseminated by the Congress for the New Urbanism, being taken up by the Scottish Government and used to enforce anti-sprawl and in this instance, neo-traditional planning and architecture modes. Consultants already operating in the USA had been developing New Urbanist procedures in partnership with the Prince's Foundation for Building Community as early as 2008 (See Chapter

4, p188 for a *Summary of Scotland's Sites of New Urbanism*) and it is the specific formal outcomes of charrettes which have taken place in Scotland that have fed into the formation of official policy such as *Designing Streets* (2010b).

Designing Streets (2010b) marks the Scottish Government's clearest articulation of New Urbanist practice and what can also be termed behavioural or spatial determinism. The document identifies street design as immensely influential to "lifestyles and behaviour". In a markedly similar approach to that articulated by official New Urbanist theory it also attached street design to interrelated issues such as "climate change, public health, social justice, inclusivity and local and district economies." (Scottish Government, 2010b 3). Compare these to the Charter of the New Urbanism's (1999) principles including: "environmental health"; encouragement of walking and cycling; "affordable housing"; "Preservation ... of historic buildings ... affirm the continuity and evolution of urban society; and "economic health" (Arendt et al., 1999). The policy raises the importance of street design by making what had previously been advice (PAN 76) into policy. Importantly, all previous road guidance and standards documents (based on DB323 principles) were superseded by *Designing Streets* (2010b). The document made it very clear that information on principles, layout and street geometry based on previous, locally produced street guidance which was not consistent with *Designing Streets* should be revised. Furthermore, *Designing Streets* (2010b) stated it "... should be adopted by all Scottish local authorities ..." making this design policy truly regional in form (3).

The Scottish Government launched a consultation on a new architecture policy in 2012.⁶⁷ The announcement of the consultation was framed primarily in economic terms by Fiona Hyslop, Scottish cabinet secretary for culture and external affairs, who stated “Our architecture and design industry generates around £1.3 billion a year for the Scottish economy. The consultation on a new architecture and placemaking policy is aimed at generating a wide-ranging debate on its future direction and priorities for action.” (Fulcher, 2012b). Whatever direction it takes and whichever priorities it privileges, the announcement raises the question: who is the architecture policy for?

Merlin Fulcher (2012b) reported on the story for *The Architects' Journal* and published commentary from a variety of sources including well-known Scottish architects Malcolm Fraser and Gordon Murray. Fulcher quoted the Prince's Foundation for Building Community's chief executive Hank Dittmar who said “teaching local officials about urbanism, heritage and architecture was the biggest issue ...”. Fulcher also quoted Andrés Duany, included for his connection to Chapelton, the 4,000-home project designed by DPZ at the Elswick estate near Aberdeen. Duany reportedly countered that “the ‘problem’ lay with Scottish architecture schools. He said: ‘Planners don’t know how to design or draw [and the] architects have Continental-envy and can’t stand designing anything Scottish.’” (Fulcher, 2012b). By the inclusion of Dittmar and Duany, the author suggests that the New Urbanism might be relevant to or even influential in shaping contemporary

⁶⁷ Superseding the 2007 document, the new policy was published on the 24th of June, 2013.

debate on Scotland's architecture policy. Media reports are primed to present a polarised set of opinions, but a position being taken — away from articles like those in *The Architects' Journal*—by practising architects in Scotland, as well as those in academia, is to question the validity of Scotland's architecture policy. Cliff Hague, Emeritus Professor of Planning and Spatial Development, Heriot-Watt University and author of *Regional and Local Economic Development* (Cliff Hague, Hague, & Breitbach, 2011) framed the question for *Planning* magazine with the title: *What is an Architecture Policy and What Should It Do?* Hague (2012) reflected that

"... in Scotland, where there has been an architecture policy in existence for a decade or more, [it] is not an essential reference point for developers or planners ... " (Cliff Hague, 2012)

Hague also pointed to the role of the recently updated Dutch architecture policy, noting that it was largely aimed at informing private commissioners of buildings (Cliff Hague, 2012). It poses the question, is the same true in Scotland? Furthermore, can Scottish architecture policy can be understood or recognised as 'policy' as it is in the Netherlands? Who is Scotland's architecture policy for (and what are the consequences of its content)? I asked local academics and architects (on and off record) as well as the department called *Architecture and Place* within the Scottish Government. The Principal Architect, Sandy Robinson is head of the Architecture Branch (*Architecture and Place*) and has responsibility for the Scottish Sustainable Communities Initiative (SSCI) and the publication on street design policy *Designing*

Streets (Scottish Government, 2010b).⁶⁸ Robinson told me that the architecture policy statements are published for “anyone with an interest in the built environment” (S. Robinson, 25 February, 2013). Robinson added that key audiences were:

“Local authority officers and managers – to inform policy and decision making processes; Elected members – as above; Designers, including architects, landscape architects, urban designers, transport engineers etc.; The Development industry.” (S. Robinson, 25 February, 2013).

There is an argument to be made here that architects are part of a so-called key audience who are uninterested in, or in many cases unaware of, official architecture policy. Edinburgh based architect Andrew Stoane told me the documents were an irrelevance to his practice (A Stoane, 20 February 2013). Malcolm Fraser wryly quipped that policy documents were “... for bankers and lawyers, so that they knew how to instruct their ‘supply-chain’” (M. Fraser, 21 February 2013). Dr. Dorian Wiszniewski interpreted the Planning Advice Notes (PANs) which correspond to the policy statement, as being pitched primarily at planning applicants noting that whether intentional or not, PANs are frequently reiterated in project proposals and design reports (which have become a recent requirement of planning applications). Wiszniewski made the observation that “Regrettably, all government documents provide not only the basis of many submissions, they also provide the basis of how

⁶⁸ Architecture and Place online states that prior to joining the Architecture and Place Division, Robinson had developed experience in projects with a focus on “sustainable place-making and the fostering of strong communities and local economies. This included a variety of projects across the UK and Europe including the masterplanning of major town expansions and new settlements, regeneration schemes and neighbourhood renewal projects, urban strategies and visioning processes, as well as a range of detailed architectural commissions.” (Scottish Government, 2011b)

planning officers make judgements. Many of the policy documents operate on far too simplistic an understanding of the paradigms they end up enforcing.” (D.

Wiszniewski, 25 February 2013). While Wiszniewski questions whether the substance of policy documents deserve to be so consequential, Sandy Robinson concludes that part of the consultation into the forthcoming architecture and placemaking policy has “raised need to reach a broader audience beyond those traditionally interested in the built environment. This is seen as necessary in order to influence wider placemaking considerations.” (S. Robinson, 25 February, 2013).

Important to this broader discussion around official rhetoric is arguably a lack of clarity among policy makers to the practical aims of the architecture policy that seeks to engage expert opinion at one end of the spectrum as well as those not “traditionally interested in the built environment” (Robinson, 2013). Wiszniewski’s observation about the consequences of the architecture policy is key. Although architecture policy is not regulatory in the way planning policy is, it can have a profoundly transformative effect on what is produced by developers who employ government sanctioned advice in order to obtain profitable planning permissions. The non statutory Planning Advice Notes (PANs) are officially intended to be advice or guidance and they are also representations of what government advocates as *best practice*. They are explicitly referred to in masterplans which successfully gain planning permission, for example *The Dalcross Smart Growth Masterplan Planning Report* (2005) for the development of the new town now known as *Tornagrain* lists in the document the range of planning advice notes that “are pertinent to the project”.

Creating Places

Scotland's 2013 architecture policy

The Scottish Government's newly published architecture policy in 2013 was, broadly speaking, well received by the profession (Fulcher, 2013). Much of the previous preoccupation with tradition, community and placemaking — hence New Urbanism — is now embedded in the adjunct planning policy. This, as outlined before, remains problematic if officials are to deliver on their promises of adequate affordable housing, a more democratic planning system and the plurality of architectural styles one expects in a 21st century Europe. However the 2013 policy *Creating Places* has much to commend it in the way of a stated commitment to reforming procurement and a re-use not replace approach when dealing with the existing built environment. Despite the leader in *The Architects' Journal* which stated: *Scottish Architects Unconvinced by SNP's New Architecture Policy*, leading architects in Scotland were quick to praise the new policy. Malcolm Fraser said it represented a significant endorsement from Government. Alan Dunlop saw the review of public procurement as ambitious, “a much needed and bold step and the intent to incorporate design as a material consideration is also positive.” (Fulcher, 2013). Brian Waters, the high profile principal at BWCP, chairman of the London Planning & Development Forum and joint publishing editor of *Planning* in London urged the adoption of the Scottish policy in England (Fulcher, 2013). Ben Addy, director at Moxon Architects interpreted *Creating Places* as non-prescriptive saying, it “reads like the work of many hands and appears informed by reality rather than shoehorned into ideology.” (Fulcher, 2013). The crux of the article's stated uncertainty surrounded public

procurement with almost every contributor adamant that the new policy would be merely more rhetoric if the system were not overhauled. The present system excludes small practices from designing large buildings like schools and hospitals, a topic that has been hotly debated for decades in Scotland and featured heavily at the RIAS 2013 convention on urbanism titled *Big World — Wee Scotland* (Allies, 2013). Richard Murphy OBE, the celebrated architect of the Dundee Contemporary Arts centre (2000) and social housing at Wharton Square (2013) at Edinburgh's Quatermile development, heads a practice that has won 19 RIBA awards. The title of Murphy's monograph *Of its Time and of its Place* (Murphy, MacCormac, Royal Institute of British Architects, & Royal Scottish Academy, 2012) sets out his position in terms of architectural style. On the subject of Scotland's architecture policy Murphy is candid,

“Scotland is about the worst place in Europe to be an architect.” “It's the Government's procurement strategy that's at fault. It makes me extremely angry that they have 10 people sitting in Victoria Quay, churning out meaningless leaflets and having an architectural policy just for the sake of it.” (Gladstone, 2014 8-9).

The “leaflets” Murphy is arguably referring to are the various Policy Advice Notes (PANs) and directives issued by the Government alongside its policy publications. These documents, I argue, following their ongoing dissemination since 1999 have come to be regarded in some circles as best practice (by developers in particular) whilst they are contested by practising architects who question their validity and usefulness.

The argument that New Urbanist practice presented as best practice “... obscure the processes of typification” that actually enables it is made by Susan Moore (Moore, 2013 2371). What has emerged through Moore’s (2013) site-specific research done at New Urbanist developments in Toronto is a “context denying approach” (2372). Moore’s special issue article for the journal *Urban Studies* in the Spring of 2013 is highly pertinent to this thesis and worth exploring in some detail, corresponding as it does to my own research in Scotland that finds that the adoption of New Urbanism has demonstrated a normalising effect in policy terms, though at a much slower rate in built terms. Moore (2013) rightly asks us to resist the perception that best practice is a good in itself; to instead understand the received wisdom of fresh policies as being “discursive truth claims” (Moore, 2013 2371). She is concerned, as is this thesis, with what is left out, obscured or obfuscated by the rapid normalising procedures which she describes as *typification*. Moore (2013) cites the risk that New Urbanism (or any dominant procedure) can result in political and social indifference (2372). In my own attempt to define and call for *regional specificity* I share Moore’s dubiety. Of particular interest, in a Scottish context, is her argument that New Urbanism impacts on our ability to imagine alternative futures. Citing McCann and Ward (2010 177) she observes how successful practices are presented for insertion into other cities (territorialisation) leaving alternative scenarios out of policy discussion. (Moore, 2013 2374)

"As a governmental instrument, the promotion of best practice—and, more specifically, of the New Urbanism as best practice in the current culture of evidence-based policy formulation—is dubious. Housing provision and community development processes are recast as *technical exercises* in design product delivery, the likes of which are often *exhibited in exemplar schemes* in relatively disconnected geographical

locations and/or codified into formulaic design checklists and toolkits for ease of adoption and replication in different contexts.” (my emphasis) (Moore, 2013 2374)

My reading of Scottish policy reveals a similar picture, where policy valorises growth-based ideology (such as New Urbanism) over bespoke, contextualised approaches. Moore (2013) describes how in Toronto the housing development *Cornell* introduced New Urbanist principles and form-based design codes into the draft plan approval process aimed at producing 10,000 units and housing 30,000 (2376). In Scotland, the *Chapelton of Elsick* development in Aberdeenshire introduced the same principles and form based codes into its Development Framework, prepared in response to the Aberdeenshire Local Development Plan which identified “... a new settlement at Elsick is a key part of its Spatial Strategy, delivering 4,045 dwellings by 2023”. Chapelton is conceived as accommodating up to 8000 homes in the long term with an initial masterplan of just over 4000 units. Moore (2013) reports that “... Cornell was the original test-bed for New Urbanist housing products for many on-looking developers and builders, and it was the precedent-setting experiment that introduced alternative development standards into the formalised zoning system for cautious local and regional policy makers.” (2376). Similarly in Scotland, Chapelton — heralded as the largest new town for a generation — is the ultimate test-bed for Scottish New Urbanism. Its developers point out how they typify best practice quoting Scottish Government policy (Policy SG LSD1) on the layout, siting and design of new development and describing how the plan has “... emerged from a comprehensive and inclusive design development process under the auspices of internationally renowned town planners, Duany Plater-

Zyberk & Company.” and that following the Chapelton charrette, “A comprehensive masterplan has emerged with a broad consensus.” (Elsick Development Company, 2012 4). Back in Toronto, Moore (2013) via interview, reported that both mainstream and New Urbanist house builders acknowledged Cornell “had the power to in part influence everything else that gets built in the Greater Toronto Area” 2376-77.

Housing developments taking cues from early New Urbanist prototypes have been demonstrated elsewhere in this thesis (around Celebration, Florida and next to Seaside, Florida). Similarly, I have shown that the charrette procedure in Scotland (as elsewhere) consistently produces the neo-traditional urbanism seen at Knockroon and Chapelton, and the Government’s own SSCI Charrette Series Projects, Grandhome, Ladyfield and Lochgelly. Planning permission in principle for Grandhome, masterplanned with DPZ, was applied for in 2013 with a view to producing 7000 homes, with the developer stating that, “The potential to meet both national and local development aspirations has long been recognised and was reinforced by the site’s inclusion in the Scottish Sustainable Charrette Initiative and the site’s formal allocation within the Local Development Plan.” (Grandhome Trust, 2013 39). The former and the following excerpts demonstrate how New Urbanism has successfully permeated policy and is employed by developers in planning applications which feature the Government’s own language of sustainable growth:

“As is evident, the application proposals for Grandhome meet the Scottish Government’s primary objective of sustainable economic growth. The development of a new mixed-use settlement will allow

Aberdeen to continue to develop in a sustainable manner meeting the significant housing and employment challenges facing the City whilst contributing to the growth of the Scottish economy.”

Following Moore (2013) once more this exemplifies how “...public and private interests involved in development processes easily become obscured by a politics of consensus.” (Swyngedouw, 2011 in Moore 2013 2374). Key to this is the idea of “situated identification” (Moore 2013 2374) where the ‘problem’ (in Scotland the triumvirate of housing demand, environmental sustainability, and economic growth) is addressed in a static, consensus-focussed procedure. Moore (2013) argues that the focus turns “... to the minutiae (such as design features) of the response (Rancière, 2003)” and finally she suggests that New Urbanism in Toronto is a “manifestation of the post-political condition (Swyngedouw 2009, 2010, 2011 in Moore 2013 2374).

Chapter 4 a) New Urbanist Personalities and their Infiltration of the Scottish Circles of Power and Influence

Policy Mobility

In his analysis of *Tornagrain*, Dr Gordon MacLeod (2013b), details the importance of New Urbanism's powerful and persuasive key figures and their impact on mobilising and disseminating the New Urbanist project. On the subject of Scottish New Urbanism MacLeod notes the close professional relationships held by those most active in advocating the procedure: namely Andrés Duany, Léon Krier and the Prince of Wales. To MacLeod (2013), citing McCann (2011) and Peck and Theodore (2010), these relationships offer

“... insights about how influential policies can be circulated and mobilised through the embodied practices and idiosyncratic registers of notable individuals (McCann, 2011)” and how they are ‘structured by enduring power relations and shifting ideological alignments’ (Peck & Theodore, 2010 170) the power relations and ideological predilections in this case rising to the very zenith of Britain's ruling class.” (2)

The narrative of New Urbanism is characterised by its charismatic leaders: the formerly enthusiastic modernist turned architectural theorist Léon Krier, from Luxembourg; the formerly enthusiastic modernist turned town planner Andrés Duany, a Floridian with Cuban ancestry; and the Prince of Wales, a consistent anti-modernist who in the intervening twenty years since his 1986 talking-to-plants notoriety, has emerged as a respected commentator on matters such as organic farming, community regeneration and most notably architecture and urbanism.

Krier's masterplanning at Seaside lent intellectual gravitas to the movement and directly led to his work at Poundbury. He continued to publish his theories widely and is regularly cited in pro-New Urbanist literature. Krier most recently oversaw the design of a Prince's Foundation development in Newquay. In 2009 the Prince's Foundation offered a special seminar for Lady Andrews, (undersecretary of state with responsibilities for planning) and her senior officials which was to be led by Krier that would help them to better understand "[...] a people-centred view of urban planning and design". (Booth & Evans, 2009).

Duany is a renowned public speaker who despite his enormous success is still actively leading charrettes and architectural field-trips and continues to maintain a high profile internationally with regular media interviews and self-penned articles. The Prince of Wales' public image has arguably cohered into what the British media likes to refer to as that of 'national treasure'. His image and interests have come to be portrayed as populist by some and his role as a campaigner against contemporary modern architecture has been welcomed by many who would like to see the planning system acknowledge 'ordinary' people and accept non-expert opinion. The left-wing media continues to rail against his 'undemocratic' interventions into specific developments such as Lord Roger's scheme for the former Chelsea Barracks site (Booth, 2009). The Prince's personal correspondence with the scheme's main funder, the Prime Minister of Qatar, came with alternative plans enclosed, drawn up by classical architect Quinlan Terry, and raised questions about the constitutional validity of the move (Hurst, 2010). The controversy about the Chelsea Barracks

secured considerable publicity for Richard Rogers, Poundbury and by extension—the New Urbanism.

The mobility and media related perspicacity of each of these key figures is important to the New Urbanist project because the mode of production — to educate, convince and entail the support of local and national governments — demands a large degree of geographic and political fluidity. Despite being involved in influencing political decision makers, key New Urbanist figures operate at a level adjacent to the political sphere. In this way they share the transnational, globally influential features of the super-rich where philanthropy is often the power behind plutocracy. The FT's annual *Business of Luxury Summit* (2013) is “the premier thought-leadership event for senior luxury executives, industry leaders, corporate decision makers and financiers from around the world.” (*Financial Times*, 2013). It featured a panel titled *Philanthropic Power* which asked, “How important is an overt display of values to creating community? How does a brand communicate their involvement without seeming to exploit it? How does it relate to the brand's for-profit and political activities?” (Gold, 2013) and (*Financial Times*, 2013). Delivering equity, justice and sustainability is the stated aim of the CNU (a non-profit organisation which accepts tax-deductible donations), The Prince's Foundation for Building Community (a registered charity) and the Scottish Government. Yet the way that these aims are implemented create more wealth for wealthy landowners. Their developments may result in exclusive enclaves which raises the question of how socially equitable New Urbanist developments in Scotland are or might be in the future. (This question is answered and analysed in more detail in this document's site studies). Gordon

MacLeod's place-specific paper *New Urbanism/Smart Growth in the Scottish Highlands: Mobile Policies and Post-Politics in Local Development Planning* (2013) draws on emergent theories on policy mobility and post-politics. He asks questions about Duany's charrette procedure at Tornagrain and

“[...] the faith being placed in a globally mobile policy evangelist becoming, in effect, a doctrinal conduit for convening local democracy.”
(MacLeod, 2013)

MacLeod links the transfer of policy and mobility to “[...] depoliticising consensus inducing tendencies” (citing Clarke, 2012) which is where the term *post-political planning* is apt to describe the success of New Urbanism in Scotland.

What has foregrounded what Eugene McCann defines as a “translocal” approach (McCann, 2011 108), an approach where policies from one place transfer to another with little more than ‘best practice’ tourism in common⁶⁹. The diffusion network that has been created by the New Urbanism has been clearly elaborated on by Thompson-Fawcett in *A New Urbanist Diffusion Network: the Americo-European Connection* (2003a) where the author rightly recognises that the spread of New Urbanism is at once paradigmatic and able to produce multiple variations of itself as it moves from place to place. One of the most significant characteristics of New Urban expansion is its migratory abilities. Regardless of the colonial associations of New Urbanism's preference for neo-classical architectural forms, firms such as DPZ have successfully

⁶⁹ The term policy tourism is first used in the title of a paper by Sara González (2011) and is cited in MacLeod, 2013.

mobilised New Urban theory internationally from *Berenice Bay*⁷⁰ in Egypt to *Bolshaya Izhora* in Russia. This form of diffusion has been criticised by a figure who is important to the New Urban movement. Christopher Alexander cautioned that those who held too closely to the historical forms of classicism risked being perceived as playing “[...] an elitist game, not relevant to seven eighths of the people on Earth, and possibly colonialist in meaning if not its intent.” (Christopher Alexander, 2002b)⁷¹. Meanwhile DPZ describe their firm as “a protean organization consisting of offices in the United States and affiliates working in Europe, Asia, and Latin America.” Highly mobile internationally, they advise that their organisation deals with individual projects on a “cross-professional and cross-locational basis” (DPZ, 2013). The Egyptian and Russian projects mentioned above have been managed by DPZ Europe, based in Berlin which describes itself as a partnership committed to the skills and techniques of traditional urbanism.

A surprising aspect of the publicly voiced support for leading New Urbanist’s DPZ by elected officials and civil servants in Scotland is that the practice has done very little work in the UK. Despite their highly transnational reach, to date, DPZ have been involved in just two developments in England, including a garden city masterplan located in Hertfordshire. Notwithstanding a lack of experience working in the UK, and following architecture writer Andrew Guest (2010a), Scottish

⁷⁰ *Berenice Bay*, Egypt is a resort village that was designed in 2007 by DPZ Europe. The status of the 3.000 hectare project is ‘In Progress/Planned’. *Bolshaya Izhora*, Russia is a resort village that was designed in 2008 by DPZ Miami & DPZ Europe. The status of the first phase of 50 hectares is described as ‘In Progress/Planned’ according to the DPZ website.

⁷¹ In an open letter to classicist and traditional architects (which first appeared on the TradArch list-serve at the University of Miami, October 2002).

Government enthusiasm for New Urbanism had been palpable. Writing in *Holyrood*, Scotland's fortnightly political and current affairs magazine, Guest referred to the Scottish Government's "placemaking agenda" and reported that the firm Duany Plater-Zyberk had been appointed by officials to conduct charrettes in Aberdeen, Dumfries, and Lochgelly (Guest, 2010a 11).⁷² Duany had previously (in 2006) delivered a charrette in Inverness for the proposed new town *Tornagrain* at which Scotland's Chief Planner, Jim Mackinnon gave the opening address. The head consultant for the Tornagrain charrette, Paul Marrain from the Prince's Foundation, reportedly said that the charrette may have seemed expensive due to research trips by the team to Belgravia, Hampstead, Poundbury, Edinburgh and Dunkeld, "But then there is a considerable output in 11 days and you can talk to the chief planner and sort things out in six days that it might take two years to resolve under normal circumstances." (Lewis, 2006, 101-103 101-103). Of the latest government sponsored charrettes Guest reported that Jim Mackinnon had described Andrés Duany as "the greatest urban planner in the world of his generation" and that the Scottish Government's support for the charrettes amounted to around £450,000 (Guest, 2010a 11). Guest constructs an image of political and professional bonhomie in connection with the New Urbanist founder, telling *Holyrood* readers,

"In March the government hosted a summit meeting in Edinburgh for Duany, Hank Dittmar the chief executive of the Prince's Foundation and first minister Alex Salmond. No less than five government ministers were involved at some point in the charrette series. The government's

⁷² According to its publishers, "*Holyrood* is frequently quoted within the Scottish Parliament as a source of reliable information and political debate and is the most widely read publication amongst MSPs according to MORI and throughout the commercial, academic and third sectors." <http://www.holyrood.com/about-us/>

architecture and built environment directorate also made it clear (even if they didn't think that DPZ were the best in the world) that it would have been impossible for them, as government, to select any one Scottish design practice to front up such an initiative.” (Guest, 2010a 11).

Discussion about the suitability of DPZ to advise on Scottish towns was played out in public in *The Times* (Swinney MSP, 2010) and on internet forums like Scotland's architecture and planning magazine *Urban Realm* (formerly *Prospect*). Chief amongst the concerns raised was the issue of 'outside' advisors with a lack of nuanced experience of Scotland's architecture and planning being paid for using public funds. Post-economic crisis, Scotland's architects were facing an extremely challenging commercial environment with many practices making redundancies and others seeing the reintroduction of an unofficial '3 day week'; a practice unheard of since the 1970s.⁷³ An increasingly New Urbanist approach in Scotland arguably comes to its most public and controversial apogee in 2011 when questions were put to the Scottish Parliament about how financing had been organised for DPZ's contributions.⁷⁴ In a letter printed in *The Times* newspaper (Swinney MSP, 2010) John Swinney MSP, Cabinet Secretary for Finance and Sustainable Growth wrote to 'correct' assertions made in two reports published by *The Times* ("Architect 'Too Close' to SNP", Nov 6 and "SNP Government Risked Breaching EU Rules to Boost

⁷³ In this context, when architects working for firms are paid for 3 days but in fact continue to work for 5 days.

⁷⁴ The Scottish Government had supported other charrettes in Scotland which pursued a New Urbanist approach including

their Favoured Architect” Nov 9).⁷⁵ Swinney makes the distinction between public contracts (subject to procurement procedures) and grant funding and points out that,

“The Scottish Government has never commissioned Mr Duany for a project, nor paid a penny of his or his firm’s fees.” ... “The fact of the matter is that the Scottish Government has not entered into any contracts with Mr Duany or his company. His engagement in the events is a contractual matter between him and each of the separate bodies concerned.” (Swinney MSP, 2010)

However Swinney acknowledges that the Scottish Government provided over a £150,000 in grant funding to deliver three charrettes. As a commentator on Urban Realm’s blog noted, it was still unclear who decided DPZ were the right choice of firm to use to deliver the three charrettes. What makes Duany a problematic figure is not that he had been brought in from the USA to advise on Scottish urbanism, or the sums of money involved, or the neo-traditional architecture DPZ produce. It is another important aspect which is not touched on by the UK media — Duany’s politics. In an interview Duany (2001) gave to *American Enterprise* magazine, titled *Three Cheers for Gentrification*, Duany states that,

“What spokesmen for the poor call gentrification is actually the timeless urban cycle of decay and rebirth as a free society naturally adjusts its habitat.” (A. Duany, 2001 36)

⁷⁵ Mr Swinney served as the SNP's Deputy Leader from 1998 and became Leader in 2000. After relinquishing his post in 2004, Swinney became Convener of the Scottish Parliament's European and External Relations Committee. He was re-elected as an MSP at the 2011 Scottish Parliament election and appointed Cabinet Secretary for Finance and Sustainable Growth.
<http://www.scotland.gov.uk/About/People/14944/Scottish-Cabinet/johnswinneymsp>

Duany asserts,

“Gentrification rebalances a concentration of poverty by providing the tax base, rub-off work ethic, and political effectiveness of a middle class, and in the process improves the quality of life for all of a community’s residents. It is the rising tide that lifts all boats.” (A. Duany, 2001 36)

It is not clear why the Scottish Government, with its stated focus on social justice and community would align itself so readily to a figure with such individualistic views about housing. As Mike Davis (2005) notes in a scathing review of DPZ’s “mega-charrette” in post-Hurricane Katrina Mississippi “Duany has always courted corporate imaginers, mega-developers, and politicians.” (Mike Davis, 2005).

The lack of distance between government and private firm DPZ fuelled further speculation when Scotland’s Chief Planner, Jim Mackinnon gave a speech at the launch of the controversial *Edinburgh Garden District*, a £1 billion green belt development planned by businessman Sir David Murray with masterplanning by Andrés Duany. The speech was "unwise and inappropriate" said David McLetchie, the local Conservative MSP for the site at Hermiston, while Jim Lowrie, planning convener at Edinburgh City Council, described Mr Mackinnon's involvement with the firm's consultation as "very unusual" (elected members had been asked not to take part in the consultation process) (*The Scotsman*, 2010). Architect Malcolm Fraser wrote in *The Scotsman* newspaper that by launching the week-long engagement process Mackinnon presented “... the spectacle of the national planner undermining the integrity of national policy, and the freedom of local democracy to properly examine and determine major local initiatives.” (Fraser, 2010). A

spokesperson for the Scottish Government said, "It was entirely right and appropriate for the chief planner to attend this event – he was absolutely clear that he was not present to endorse or support the project in any way." (*The Scotsman*, 2010).

The Prince's Foundation for Building Community

Does Knockroon's official status as a government appointed exemplar point to a significant change in development patterns? The following section identifies the discrete processes that have produced Knockroon. The Prince's Foundation for Building Community (PFBC) is involved in over thirty developments, constructions and projects around the United Kingdom. At the time of writing, seven of the Foundation's projects are in Scotland (Figure 1). Projects range from events to engage the public with design and sustainability in the built environment, to generating pattern books and masterplans. In some places, such as Nairn, potential first phase planning applications are currently being considered, while in Ellon, Aberdeenshire planning permission for three development sites has been given and construction began in 2012 (Figures 34 & 35). To some practitioners New Urbanism has been accorded an unwarranted authority by the Scottish Government's department of planning and architecture, eager as it is to offer solutions to the complex problem of maintaining growth in the housing market and regenerating problem areas like Cumnock. The form Knockroon takes is part of the reforming nature of New Urbanist practice. Knockroon's developer is the PFBC which states that it hopes and believes the Knockroon housing development will create

employment and bring prosperity to the area, a deprived post-mining town ranked within the two highest datazones on the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD). The PFBC has expanded its role and stepped into the void created by CABE's much reduced staffing and subsequently much reduced remit. This is reflected in a rebrand from previous title *The Prince's Foundation for the Built Environment* to *The Prince's Foundation for Building Community*. The organisation was quick to clarify the name change, "We're not moving away from architecture. We're using architecture to help people.", and explaining that "The Prince's Foundation has been limited by the essential wonkiness of the term built environment" (Fulcher, 2012a). Hank Dittmar was Chief Executive of the former foundation and, until 2008, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Congress for the New Urbanism, one of many official organisational links between the Prince's charities and the New Urbanism. Dittmar has outlined a timeline of the Prince's interest in architecture describing how [his] charities have progressed since *A Vision of Britain* (Charles, 1989), the Prince's publication and television documentary which led to the subsequent formation of the *Institute for Architecture*, and the *Urban Villages Forum*.⁷⁶ "The Prince's Foundation for the Built Environment brought those activities together under one umbrella about 12 years ago, and he remains our inspiration and our guiding light. His long work of encouraging a living tradition and asking people what they want rather than providing them with what planners think they need, has really been at the bedrock of how we do our work."

⁷⁶ The Urban Village concept is widely thought to have been discredited due to inconsistent practice and tensions between the competing commercial interests of some actors. It has been described as vague and loosely defined leaving it open to abuse for house builders looking to speed up planning consent. See: (Biddulph, Tait, & Franklin, 2002) and (Biddulph, Franklin, & Tait, 2003)

(Clarence House, 2011). One of the ways that the PFBC asks people what they want is through the charrette procedure known as Enquiry by Design (Ebd). I have included on pages 193-205 a synopsis of the Ebd process based on my own primary research in East Lothian, Scotland 2013. Scholarship on Ebd has largely argued that the procedure achieves little in the way of overcoming endemic barriers to democracy in planning (Bond, 2010; M. Thompson-Fawcett & Bond, 2003). As real-estate developers, outcomes for the Prince's Foundation have resulted in elegant masterplans with significant input from local agencies (e.g., roads, water, transport). However I argue that community representation is limited and weakly constituted within plans: the Foundation may ask people what they want, but whether it asks the right people and whether it delivers what is asked for remains oblique.

The Incremental Influence of the Prince of Wales on Scotland's Architecture and Planning

Twenty-four hours after Prime Minister Gordon Brown moved into 10 Downing Street a letter was dispatched from Prince Charles's aides addressed to the new secretary of state for communities and local government, Hazel Blears, suggesting that the government's eco-towns should follow the model of Poundbury (Booth & Evans, 2009). That letter was followed two days later by another from Hank Dittmar asking Blears to meet with him in order that he could "explain the principles and tools promoted by the Foundation which can deliver better, more inclusive neighbourhoods and town centres" (Booth & Evans, 2009). An article by Robert Booth and Rob Evans (2009) for *The Guardian* described how the paper had

submitted a Freedom Of Information Request (FOI) to Whitehall requesting the release of all correspondence between the Prince and his aides. It found that between 2007 and 2009 the Prince had written to ministers in eight government departments, though the contents of the letters remained confidential due to the Prince's royal status. Booth and Evans (2009) report that Dittmar met with Lady Andrews the undersecretary of state with responsibilities that included planning. A letter written by Dittmar to Andrews offered seminars for civil servants and planning inspectors which would present the Prince's Foundation projects as best practice and suggested a joint research project that would seek to understand what "prevents the wider use of the Prince's favourite planning techniques" (Booth & Evans, 2009).

One of the prevailing aspects of New Urbanism is that the claims made by both advocates and practitioners are rooted in the presumption that New Urbanism is for the good of all and that the apparatus is neutral and benign. In *Spaces of Hope*, David Harvey (2000) asks whether or not the movement can be critiqued outside of the social processes that define its projects. The New Urbanist approach in the United States takes its lead from the specific socio-political structures in place there. The CNU is closely connected to the Urban Land Institute, the U.S Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) and influences strategies for infill, regeneration and affordable housing that are celebrated by some (Cisneros & Engdahl, 2009; Hanlon, 2010) and contested by others (Mike Davis, 2005; Elliott et al., 2004; Harvey, 2000; Pyatok, 2000). Davis (2005) has reported that in the mid-1990s, HUD under Secretary Henry Cisneros incorporated New Urbanist ideas into its HOPE VI project aimed at replacement housing for the poor. Ultimately, after

demolishing public-housing projects like New Orleans St. Thomas, only a few project residents were rehoused on site (Mike Davis, 2005). He notes that “Nationally, HOPE VI led to a net loss of more than 50,000 units of desperately needed low-income housing.” (Mike Davis, 2005).

The architectural and masterplanning practices embedded in the movement, DPZ, Solomon Associates, Cooper-Robertson & Partners, Urban Design Associates, are closely connected to the developers who finance New Urbanist developments. The CNU is correct in its insightful approach which extends its influence by bringing developers, road engineers and politicians into the fold. This is broadly the approach of the Prince’s Foundation. Both strains are operational in Scotland where it is widely acknowledged that a lack of experience and skills among the planning and architecture departments of local councils is detrimental. Is Scotland’s adoption of sophisticated New Urbanist processes a reflection of the Scottish Government’s lack of confidence? Speaking broadly about planning and architecture, Denise Scott Brown made a link between the star architect and the popularity of New Urbanism, “Smart Growth and New Urbanism practitioners may take over what planners now do, but at great expense to cities. And in architecture, although the profession has a broad span, most of the work goes to large commercial firms and most of the publicity to “signature” architects. When these groups turn to urbanism, we have a problem.” (Varsonola, 2013). Does the popularity of the New Urbanist brand explain why the movement is so active in Scotland, with two separate, but complementary, manifestations arguably guiding official policy?

The term *Sustainable Urbanism* should be understood as having the same key principles as the New Urbanism. It is a term more widely used in Europe where the term New Urbanism carries unwelcome associations with canonical New Urbanist developments like Seaside and Celebration. The approach is broadly defined in Europe as a New Urbanist procedure. The 2007 report summary *Valuing Sustainable Urbanism* commissioned by The Prince's Foundation for the Built Environment describes Sustainable Urbanism as "... in American parlance 'new urbanism.'" (Savills, 2007a 3). In the larger report, *Valuing Sustainable Urbanism: A Report Measuring & Valuing New Approaches to Residentially Led Mixed Use Growth* the Prince's Foundation gives a two page definition of Sustainable Urbanism that is synonymous with New Urbanist principles. (Savills, 2007b X-XI). Similarly, *Sustainable Urbanism and Beyond: Rethinking Cities for the Future* (2012) is the title of Stockholm-based urbanist Tigran Haas' follow-up to *New Urbanism and Beyond: Designing Cities for the Future* (Haas, 2008). Tigran Haas' latest publication, *Sustainable Urbanism and Beyond: Rethinking Cities for the Future* (2012) does little more than rehearse his earlier *New Urbanism and Beyond* (2008) with more focus on sustainability.

Prominent US New Urbanist Michael Mehaffy conflates *Sustainable Urbanism* with the "European School of Urbanism and Architecture." in his course outlines. The term is also the title of prominent New Urbanist, Doug Farr's publication *Sustainable Urbanism: Urban Design With Nature* which extolls the same key principles of New Urbanism but with more focus on ecological issues. It features official New Urbanist endorsement in the form of a foreword by Andrés Duany (Farr, 2012). In Scotland,

official Architecture & Place publications present the German town of Freiburg as a case study of good urbanism and placemaking. Freiburg won the Academy of Urbanism's *European City of the Year Award* in 2010 which described it as an outstanding example of sustainable urbanism. The Academy of Urbanism is an independent organisation with its own Charter and Congress. Launched in 2006 with a largely UK based membership, it described itself as a self-funded, politically independent organisation led by "... over 500 leaders, thinkers and practitioners involved in the social, cultural, economic, political and physical development of our villages, towns and cities." (The Academy of Urbanism, 2013). Members, known as Academicians as of December 2013, included national and local government staff and Scottish universities: Ian Gilzean (Chief Architect, Scottish Government) and Susan Stirling (Scottish Government, Architecture); Diarmid Lawlor and Eric Dawson (Architecture+Design Scotland); Ricardo Marini (City of Edinburgh Council); Dr Husam Al Waer (University of Dundee); and Ed Taylor (Representative in Scotland of the Prince's Foundation for Building Community).

It is difficult to separate the complex strands that tie New Urbanism to emerging movements and offshoots since they are multiple and multilayered. In many cases it is simply a question of semantics. The forceful characters that have brought New Urbanism fame have also diminished the movement's credibility with many architects, designers and planners. Figures like Duany and Krier, and in the UK the Prince of Wales, have generated controversy and remained divisive in certain quarters. Scholars such as Michelle Thomson-Fawcett (2003a, 2003b), Sophie Bond

(2010; 2003) and Jill Grant (2006a, 2006b) have all contributed studies that describe complex transnational exchanges of knowledge.

What seems important to decipher is to what extent New Urbanism in Scotland is a procedure that has emerged from practitioners who are responding to the CNU's enormous influence worldwide, or closer-to-home European conurbations including the Prince's Foundation and whether or not in fact it is an officially sanctioned, policy driven governmental manifesto.

Scotland's New Urbanist Exemplars

Exemplars are another way of saying best practice and the following section explores the New Urbanist exemplars selected by the Scottish Government for its Scottish Sustainable Communities Initiative. In *What's Wrong With Best Practice?* Susan Moore (2013) expands upon Jill Grant's (2006) influential examination of planning for the 'good' community. Moore discusses how best practice "engenders a focus on the practices of a range of development actors and an empirical grounding in how they 'mobilize, enrol, translate, channel, broker and bridge' (Allen and Cochrane, 2007, p. 1171). Moore describes the ways in which best practice have prioritised the typification of New Urbanism as the exemplar (McCann, 2011) of 'good' planning and development." (Moore 2013 2373).

The Scottish Government introduced eleven exemplar schemes in 2008: four of the exemplars were produced by DPZ and one by the Prince's Foundation (Knockroon). The introduction of the exemplar schemes was achieved through a major, national urbanisation project named the *Scottish Sustainable Communities Initiative* which marked — as it did in Toronto — following Moore (2013), “the theorisation of New Urbanism ... as a regime of practice (Dean, 1999)—that is to say, a coherent set of ways of going about doing things.” (2375)

The purpose of the following section is to introduce the Scottish Government's *Scottish Sustainable Communities Initiative* (SSCI), providing the framework for examining the first Scottish examples of New Urbanism in practice. The broader aim is to better understand how New Urbanism is reconfigured transnationally by two distinct procedures: an imported US category, as seen with Chapelton and a European incubation, as seen at Knockroon (led by the Prince's Foundation for Building Community). Both Chapelton and Knockroon are one of eleven SSCI exemplars (Scotland. Scottish Government., 2008b).⁷⁷ In both examples (one of which is presented as a site-study in Chapter 5), the principles of New Urbanism are applied to new, masterplanned, neo-traditional housing developments located on greenfield sites in Scotland. The initiative as described by the government is not explicitly connected to New Urbanism. It focuses on “... the creation of places,

⁷⁷ The eleven SSCI exemplar sites comprise: An Camas Mòr, Aviemore; Craigmillar, Edinburgh; Grandhome, Aberdeen (DPZ); Knockroon, Cumnock (Prince's Foundation); Ladyfield, Dumfries (DPZ); Lochgelly, Fife (DPZ); Maryhill Locks, Glasgow; Raploch, Stirling; Speirs Locks, Glasgow; Tornagrain, near Inverness (DPZ); Whitecross, Linlithgow.

designed and built to last, where a high quality of life can be achieved.” (Scottish Government, 2010c). Following Grant (2006) and Moore’s (2013) scholarship I examine the SSCI’s New Urbanist exemplars in order to illuminate in which ways the procedures are presented as best practice.

In *Re-inventing Scotland*, Andrew Guest (2010) wrote about how the Scottish Government’s *Scottish Sustainable Communities Initiative* (SSCI) project had been instigated with firm links to US New Urbanists DPZ:

“This is week two of a month-long Scottish Government promotion of three design charrettes led by the US-based urban design firm Duany Plater-Zyberk. The charrettes focused on projects in Dumfries, Lochgelly and Aberdeen to which the Scottish Government has already given the status 'working towards "Creating a Scottish Sustainable Community ..."' (Guest, 2010b 1).

Pre-figuring the SSCI programme and its subsequent charrette project was a meeting attended by Andrés Duany, the Prince of Wales and the First Minister Alex Salmond at Holyrood House in June 2008. The *Sustainable Places Conference* was jointly organised by The Prince's Foundation for the Built Environment, Scottish Business in the Community and the Scottish Government’s director of planning, Jim McKinnon. The event promoted *Enquiry By Design* (EBD) the Prince’s Foundation’s own brand of the charrette. The Foundation was actively involved at the time in the design of six developments in Scotland at Cumnock, Ellon, Ballater, Cove, Banchory and Nairn. From the outset the SSCI project was framed by a discussion surrounding architectural style, sustainability, place and context. A competition launched by the RIAS in partnership with the Scottish Government’s SSCI initiative (June 2010)

sought housing and urban design proposals which would reduce carbon emissions and respond to place and context. Urban Realm reported “It is hoped a “new vernacular” will emerge from this process, a demonstration of how environmentally sensitive design might influence both architecture and urban composition.” (Urban Realm, 2010). The First Minister was quoted on literature produced for the Castletown Village Masterplan (Caithness) accordingly; “The Enquiry by Design process, the collaborative planning approach devised by The Prince’s Foundation, is of great interest as we work to develop a Scottish planning framework that engages with everyone involved.” (The Prince's Foundation for Building Community, nd-b).

The launch of the SSCI in 2008 emphasised place and placemaking. The SSCI project was described by John Swinney, MSP Cabinet Secretary for Finance and Sustainable Growth, as a “turning point” (Scottish Government, 2010a 2). Swinney wrote: “The quality of the places that we inhabit is a matter of vital importance to all our lives. By influencing our behaviour and our outlook, our places shape us as individuals and as a nation.” (Scottish Government, 2010a 2). Swinney justified the expense of hiring the world’s best known New Urbanist consultant, Andrés Duany, to organise three charrettes in Scotland saying, “For these projects, the highest international expertise has been brought to bear and I commend the foresight of the project teams in choosing to engage Duany Plater-Zyberk & Company (DPZ).” (Scottish Government, 2010a 2). Central to the SSCI project was the conception of place and community as being *created* and being participatory. It must not be confused with the grassroots intentions behind the community or advocacy planning of the 1970s and 80s which in the experience of a pioneer in the field, Tom Wooley

has subsequently been subverted into a mere “ruse of consultation” (Simon Richards, 2012-39). In *Architect Knows Best*, Simon Richards’ (2012) interview with Tom Wooley illustrates the difference; “The idea that there’s some sort of cosy concept of the community is completely mistaken. [It’s about] trying to find a way of working with people [that] gives them some ability to influence some control over the environment.” (Simon Richards, 2012-39). The Scottish Chief Planner’s preoccupation with New Urbanist methods for community involvement belies the lack of will to invite meaningful or problematic participation. The use of procedures such as the charrette and the invocation of the model community or exemplar by the SSCI deserves further examination in order to delaminate the political from the stated social goals of real-estate ventures at Knockroon and Tornagrain.

Chapter 4 b) The Charrette Concept and Secondary Case Studies

'Consensus and Dissensus'

The following section reviews the charrette in the context of Scotland's New Urbanism. It describes the procedure, how it operates, and identifies its incubation as a procedure emerging from the Congress for the New Urbanism as being significant. It argues that the charrette (and its sister procedure *Enquiry by Design*) rarely successfully respond to differing social and geographic contexts with what I will describe as *regional specificity*.

In 2011 the Scottish Government launched the *Charrette Mainstreaming Programme*, designed to assist projects in the adoption of, and delivery of design-led approaches to development and to help embed charrette style working in Scottish practice. The charrette approach to public participation in the development of the built environment rose to prominence stewarded chiefly by Andrés Duany. The concept occupies the gap often found (increasingly internationally) within governments' important task of ensuring public participation in urban decision-making. The charrette is a method of consultation that includes the public in a collaborative design process, normally through a week-long, intensive workshop. The central idea is to produce a masterplan more quickly than alternative public participation methods where citizens report consultation fatigue and progress is too slow for private developers. A primary feature of a charrette is the participation of a cross-section of (in some cases divergent) interested parties. Highly experienced

design professionals brought in by the charrette organisers are able to very quickly disseminate the collective opinions and ideas of a mixture of stakeholders. A complete plan can typically be delivered within sixty days of the charrette. In a typical DPZ charrette, such as that produced for *Tornagrain*, an introductory lecture on traditional town planning was given on the first evening where the “basic principles of good neighborhood design are reviewed, establishing some common reference points.” (DPZ, 2009). Briefed on the site and project design parameters, meetings are held with various stakeholders during the first two to three days. The remainder of the charrette consists of daily design and review sessions with between eight and twelve designers producing drawings with small mixed groups of participants. Proposals are reality tested daily, lessening the chance of an unacceptable scheme going too far. The final presentation where all of the work is presented and explained is also an opportunity for media exposure and custom pre- and post-charrette newspapers are produced and disseminated amongst the community (Figure 8). New Urbanists state that a pluralism of architectural styles is possible when using the charrette model. However, in Scotland questions persist around whether the outcomes of New Urbanist charrettes are ever in doubt. An architect who participated in two Scottish charrettes whom I interviewed told me:

“NU practitioners invariably state that the process is blind to architectural style, but in practice (and where I become a little cynical) there is the use of ‘watercolour artists’ who sketch up a friendly, but very traditional, vision drawn from a pattern book that excludes any modern buildings. Because the design products of the charrette are skewed towards the traditional - in style and in process - opportunities for innovation and creativity can be limited” (Anonymous Edinburgh architect, 2011)

The conceptualisation of the charrette as a democratising planning procedure remains highly problematic when it is applied to the development of new towns by private landowners as at Tornagrain, Chapelton and Knockroon. Chief amongst the concerns is that far from democratising planning for citizens the charrette is used by powerful elites to bypass ordinary planning processes and stifle public opposition. It can be a recursive procedure producing neo-traditional style suburban sprawl and one that is at odds with the social justice and planning transparency articulated by official policy. Charrettes put forward participatory design and Jacobite theory but then tend towards a specific style of architecture that, while quoting from the vernacular of the region, must be understood also as quoting from and privileging a specific period of time in history. With Knockroon this period is the feudal, heavily patronised country market-town aesthetic of 18th century Ayrshire. With Tornagrain (Figure 10) it includes the vernacular architecture of places like Dunkeld and Cromarty, dominated by the improved cottage style that dominated the post-blackhouse Highlands and Islands of the 17th and 18th century.

One of the ways in which the Prince's Foundation have attempted to challenge the perceived inhumanity or placelessness of modernist failures is by involving existing communities in the planning process. Following Susan Fainstein, there can be said to be three types of planning that have emerged from the reinvigorated theoretical discussion of the 1990s and which address the question "what is the possibility of consciously achieving widespread improvement in the quality of human life within the context of a global capitalist political economy"; the *Communicative*, the *New*

Urbanist and the *Just City* (Fainstein, 2000). New Urbanist literature would suggest that it in fact takes the *Communicative* approach through the use of the charrette, or in the case of The Prince's Foundation for Building Community, *Enquiry by Design*, in practice it remains a top-down, market-led approach. A fundamental feature of the theory that underpins the *Communicative* approach to planning is the assumption that planners "have a special claim on disinterested morality". When, as is the case with Knockroon, the planner is also the developer, the duality complicates this assumption. A lack of transparency in planning and the overtly undemocratic aspects of planning remain unpopular yet the solution offered by public participation exercises like *Enquiry by Design* (TPFBC) and the charrette (Congress of the New Urbanism) struggle to fulfil their claims to equalise a process almost completely dominated by top-down economics. Jill Grant (2006) notes rhetorically, "Once the design is finished and the codes set, where are the opportunities for further democratic action? New Urbanism presumes that good design obviates any need for further citizen participation." (J. Grant, 2006b 72). "Duany et al. (2000) argue that happy citizens do not protest. Good design will make people happy. Community efforts to resist projects or to change policy are generally dismissed as NIMBYism, or as evidence of a need for better public education about the requirements of good communities." (J. Grant, 2006b 72). This is important because while the charrette process invites dialogue it does so in only the most limited of ways. I will return to this in detail in the section titled *Participating in a Scottish Charrette* (Chapter 4). Consensus, something so often proffered as to be good, in and of itself, refers ultimately to *that which is censored* and following Jaques Rancière

“Consensus means that the only point of contest lies on what has to be done as a response to the given situation. Correspondingly, dissensus and disagreement don't only mean conflict of interests, ideas and so on. They mean that there is a debate on the sensible givens of a situations, a debate on that which you see and feel, on how it can be told and discussed, who is able to name it and argue about it.” (Rancière, 2003)

This is pertinent to the discourse around the charrette as a procedure because there is little room for dissensus in Scotland's charrettes which have government backing in the form of policy documents and government programmes. In Scotland the largest developments have been planned as new greenfield sites as opposed to urban extensions. Since there is no existing community with which to engage, to some extent the process of assembling a community to participate in a charrette is in itself a curatorial procedure.

Scotland's Emerging New Urbanist Network

Following Susan Moore (2013), the circulation of New Urbanist theory in Scotland suggests that the movement has the potential to follow in the footsteps of Toronto where Moore's research illuminated how "The convergence is a much deeper construction of allied interests and shared rationalities." Moore describes how this "construction of interests is enabled through a process of translation (Callon and Latour, 1981) through which a "delicate affiliation of loose assemblages of agents and agencies forms into a functioning network" (Miller and Rose, 1990, pp. 9–10). (Moore, 2013 2379-8).

The following section describes the key elements of the Scottish Government's activity that correspond directly to official New Urbanist people or places. The SSCI Charrette Series opening took place on March 1, 2010 in Edinburgh and was attended by representatives from professional groups, local authorities, government agencies and NGOs. The SSCI website notes that the event was introduced by Chief Planner Jim Mackinnon and was followed by an opening speech by Deputy First Minister Nicola Sturgeon MSP. Unusually for Scottish Government publications, the website refers to DPZ and the Congress of the Urbanism (CNU) explicitly saying that the event concluded with "... a special lecture by Andrés Duany, Principal of Duany Plater-Zyberk and Company and facilitator of the SSCI Charrette Series." (Scottish Government, 2010c). Similarly, the series closed with an event where Andrés Duany gave a seminar on the Charrette Series which included a series of mini lectures on each of the three projects.

The government's introduction of the Charrette Mainstreaming Programme was aimed at embedding charrette style working in Scottish practice with three projects selected to participate: Callander (Proposer, Callander Community Council on behalf of The Callander Partnership), Johnstone South West (Proposer, Renfrewshire Council) and South Carrick, Girvan (Proposer, South Ayrshire Council). One of the first (post-DPZ), SSCI run charrettes took place in Girvan. The Girvan charrette illustrates to what extent New Urbanist theory is, independently from government, influential to the practice of prominent Scottish urbanists. The Girvan charrette was facilitated by John Thompson & Partners (JTP) and Gillespie's LLP (Gillespies won a CNU Charter award in 2004). JTP describe their work using

the term *Sustainable Urbanism*. The resulting masterplan shares many New Urbanist principles with its vignettes showing traditional architecture and its preoccupation with regeneration through tourism and shopping. The multiple connections between UK practitioners and US New Urbanism is indicative of the reach of New Urbanist methodologies and theories. John Thompson gave a presentation at an official CNU congress meeting (2004) titled *Working With the Traditional City* along with Brian Evans, a partner at Gillespies Landscape Architects, as well as high profile UK urbanist Professor Alan J Simpson, best known for heading the Yorkshire Urban Renaissance project.⁷⁸ Simpson sits on the board of the Carnegie Mellon School of Architecture's *Remaking Cities Institute* alongside Hank Dittmar (The Prince's Foundation for Building Community), Léon Krier and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk (DPZ). Simpson has published widely with another SSCI charrette leader, Urban Design Associates (UDA). Together with UDA, Simpson has published town charters with a focus on urbanism including: Harlesden Town Charter (2010), York New City Beautiful (2010) and most significantly, the Scottish Government supported Neilston Renaissance Town Charter (2009). Perhaps one of the clearest indicators of direct knowledge transfer at Scottish governmental level is that Susie Stirling, Head of Branch within the department of Architecture and Place, was seconded in London for nine months, within the Chief Executive's department of the Prince's Foundation for the Built Environment. Stirling helped to create the first policy statement on design in Scotland, *Designing Places* (Scottish Executive, 2001a) and Planning Advice Notes (PANs) such as *Housing Quality* (Scotland.

⁷⁸ CNU XII, June 24-27, 2004, Chicago

Scottish Executive. Development Department, 2003b), *Design Statements* (Scotland. Scottish Executive. Development Department, 2003a) and *Housing in the Countryside* (Scotland. Scottish Executive. Development Department., 2005a) all highly informed by New Urbanist principles.

The concepts behind the Scottish Sustainable Communities Initiative are expressed largely through the use of charrettes and masterplans, both key features of New Urbanist theory and practice that are widely held to facilitate consensus. The project has successfully brought together a new kind of event-centred, community-based planning, but a lack of analysis of project outcomes or ongoing scholarly analysis makes the SSCI vulnerable to claims that it was an expensive experiment. There is little evidence of SSCI being a sustainable way of democratising participation in planning and architecture. Research by Gordon MacLeod (2013) involving the use of charrettes for the new town of Tornagrain described how “latent expressions of dissent in local planning processes often appear to be deamplified through endeavours to forge a political consensus.” MacLeod invokes Rancière’s term the “scandal of democracy” to explore the connection between the land renting aspirations of Lord Doune, the 21st Earl of Moray (Tornagrain’s developer) and DPZ and their joint efforts to employ the charrette as part of a process that ultimately obliterated dissent in Inverness. The Highland councillors were informed during a planning applications committee meeting (2012) that “if the Moray Estates’ application was refused, the Estate would be likely to appeal to the Scottish government and win with potentially enormous costs borne by the Highland Council ...” (MacLeod, 2013 3.2). Despite the use of the charrette process, the existing

community and the councillors had a tokenistic role to play in a system that was arguably bound to deliver a *fait accompli*.

The Scottish Government's *Charrette Mainstreaming Programme* launched in 2011 required architects wishing to work on masterplanning new housing developments defined as SSCI exemplars, to self-organise a charrette team using government guidelines to engage the public and to masterplan the designs. In his foreword to the Charrette Series Report John Swinney said,

“The charrette process has proven itself to be an immensely powerful mechanism for harnessing information, interests, local views and aspirations, and for marrying these with specialist knowledge and design skills. I believe that a key challenge for the Scottish Government now, is to help to mainstream this approach to community involvement and placemaking in shaping the future of Scotland's places.” (Scottish Government, 2010a 2)

Continuing with a focus on ‘place’, Swinney finished his foreword to the *Charrette Series Report* by noting “Andrés Duany has remarked that the Scottish Sustainable Communities Initiative is the most interesting planning initiative anywhere in the world. [...] What this government wants for the people of Scotland is the creation of inspiring places to live, work and gather. Quite simply places where people wish to be.” (Scottish Government, 2010a). Despite more than a century of experience to draw on of Scotland's planned places from Cromarty to Cumbernauld, national examples were scarcely mentioned. Charles Bruce (2013), a researcher at the University of Dundee's Department of Town and Regional Planning observed that while the guidance notes issued for the submission of proposals to the SSCI

contained references to a variety of exemplar developments in Finland, Germany and Sweden, no Scottish examples were included. (Scotland. Scottish Government., 2008b). Bruce posed the following question to Susan Stirling (Directorate of the Built Environment, Scottish Government): “Why is it necessary to look outside Scotland for examples of urban design and typology in the derivation of new settlements?” (Bruce, 2013). His question remains unanswered. Bruce was informed that the Scottish Government’s Chief Researcher had confirmed that Susie Stirling “... could not participate ...” in Bruce’s research. (Bruce, 2013).

The Future of the Charrette in Scotland

Shrinking budgets, social media, and sophisticated opposition groups are all factors in the future success of the charrette. In a recent interview in the AiA’s magazine, *Architect*, Duany acknowledged that the cost of charrettes made them difficult to sustain in today’s economy saying “While the New Urbanist system may work well, it is also expensive. To mount a charrette requires those rare, highly skilled professionals that can speak to regular folk, think clearly, and draw quickly. Charrettes can cost \$300,000. We need to get the cost down to \$50,000.” (Lind, 2011). The Charrette Mainstreaming Programme was devised to bypass some of the fixed costs of importing designers by inviting practitioners in Scotland to arrange their own project and design teams collaboratively and pitch to participate in a charrette. The programme remains controversial among some architects and designers who see it as an imposed practice that has created resentment, particularly among a group who have in the past criticised the government’s procurement

processes. The main complaint is that the apparatus of the charrette leads to predetermined outcomes.

The government's move to adopt and formalise the system of charrettes offers the benefit of pre-assessing issues and obstacles to new developments. A sample brief outlined in the *CMP Invitation to Tender* document asks the project team to propose a plan for a three day charrette in Perthshire. The sample development is for 250 houses on a site which has developer interest but has been the subject of protest by a local community group in relation to access to amenity space. In this way, project teams must demonstrate a variety of skills, including overcoming so-called NIMBYism. The DPZ solution to NIMBYism is to ask a randomly-selected group of citizens to represent the community in a process similar to the UK jury system.

Without such adjustments Duany says, the process is overtaken by "a bunch of little mobs, invited in by idiot public planners." (Halbur, 2010). There is consensus among many Scottish design professionals that charrettes must not be seen as a short-cut to the long process of planning and design. Despite modern data-gathering and baseline analysis methods, many issues cannot be solved within the timescales of a charrette. Interviewees maintained that organisers should manage expectations carefully since any process which lends status to the charrette outcomes could be exploited by developers manipulating the system to get short-cut approvals. The outcomes of New Urbanist charrettes are customarily a visual shorthand for community, leisure, safety and sustainability and many design professionals in Scotland are ready to question the deeper social assumptions embedded in the traditional schemes and typologies typified by DPZ run charrettes. However the future of the charrette looks robust in

the short to medium term in Scotland. In 2013 the Scottish Government began funding *CharrettePlus*, a charrette series being piloted by an independent agency called *Planning Aid for Scotland* which aims to deliver charrettes for a fraction of the cost of the Government's three DPZ run charrettes which totalled just under £150k. Planning Aid for Scotland was established as a charity in 1993 and is now run as a social enterprise that is part funded by the Scottish Government. In March 2013 Planning Aid for Scotland was awarded funding to pilot a new public participation in planning exercise called *CharrettePlus*. I interviewed David Wood, Manager of Planning & Policy at Planning Aid for Scotland who told me that since the Scottish Government were promoting the charrette as a tool for engagement, his organisation decided to apply for funding to try out their own version of the charrette. The pilot was aimed at reducing the cost of delivering a charrette and making the entire process more efficient by building professional capacity and by employing charrettes at more strategic stages in order to better use the resources available. (Wood, April 2013). Planning Aid for Scotland told me that they understood the *CharrettePlus* pilot to be "detached" from the New Urbanism.

The adoption of the charrette in Scotland and the government's desire to "embed charrette style working in Scottish practice" continues apace. Charrette projects supporting the production of Local Development Plans took place at Wick and Thurso (2013), Loch Lomond and the Trossachs National Park with a focus on the communities of Aberfoyle, Arrochar, Balmaha, Drymen, Succoth, Tarbert and Tyndrum (2013), and most recently South Wishaw (2013). Local plans are arguably strengthened with the specialist knowledge and local experience that charrette style

working offers. The benefit of having early dialogue with agencies and local authorities is also well documented. In the context of assisting communities to plan ahead for growth (see Loch Lomond and the Trossachs National Park charrette outcomes) the charrette style working approach is highly appropriate and offers genuine opportunity for residents to participate in the planning process.

Design Guides and Pattern Books

It is not only charrettes that produce neo-traditional architecture. Daniel Maudlin (2009) presents evidence from studies of English housebuilding that identifies regional planning policies as the chief catalyst for neo-traditional archetypes. Maudlin (2009) says in *Constructing Identity and Tradition* that the majority of current developments are "... scenographic interpretations of the historic built environment" with design guides that are "... preoccupied with regional identity achieved by reproducing existing historic fabric." (Maudlin, 2009 53). Many of the Scottish Government's design guides are similarly preoccupied with traditional forms and materials, such as *New Residential Streets* which, although it includes images which employ a mix of contemporary and historic or neo-traditional housing, including Poundbury (Figure 37), the terminology is centred around context (Scotland. Scottish Executive. Development Department, 2005b 23). In 2010 PAN 76 *New Residential Streets* was withdrawn and replaced by *Designing Streets* marking a distinct shift towards street design which saw it evolve from the subject of a design guide to that of policy.

Participating in a Scottish Charrette

The Longniddry Enquiry by Design

Longniddry is a superbly located place for property development. Under an hour from Edinburgh, positioned next to a coastal golf course, a country house estate and a mainline train station, the village embodies the town-meets-country idyll in a number of ways. The owner of the land surrounding Longniddry, the Earl of Wemyss and March, has instructed the firm (headed by his step-son) Socially Conscious Capital to begin investigating the development of land to the south east of the village. The Prince's Foundation for Building Community were duly approached to conduct an Enquiry by Design charrette, a procedure the Foundation have been performing since 2000 (E. Taylor, personal communication, 27 May, 2014). As we have seen, the case against charrette style planning workshops is articulated as one that hinges on the manipulation of participants:

“It employs the terminology of consensus-building as a means to its designers' preferred ends. It adopts the rhetoric of sustainability (itself a poorly articulated set of theories) even as it promotes an agenda of growth. Its intellectual honesty may be suspect.” (J. Grant, 2006b 77)

My own observations made during a charrette found that consensus building and information gathering *was* important but that there were multiple layers of consensus required throughout a complex process where parameters could change rapidly. In 2013 (12th, 13th, and 14th November) I attended the Longniddry Enquiry by Design charrette hosted by the Prince's Foundation in East Lothian. In terms of establishing consensus amongst the community and increasing participation in the planning

process amongst residents the charrette would most certainly be considered a failure. However, analysis of the charrette demonstrated a number of new insights that challenge some of the chief criticisms levelled by scholarship to date. Critical concerns surrounding the charrette process are attached to the following assumptions: that charrettes are stage-managed to produce preconceived outcomes; they almost always result in neo-traditional typologies; they aggravate inequality and do little to deliver affordable housing; and finally, they use the halo effect of the New Urbanist brand to bypass standard planning procedures and contribute to sprawl. More contemporary accounts also emphasise the de-politicalisation of communities and a lack of democracy in planning (Inch, 2012) (MacLeod, 2013). I found no evidence of stage management or pre-conceived masterplans at the Longniddry charrette. However, with members of the design team having also worked together on Poundbury, Knockroon, Tornagrain and Chapelton, their shared appreciation for traditional planning and architecture produces almost identical approaches.

After an initial public meeting characterised by hostility amongst the villagers towards both the developer (also the absentee landowner, the Earl of Wemyss and March) and the Prince's Foundation, an irreverent suggestion voiced by a resident to develop within the walls of the grand Gosford Estate was taken seriously by the design team who explored this option with as much attention as other, less disruptive proposals. The neo-traditional typologies produced were indeed standard New Urbanist scenography depicting terraced cottages and pantiled roofs (Figure 39a and 39b), but a discussion with the Prince's Foundation director, Ben Bogal, established that communities who express a desire for less traditional architecture have

historically been accommodated. He gave the example of how residents at Crewkerne in Somerset interpreted Poundbury buildings as “too pretentious” and accordingly a plainer “1960s style” had been produced (the developers were George Wimpey and the urban extension remains unbuilt). During the charrette Bogal quipped, “We’ve offered them a development that’s more of a village than their village!” referencing Longniddry’s unusual development pattern which is compact yet suburban in character. Almost half of the village to the west is 1970s ‘executive’ single family homes on relatively large plots.

It underscores that the New Urbanist attachment to neo-traditional housing may be more to do with public perception of tasteful development than design principles. Of the residents (numbering approximately 25) who attended the charrette I heard none ask about architectural style. Instead, the question of how the development might look was framed as a deeply felt distaste towards volume built estates locally (in poorer parts of the region). East Lothian is split into multiple wards politically. The affluent seaside towns on the northern golfing coast include Longniddry’s nearest neighbour Aberlady to the north-east, then Gullane and North Berwick — this ward also encompasses most of the Earl of Wemyss and March’s Gosford Estate.

Longniddry is located within the EL3 ward which encompasses the post-industrial, more urbanised conurbations of Cockenzie, Port Seton and Prestonpans.

It is this socio-economic aspect I suggest, that dominated the local perceptions of development at Longniddry. The *Enquiry by Design* process to me suggested that opposition to any development was closely associated with the desire to conceptualise Longniddry as being part of the affluent golfing region and separate

from its less affluent neighbours to the west. Despite the proposed development being located on the southern side of the railway tracks, the perception persisted that any development on the edges of the village would change the character of the place. I would argue that what was inferred as character in this instance stood for preserving Longniddry's village-like and correspondingly affluent status.

A Developers Charter?⁷⁹

The Longniddry *Enquiry by Design* was arguably hindered at the outset by a combination of the planning systems pro-growth agenda and a grass-roots public intervention which framed the landowner's proposal in a compelling new light. The charrette was dominated by a discourse that sought to de-legitimise future development of the village. On October 24th 2013 a Facebook page was created as a counterpoint to the Prince's Foundation called *Listen to Longniddry*. The group published the Scottish Government's *Strategic Development Plan for Edinburgh and South East Scotland* (SESplan). This plan decides how much land is needed for housing, business and other development and where it should be located for the next 20 years. The SESplan (Figure 38) depicted zones identified by local landowners for *possible development*.

The publication of the map showing an orange blob stretching the length of the existing village became encoded with symbolic value; out of context it appeared to

⁷⁹ A term I found in a representation to the SESplan from Mr Ian A. Osborne. (Osborne, 2013)

depict the landowner's hidden intentions. Since Socially Conscious Capital had stated that they had no pre-conceived plan, the publication of the SESplan image established a spatial boundary which became the definitive perception among the Longniddry residents. It became an agent in its own right (Figure 38). The SESplan image was circumscribed by the *Listen to Longniddry* Facebook page as the real plan, and following Ian Parker (1990: 191) once an image has become elaborated upon it then it becomes difficult not to refer to it as being real.

The SESplan is described by the Scottish Government as playing an important role in providing the planning framework for future sustainable economic growth across the SESplan area. Residents concerned by the pressure on their community from developers are invited to contribute their concerns in the form of representations to the Scottish Government. However since the government's own office supplies the figures that dictate how much development will take place and where, and since ownership of rural land in Scotland is overwhelmingly in the hands of private landowners, in practice the government invites landowners to offer up land for development. This is known as a *call for proposals*. Landowners identify where they might consider development (seen here as the orange areas on the map) and then if they choose to, employ the services of a masterplanning consultancy (in Longniddry's case the Prince's Foundation) and develop a plan for the government's appraisal. Accordingly, those plans which demonstrate the most adherence to the government's own policy documents such as *Designing Places* (Scottish Executive, 2001a) and *Designing Streets* (Scottish Government, 2010b) — which as I have

demonstrated are situated around a largely New Urbanist design language and theory — are more likely to be granted planning permission.

This flow of the transfer of power and decision making is, I suggest, not as transparent as it could be. The perception at the public meeting I attended in Longniddry (Thursday 14th November 2013) was that the local landowner was profiting at the expense of the lifestyle of the villagers and that the Prince's Foundation had been brought in as slick agents who would pull the wool over the village's eyes with sentimental drawings. The role of the state as the initiator of any development was largely absent from the debate other than for East Lothian Council to participate on day one of the *Enquiry by Design* stating at the outset that their presence did not signify support for the development. With almost 900 vacant dwellings in East Lothian according to government statistics, the case for new development in the region would seem to have been made with a pro-growth mindset. Sustainable economic growth is the stated policy of the Scottish Government and the construction of new housing, interpreted by some as sprawl, necessitates the question, why did the protest not attach itself to the state as opposed to the planners or the landowner?

In summary, the critique of charrettes that holds them to be less democratic than other modes of participatory planning is skewed by a focus on New Urbanist theory. I suggest more attention be paid to the broader structures underpinning a region's specific development strategies. Furthermore, it is important to understand the Prince's Foundation within the context of any other private planning consultancy, i.e. ultimately powerless to affect the dominant land use directives issued by the state but

undoubtedly cognizant of their priorities and assisted by official policy documents to construct satisfactory proposals.

The Enquiry by Design culminated in another well-attended public meeting of over 150 people at the local primary school (November 14th 2013). The majority of the questions raised by residents went largely unanswered. To the question of who might pay for landscaping and other amenities, the design team referred to “various purses” including public money. In answer to the question of how much profit stood to be made by the developer, the answer was that there had been “no commercial testing”.

“Would you do the Gosford Estate development first” asked a member of the audience. The response was that the developer had not yet had the opportunity to think about phasing. A local resident and academic widely published in the field of urban studies cited the established history of mental barriers to community cohesion presented by railway tracks which divide communities. He also noted that people were likely to be unhappy at the way the Prince’s Foundation had presented the Longniddry residents with photographs of their village that [they] described as “uninspiring”.

Mr Feilding, the director of Socially Conscious Capital Ltd was quick to state, “We don’t think the village needs fixing” however the perception lingered that the reforming approach taken by the Prince’s Foundation had further alienated them from those people in the community who attended the meeting. Feedback from one participant of the Enquiry by Design was given to me anecdotally. He reported feeling uneasy and intimidated by the Prince’s Foundation team, consisting as it did

almost exclusively of men from what he interpreted to be an elite, privileged background.

The Prince's Foundation, by their own admission, come to each new planning project with their own values. In the face of such overwhelming hostility in the public forum it is not clear why they did not endeavour to properly explain their relatively distant relationship to the matter of whether or not development should occur at all in Longniddry. Instead they focussed on how they would *improve community* in the village, increase opportunities for interaction. The Prince's Foundation sought to demonstrate where Longniddry was failing to be a community as a rhetorical device. They demonstrated with diagrams and photographs how they could fix Longniddry and change it from "being a through place into a 'to' place". Thomas J St Antoine's (2007) argument that New Urbanism ignores the implications of development on communities is compelling. He says: "new urban rhetoric works to attract middle-class suburbanites by providing an opportunity to mediate ideological tension between the individual and community without addressing the material problems associated with suburban sprawl." (St. Antoine, 2007 128)

Sixteen representations made by Socially Conscious Capital Ltd demonstrate that the landowners have been campaigning for development at Longniddry since 2010, citing issues with the SESplan that include its alleged failure to comply with Scottish Government recommendations to ensure an effective supply of new housing, breaking the national planning framework rules about planning for climate change and finally, the claim that "In effect, SESplan has abdicated all responsibility for providing a spatial direction in the latter years of the plan. This phase is now a black

hole which contains 70% of the region's 20 year housing land requirement. This is unacceptable." (Ryden on behalf of Wemyss and March Estate, 2011). Abdication of responsibility is arguably the key feature of the Scottish government in the context of its commitment to ensuring equity and increasing participation in the planning process.

Similarly, another representation made on behalf of the Wemyss and March Estate to the Main Issues Report asked for housing need to be adjusted up from 27000 to 45000 arguing: "Evidence points to a target of 27,000 houses for the period to 2032 to be non-aspirational and pessimistic. The minimum housing target should be 45,000 houses from the outset with interim review." (Ryden on behalf of Wemyss and March Estate, 2010 5).

This best way to get to the heart of the landowner's intentions is to look at the purely business-led local market review report which they commissioned from Saville's and which I requested from the SESplan archives. Report number MIR-ID106-097 (within the Wemyss and March Estate representation to SESplan) is arguing for the government's SESplan to allocate housing at Longniddry as opposed to nearby Blindwells. It makes a compelling business case for development at Longniddry. It does not appeal to the sentiment of the villagers nor the community and planning values of the Prince's Foundation, but simply talks in real estate terminology about the location: "Longniddry benefits from a more attractive setting, being coastal with agricultural land around it", services: "It has a higher amenity value, with a good scenario of local restaurants, golf clubs, small boutiques and local shops", proximity

to upper class neighbourhoods: “Longniddry is near the attractive villages of Aberlady and Gullane, with Haddington providing more extensive facilities, whereas Blindwells sits closer to and is associated with settlements such as Tranent, Prestonpans, Cockenzie, Port Seton and Macmerry, which are less attractive, comprised of low value housing and are former mining areas with less amenity value” (2010, 47-52), and a summary argument that is the clearest given so far that ‘community’ is another word for profitable.

“The result of this is that Longniddry is deemed a more desirable place to live, with a well established identity and excellent community feel. On the basis that Longniddry is a more desirable place to live, it can accommodate higher house prices. (Ryden on behalf of Wemyss and March Estate, 2010, 47-52)

The report (2010) states that by comparison, Blindwells is less desirable and “so will achieve lower sales prices and attract a narrower range of purchasers. The Longniddry development would be able to viably provide a wider range of housing types and tenures, with design of a higher quality than would be commercially achievable at Blindwells. This in turn would allow it to achieve the SESplan’s aims of meeting housing demand and need and enhancing the built environment.” (47-52)

The Longniddry community are participants in a post-political planning process (Bond, 2010; MacLeod, 2013). The information gathering and the attempted consensus building of the Ebd is an important feature of the larger story. However the speed at which a general acceptance of the inevitability of development was achieved was striking. Public opinion was against any development initially and through the Ebd process it was transfigured to focus not on *if* anything would be built

but where and what might be built. Principle figures within the New Urbanist sphere have stated that architecture is not political (Krier, 1998; Krier, 2009). However planning is. It is the refusal of the charrette or the Ebd design process to deal with that fact that ultimately makes it tokenistic.

The charrette or Enquiry by Design are often used to strengthen the case made for using a particular architectural and planning typology. Charrettes and Enquiry by Design are therefore a valuable and compelling instrument for the New Urbanist developer.

Scotland's Three Waves of New Urbanism

Referring back to Figure 1 in the thesis which depicted the locations of New Urbanist activity in Scotland, what follows is a summary of each location with key information including information (where applicable) about the developers, scale, site and the New Urbanist organisations involved. There are broadly three waves of New Urbanism: the first is a set of propositions (from 2006 onwards) elaborated by the Prince's Foundation for Building Community in partnership with both US firm Urban Design Associates and house builders Scotia Homes⁸⁰. This first group of sites in Scotland all began with charrettes (the majority being the Prince's Foundation's Enquiry by Design). These include Ballater, Banchory, Caithness, Cove, Ellon and Nairn. Some went on to achieve planning permission and have begun construction,

⁸⁰ With the exception of Castletown at Caithness which predates the Foundation's partnerships with Urban Design Associates.

including Cove and two sites at Ellon, while some have not been taken forward to date (Caithness, Ballater, Banchory and Nairn). In 2008 the Prince of Wales discussed the adoption of the Enquiry by Design procedure Scotland-wide with the First Minister and Scotland's chief planner during a conference in Edinburgh jointly organised by the foundation and the Scottish Government. The government launched the Scottish Sustainable Communities Initiative (SSCI) in 2008, the SSCI Charrette Series in 2010 and the official Charrette Mainstreaming Programme in 2011. This 'second wave' of New Urbanism saw exemplars selected for the SSCI which were primarily Duany Plater-Zyberk (DPZ) led masterplans: Grandhome (Bridge of Don near Aberdeen), Ladyfield (Dumfries), Lochgelly (Fife) and Tornagrain (Inverness). Of those selected only Knockroon (Cumnock) was led by the Prince's Foundation. Of the three DPZ exemplars Grandhome has emerged as the most fully developed proposal with planning permission in principle applied for in 2013 for 4700 homes and construction is expected to begin in 2014. What can be termed the third wave is similarly dominated by US consultancies. Dubford's masterplan (2011/12) was devised by Urban Design Associates in partnership with Michael Gilmore Associates for Scotia Homes and proceeded without the involvement of the Prince's Foundation. DPZ were consulted by private developers, the Elsie Development Company, and Sir David Murray to masterplan Scotland's largest housing development for a generation — Chapelton (2012) — and a £1 billion green belt development titled *Edinburgh's Garden District* (2011) respectively. The Prince's Foundation for Building Community remains active in Scotland. Construction at Knockroon continues and the organisation continues to produce its own brand of charrette as described at Longniddry. Two in-depth site studies are provided, exploring the

approach taken by the Prince's Foundation at Knockroon (Chapter 5) and DPZ at Chapelton (Chapter 6) in order to explore some of the questions surrounding New Urbanism in Scotland. What follows is a mapping of the collective body of sites which comprise Scotland's New Urbanist activity and the extent of interconnectivity between practitioners. Transfer of knowledge is highlighted.

Ballater

First Wave

Ballater's (Figure 41) New Urbanist connections centre around its project partners which include The Prince's Foundation for Building Community and the US urban designers Urban Design Associates (UDA). The existing burgh village is located forty miles southwest of Aberdeen in the Cairngorms National Park.⁸¹ The Village Masterplanning document produced by the The Prince's Foundation reported that despite a good range of amenities, a lack of affordable housing has been exacerbated by population growth (the 2001 census estimates a population of 1446) and accordingly the Foundation were invited by the Ballater Community Council in 2006 to hold a three-day Enquiry by Design workshop for the village, "to consider its long-term future in a more sustainable and sympathetic manner." (The Prince's Foundation for Building Community, nd-a). Scotia Homes Ltd. sponsored the initial charrette which in 2009 was revisited through a subsequent workshop with Urban Design Associates. While there is no official update from The Prince's Foundation for Building Community nor Scotia Homes a grassroots website named

⁸¹ Ballater is known for its proximity to the royal residence Balmoral as well as being at one time the residence of botanist and early urban theorist Patrick Geddes.

ballater250houses.co.uk records a petition numbering 530 of residents in opposition to the proposed development. The crux of the opposition centres around a perceived lack of community engagement from the landowners, Cairngorms National Park Authority (CNPA) and their potential partners Scotia Homes. The website reported that of 155 attendees to a community meeting on the matter, a majority expressed the preference for affordable housing "...for locals – preferably on brownfield sites to preserve the farmlands for local farmers – and therefore keep local employment...". It also reported that some existing residents "... did not wish the tranquil rural village to be transformed into a dormitory or retirement town." (Swan, 2008). The website was created by a local resident and former member of the community council. In an open letter to the newspaper the *Donside Piper and Herald* Phil Swan (2009) echoed some of the same concerns that were expressed during the Longniddry charrette:

"It is inappropriate for the Prince's Foundation to revisit the Ballater debate before the Reporters have concluded their findings from the Local Plan Inquiry, not least because nobody yet knows what form the plan, if adopted at all, will take. People don't have time to attend redundant meetings and it is improper that a badly timed meeting sponsored by Scotia Homes - the prospective developer - is being given the status of official consultation of the people." (Swan, 2009)

Once more, as at Longniddry, the opaque issue of housing allocation by the Scottish Government appeared to be at the centre of the opposition to development.

Banchory

Little information is publicly available about New Urbanism at Banchory. Despite articles mentioning the village in the context of The Prince's Foundation rolling out a series of Enquiry by Design charrettes in Scotland, there are no project masterplans or artists' impressions available. Situated inland, twenty miles south west of Aberdeen, Banchory is an attractive burgh town with a population of around 6000⁸². It is characterised by a traditional core with a public square and high street surrounded by various iterations of suburban style development dominated by detached single family homes at its outer edges. In 2010 Tesco built an *eco-store* prefiguring more development⁸³. The application made by Scotia Homes (2008) to build a mixed-use walkable development of 400 units from one bedroom flats to large detached houses called *Banchory South* stated that "This proposal is all about sustainable urbanism..." and speculated "... Banchory South will be an organic community which is able to survive and thrive for a long period of time." (Scotia Homes, 2008 5). It described working with the Prince's Foundation for Building Community and Urban Design Associates on their public engagement process and the intention to produce a masterplan though none has been published by any of the organisations involved. The Prince's Foundation's Ed Taylor (E. Taylor, personal communication, 23 May, 2014) notes that proposals did not progress since a decision was made to continue growth to the north of the town. There does exist a Banchory

⁸² 2001 census stated 6038 with an estimated population of 7200 in 2016.

⁸³ The 4,500sqm timber clad super-store was presented as a 'sustainable' case study by A+DS (Architecture and Design Scotland) and SUST (Sustainability in Architecture) in an arguably flimsy four page document which featured photos and illustrations and little evidence of sustainable architecture.

Community Action Plan, a twelve page booklet produced by the Banchory Community Council (BCC) and the Banchory & District Initiative Limited (BDI) on behalf of the community.⁸⁴ It describes how various forums on where new housing settlements should be located had highlighted an “... urgent need for a Banchory Masterplan.” (Banchory Community Council (BCC), Initiative, & Limited (BDI), nd) and accordingly the community council had invited students at the Robert Gordon University (RGU) in Aberdeen to develop a series of proposals. RGU’s final year students 2009/10 were led by academic staff from the University and visiting lecturer Michael Gilmour, principle of the architecture practice who produced neo-traditional housing typologies for Scotia Homes and partner with the Prince’s Foundation for Building Community at Castleton in Ellon (Figure 35) and Castletown, Caithness (Figures 42a, b and c) (Robert Gordon University, 2010).

Caithness: Castletown Village Masterplan

The Castletown (Figures 42a, b and c) project is connected by three of the Prince of Wales’ organisations: The Prince’s Foundation for Building Community, The Prince’s Regeneration Trust and the North Highland Initiative, founded by the Prince of Wales to promote the economy and well-being of the region through its produce, tourism and built environment (The Prince's Foundation for Building Community, nd-b). The design team was composed of Aberdeenshire architects Michael Gilmour

⁸⁴ This booklet is one of a series published by Aberdeenshire Local Rural Partnerships (of which BDI is one) under the banner Making It Real for a number of communities in Aberdeenshire. The initiative is sponsored by Aberdeenshire Community Planning Partnership and Shell.

Associates and Nairn based ANTA Architecture; the latter were also the co-designers of Knockroon and part of the Longniddry Enquiry by Design charrette. Caithness, one of the most northerly villages in Scotland has seen a combination of job losses and outward migration in recent years with many traditional buildings empty. In 2007, The Prince's Regeneration Trust held a three-day Enquiry by Design charrette producing a framework for long-term growth and regeneration of the existing village. On the basis of the masterplan, Scotia Homes agreed to invest and submitted a planning application in January 2011 for a first phase of six homes within a converted farm area, 28 new homes and one commercial unit on a project area of 3.3 hectares. The status of the project is reported to be at the first phase of the planning application process (The Prince's Foundation for Building Community, nd-b). It does not — at the time of writing — feature on the Scotia Homes list of housing developments. A article in the local newspaper, the *Caithness Courier* depicts the concerns of the community council as potentially destabilising the development. “A major development in Castletown could be lost if the community council continues to complain about it. That was the warning made to members by village officer Innes Moodie at a meeting last Thursday. He is worried that concerns raised about road access, drainage and a footpath could lead to the developers Scotia Homes going elsewhere.” (Calder, 2013 4). The article gives some insight into the culture of post-political consensus-making which manifests around the managing of localised consequences to globally induced conditions of economic development as articulated by Jacques Rancière (2004) and Erik Swyngedouw (2009).

Nairn

New Urbanism at Nairn, a Highland town located sixteen miles east of Inverness (Figure 1) is another partnership between the Prince's Foundation and Scotia Homes which suggests an urban extension to the south of the existing town. Of the Nairn South design the developer, Scotia Homes, states: "These new streets and buildings will look like Nairn. We'll be using architectural touches influenced by existing buildings, with a mix of styles and a sensitive approach to what's already there. This won't look like most suburban developments - it will simply be a new neighbourhood, with the same character and feel as the rest of the area." (Scotia Homes, 2014).

Very little remains in the public sphere on Nairn's planned extension. However an Enquiry by Design took place in 2008 (October 27th- 31st) attracting the criticism of local independent planning organisation Action For Planning Transparency (APT) led by Cathy Stafford. Stafford attended the Enquiry by Design and questioned the legitimacy of the charrette procedure and the role of the Foundation. The APT website (2009) points to a *Times* article published in 2009 which constructs a controversial image of the Prince's Foundation with the headline *Prince's Foundation Causes Alarm with Close Links to Housebuilder*. "The developer commissions and pays for the foundation to go into towns and villages, carry out consultations and prepare masterplans for the local communities, as well as to help to persuade authorities of their merits." (Kennedy, 2009). Stafford (2009), writing in her blog for APT, makes a pertinent point about the relationship between agencies such as DPZ, UDA and the Prince's Foundation when she writes on the subject of

Scotland's reform of its planning system, about the necessity for developers to consult the public and how successful consulting therefore becomes an asset. On the subject of the Scottish Government's advocacy in the form of the SSCI Stafford notes:

“The more worrying thing though is whether or not it is appropriate for the Scottish Government to be closely involved with an organisation who conducts events sponsored by developers with respect to large applications that may well become the subject of planning appeals if planning permission is refused by the local decision makers.” (Stafford, 2009)

Cove, Aberdeen

New Urbanism at Cove is organised around a suburban retrofit of an existing fishing community on the south-east edge of Aberdeen which has expanded to become a commuter suburb with few amenities. As suburban retrofitting gathers momentum in the USA; its relevance to Scottish Urbanism could have future significance. Largely led by CNU founding member Ellen Dunham Jones, author of the book *Retrofitting Suburbia* (2011) which describes, in familiar New Urbanist diction, the hurriedly built infrastructure and “dying malls” of US suburbia as “... shaping up to be the biggest urban revitalization challenge of modern times.” (Dunham-Jones & Williamson, 2011 vi). The Prince's Foundation for Building Community worked once again with Urban Design Associates (UDA) and Michael Gilmour Associates holding an Enquiry by Design workshop (2008) to “... find the most appropriate developments for land allocated by Aberdeen City Council.” (The Prince's Foundation for Building Community, nd-c). The Enquiry by Design charrette at

Cove also employed Urban Design Associates Urban analysis tool, the UDA X-Ray® method, precedent research and, to facilitate conversations, the charrette team developed preliminary base maps of Cove and asked people to respond to three questions: “What do you like best? What do you like least? What are your dreams for the future?” (Urban Design Associates & The Prince’s Foundation for the Built Environment, nd 12). This was followed by a *Site Design and Modelling Charrette* (also 2008). Outcomes of the Cove charrette are synonymous with tropes from other New Urbanist charrettes where locals are reported to have cited lack of character within the post-war development as a mitigating factor for development. The Prince’s Foundation summary report describes the requests of charrette participants: “They also wanted a network of walkable neighbourhoods, supporting a bigger town centre with a full mix of uses and facilities.” (nd-c). The extensive Cove Charrette and Master Plan Report (nd) explains that the issues at Cove included: chaotic placement of facilities and lack of civic focus; car dependency; lack of a retail centre; and loss of natural landscape (nd 14). A detailed masterplan was drawn by Urban Design Associates which supported strategies, initiatives and proposals for the existing civic core. In August 2011, the two separate planning applications submitted by Scotia Homes and Stewart Milne Housing were unanimously approved by Aberdeen city councillors. The plans comprise of 737 new homes and 1525 square metres of commercial and retail space (nd-c). Within convenient commuting distance to Aberdeen, Cove, or Charleston as Scotia Homes have called the development, looks likely to deliver on its promise of being the “... perfect location for suburban living.” (Scotia Homes, 2014). Critics of retrofitting suburbia warn that it is easy for developers to conflate image and form (Dagenhart, 2008). Figures 43, 44 and 45

demonstrate the neo-traditional design at Cove replicates locally sourced historic architecture, though with a typically scatter-gun approach. “The new houses at Charleston take their design inspiration from the local area. You’ll recognise a lot of the styles from looking around the vicinity and neighbouring villages – Victorian, Scots Baronial and Coastal Vernacular.” (Scotia Homes, 2014). A site visit revealed that due to the masterplan being divided up amongst house builders, Charleston’s neo-traditional architecture sits cheek by jowl with conventional volume built housing (Figures 44 and 45). In the longterm this could be a useful barometer of the enduring appeal of historic forms. With various house types all built around the same time on a comprehensive masterplan, which will emerge to be most valued? Which will be said to encompass a sense of place or a feeling of community? Charleston’s masterplan (Figure 43), situated tightly between three iterations of suburban growth on three sides and the A956 on the one remaining, makes good use of the available land with a variety of housetypes, including apartments. Scotia Homes write “Inspired by the past, built for the future. We’re not just building great homes at Cove – we’re building a neighbourhood, and a community. So the approach and designs, the shape of the landscape and the individuality of each home, all combine to create that community.” The rhetoric of community used by the developer has some basis in fact since the development positions itself in dialogue with the existing built form surrounding it, resisting the typical volume house builder approach which would seek to create space around itself, often with poor vehicular and pedestrian permeability (Figure 46).

Castleton at Ellon

Ellon (Figures 34 and 35) is the last of this first wave of New Urbanism and its connections are US urban designers Urban Design Associates and The Prince's Foundation for Building Community both of whom contributed to the production of a masterplan that includes three sites: two are new neighbourhoods built on greenfield and one is infill in the historic core. Construction began on the Castleton (Figure 34) housing estate in 2012. Ellon was awarded a *Scottish Award for Quality in Planning* in 2008. The developers are Barratt Homes and Scotia Homes and a pattern book was drawn up by UDA and The Prince's Foundation for Building Community to help transform standard developer house types (The Prince's Foundation for Building Community, nd-d). The official partners are comprised of The Prince's Foundation for Building Community; house builders Barratt Homes Ltd; local Aberdeenshire architects Michael Gilmour Associates; Scotia Homes Ltd; Urban Design Associates and WSP Environmental Ltd. The roles of the key partners are set out as follows: organisation and leadership of the charrette and masterplanning workshops — The Prince's Foundation for the Built Environment (as it was known at the time); developing the masterplan, pattern book and model — Urban Design Associates. Unusually, this project created a three-dimensional wooden model of Ellon and the new proposed developments. Technical and planning policy input throughout the whole planning and design process was provided by Aberdeenshire Council; representing the local community and co-ordinating local groups was Ellon Community Council; representing local business interests was Ellon Business Initiative; and assisting in the production of a pattern book and neo-

traditional housing types for Scotia Homes Ltd. (the main sponsor of the project) were local architects Michael Gilmore Associates. (Scottish Government, 2008).

The Second Wave

The second wave of New Urbanism is predicated around the Scottish Government's Sustainable Communities Initiative. New Urbanist-led sites in four locations were explored by DPZ (Grandhome, Ladyfield, Lochgelly and Tornagrain) and a further one, Knockroon by the Prince's Foundation, this time notably with the absence of a partnership with Urban Design Associates.

Ladyfield

Another Scottish Sustainable Communities Initiative exemplar, from the outset Ladyfield was conceptualised as being about green or sustainable development.⁸⁵ The site — the historic Crichton Estate — was formerly a world renowned mental hospital at Dumfries in southwest Scotland. The estate was bought by Dumfries and Galloway Council in 1995 and leased to the Crichton Trust. Since then the estate has been redeveloped by the Trust's subsidiary, the Crichton Development Company. The Ladyfield development would be located close to a major centre of employment in Dumfries since the Crichton Estate incorporates the Crichton University Campus, a business park with over 40,000 square feet of office accommodation and two large conference venues and hotels (Easterbrook Hall and the Aston Hotel).

⁸⁵ The Carbon Centre provided environmental expertise throughout the charrette, advising on methods of lowering the development's carbon footprint.

The charrette took place in 2010 (2- 6 March) and it was funded by the Crichton Trust and Development Company. An employment-to-housing imbalance in the area was at the centre of the aims of the masterplans to develop a residential mixed-use neighbourhood of 400 houses, a village centre with shops and business units, as well as open space and community facilities. The charrette outcomes reflected how official government design policy had been adopted, with the architectural typologies reflecting New Urbanism's preference for traditional forms. Ladyfield's four different masterplans featured "... local vernacular, based on Scottish wynds, closes and pends, creating a distinctive place. Materials such as white harl and timber cladding are sustainable and in keeping with the local character." Scottish Government, 2011b, Section 7).

Ladyfield has yet to begin construction with the government's own report titled *Scottish Sustainable Communities Initiative - 2 years on* (2011) stating that since Ladyfield had been the shortest of the three charrettes (at five days), it had not been possible for the team to identify a single plan, instead "... this was done directly between the DPZ team and the Trust following the charrette. Work has since concentrated on identifying the delivery model and resolving a number of outstanding issues in relation to the land ownership and the clawback arrangement required in any land transfer from Scottish Ministers." (Scottish Government, 2011 Section 7).

Lochgelly

The Lochgelly charrette took place in 2010 (March 8-13th) in Fife. Architecture and politics journalist Andrew Guest (2010) reported on the Lochgelly charrette for *Scottish Review*. At the beginning of the Lochgelly charrette process Guest (2010) reported that Andrés Duany stated, "... things had not always been done well in Lochgelly" but that "we will design them better, in the traditional Scottish way" (Section 2, paragraph 1). Guest also reported that the DPZ principal had "...expressed his approval of the newly devolved Scotland's attempt to 'discover a distinctive approach to planning in the 21st century' and to 'do things their own way'." (Guest, 2010 Section 2, paragraph 1)

Guest rightly observes that the Lochgelly charrette, organised by the government's Scottish Sustainable Communities Initiative with DPZ, illustrates in microcosm the Scottish Government's preoccupation with neo-traditional architecture and planning. The limitations of New Urbanism's approach which employs features like the Transect to create compelling regenerative masterplans is posited when Guest (2010) notes, "Duany gave no justification for why his vision of Scottish architecture was appropriate for Lochgelly, or why a predominantly aesthetic makeover, in whatever style, would assist places like Lochgelly come to terms with the challenges of small towns in the 21st century." (Section 2, paragraph 5). It is notable that the Lochgelly section of the *Charrette Series Report* (Scottish Government, 2010a 47) is the first

public document to refer to the DPZ and CNU approved Transect device which seeks to measure urban to rural character (Scottish Government, 2010a 47).

The masterplan produced for Lochgelly featured laudable attempts to improve connectivity and walkability, and even sceptics such as Guest (2010) acknowledge the benefits New Urbanism can bring to Scotland in enlarging and complicating the discourse on planning: “In their critique of our planning process and in their holistic approach to master-planning and design, and in their direct approach to communicating issues about urbanism and place-making, DPZ undoubtedly have a lot to teach planners and urban designers.” (Section 2, paragraph 9)

Grandhome

During an interview with Planning Aid for Scotland (PAS) Business and Communications Manager, David McAllister, McAllister (April 2013) recounted his direct knowledge of the New Urbanist charrette in Scotland. The interview reflected McAllister’s personal opinions and research rather than his professional position at PAS. His postgraduate masters research had evaluated the government-sponsored charrette for *Grandhome and Whitestripes*, Aberdeen, which took place as part of the SSCI (Scottish Sustainable Communities Initiative) exemplars programme in March 2010. Official Aberdeen City Council (2010) committee documents reported that the Charrette programme would be led by Turnberry Consultants and DPZ “... in collaboration with the the Scottish Government in March 2010”. The document also stated that the Aberdeen charrette would be run by “Turnberry and DPZ in

collaboration with the Grandhome Trust and Aberdeen City Council.” (Aberdeen City Council, 2010 131).

McAllister noted that despite the event following New Urbanist principles entirely, no mention was made of a New Urbanist association by any of the official facilitators or event organisers associated with the event. On the subject of Duany’s facilitating, McAllister remarked that the CNU founder served as both facilitator and leader directing both the design team as well as the participants. “There was no separation of duties,” McAllister noted (D, McAllister, April 2013). Duany was reportedly dismissive of official Government planning regulations and insistent on the adoption of his form-based codes (known as the Transect or SmartGrowth). Additionally, McAllister described how during the charrette there was no observable note-taking by the organizers, it was not transparent who the design team had taken their instruction from other than Duany, and therefore the design process itself remained opaque. McAllister’s opinion of the DPZ run charrette was that “...the decisions had already been made” and he questioned whether the participants were representative enough of the 20,000 population planned for the site and whether or not charrettes of the type were scalable. The official Scottish Government supported SSCI instigated charrette programme had no link up with the University of Aberdeen and none of the SSCI charrettes were evaluated by independent researchers at Scottish universities, as one might arguably expect of a new national procedure.

Tornagrain

Currently Tornagrain exists as a small hamlet positioned to the east of Inverness on the main route to Inverness airport (Figure 9). At the time of writing Tornagrain is poised to begin its first construction phase in 2014 with Ben Pentreath principal of *Ben Pentreath & Associates* (formerly known as *Working Group Design* who helped design Knockroon's masterplan) drawing up the detailed masterplan for the first 200 homes which will include retail space, tennis courts and a school.

Earlier in this chapter (4.2.1) I presented some of Gordon MacLeod's (2013) research on Tornagrain which looked at the connection between Lord Doune, the 21st Earl of Moray (Tornagrain's developer) and DPZ and their successful use of the charrette procedure to diminish dissent and achieve planning permission for a town which will house up to 10,000 residents (Figure 8). I have also referred to Tornagrain's Scottish Sustainable Communities Initiative Exemplar status throughout the thesis. Tornagrain is expected to be constructed slowly with only 90 houses planned per year. With the landowner in complete control there is every reason to expect it will conform to the masterplan and the strict form based codes designed by DPZ.

In June 2013 UK trade magazine *Building Design* published an article titled 'Andrés Duany and the New Enlightenment' where journalist Ellis Woodman interviewed Duany about Tornagrain, codes and Scottish urbanism. Woodman (2013) was interested in the "sympathetic" reception to New Urbanist form-based codes from the now retired Chief Planner Jim Mackinnon. Duany attributed Mackinnon's advocacy

to the Scottish Government's self-conscious desire to assert itself in the context of political independence from the rest of the UK saying "When we arrived I could tell they had an attitude that they were becoming their own country" adding "McKinnon ultimately liked codes because they are rationalist. The Scottish enlightenment is not empirical. It's a rationalist culture." (Woodman, 2013 paragraph 4). Duany's views on Scottish political philosophy does not correspond particularly well with Scotland's contemporary architecture policy which relies heavily on intangible conceptualisations of place and community. But his view that official policy makers such as Mackinnon were inspired by nationalist agendas has merit.

The deductive, and if we follow Duany *rationalist* approach taken to designing Tornagrain is revealed in the interview as being connected to DPZ's status as "foreigners" bringing a fresh eye to Scottish urbanisation and asking the questions that native architects have stopped paying attention to (Woodman, 2013 paragraphs 5 and 6). Describing how the design team had taken inspiration from St Andrews for all three of their Scottish schemes Duany stated "As Americans we were excited by what we saw. We asked questions: What is a pend? What's a wynd? How do you block the wind coming in from the sea? We asked questions the architects stopped asking." (paragraph 6).

The Transect and form based codes are of the utmost importance to the New Urbanist project. Duany defends the use of codes in the Building Design article (2013) arguing that he would prefer to use codes than what the author Woodman described as the traditional British system of negotiation (paragraph 7) since codes

provide “a situation where I come in with rights.” (paragraph 7). His philosophy is at odds with the participatory, fair image presented by the charrette procedure but Duany is correct. Establishing a masterplan that is pre-defined with form based codes long into the future — in the case of Tornagrain 50 years into the future — secures a development style that is impervious to local attitudes and changes of government. A truly rational approach to real-estate development.

Perhaps worryingly for the Scottish Government’s *Scottish Sustainable Communities Initiative* is that its exemplar Tornagrain may not meet a criteria for sustainability articulated at the outset. In the same article (June 2013) Duany is scathing about high tech energy saving and the idea of short-term costs for long-term benefits reportedly saying “Even passive technology is too expensive. I’d rather spend \$500 on a beautiful curtain than triple glazing. The commitment to hi-tech is a commitment to cost — and we don’t have the money any more.” (Woodman, 2013 paragraph 13). The author closes his article by speculating that developments like Tornagrain will be hugely influential to Scotland’s future urbanisation. He is arguably correct, as developments like Tornagrain deserve much more study and their designers and developers need to be ready to counter the paradoxes of their sustainability aims.

The Third Wave

Dubford, Bridge of Don

The literature produced for Dubford exemplifies this first wave of Scottish New Urbanism where theory began to be reconfigured via US consultancies and put into practice. The Dubford development on the northern edge of Aberdeen was formed in a partnership between Scotia Homes and Urban Design Associates. The sixty-five page report *A Visioning Workshop for Dubford* (Urban Design Associates, 2010) outlines the many changes to Scottish planning and architecture policy that are informed by New Urbanist theory. For example, a key component of the new policies required that plans be developed with the participation of the community, and so an Enquiry by Design style charrette was performed in order to "... prepare a conceptual plan for the site that exemplifies the new planning policies." (Urban Design Associates, 2010 3). In other words seeking planning consent using the latest modes of best practice and putting New Urbanist theory into action. Dubford's developers Scotia Homes set out the New Urbanist principles on creating community that differentiates them from ordinary house builders;

"We're not just building great homes at Dubford; we're also building a community. Our approach to planning and design, the individuality of our homes and the shape of the existing landscape all combine to create a real sense of neighbourhood." (Scotia Homes, nd)

In Figure 36, we can see that the housing consists of a mixture of terraced and semi-detached homes with short set-backs and on-street parking that is typical of New Urbanism and is posited as strengthening a sense of community.

"We've listened to what homebuyers want and we understand that people want so much more than just a house, they want to be part of a community." (Scotia Homes, nd)

The developers take the principles that were outlined by the Charter for the New Urbanism (1999) and produced at Celebration and Seaside and adopt them at Dubford, curating a convivial space that encourages socialising. Potential buyers are reassured that they will be able to experience community at Dubford.

“Places where people can meet are an important aspect of any community, so at Dubford we’re creating interesting gathering places and public spaces. These will form focal points where people can mix and relax, with landscaping and planting that help the development blend with its surroundings.” (Scotia Homes, nd)

The former director of Scotia Homes, Dominic Fairlie is said by the Prince’s Foundation to be a committed advocate of New Urbanist principles which may be key to the clarity with which important themes are rehearsed (E. Taylor, personal communication, 8 June 2014).

Edinburgh’s Garden District

Edinburgh’s Garden District is a masterplan developed by DPZ on behalf of Murray Estates. Murray Estates is owned by Scottish businessman Sir David Murray and controls over 675 acres of land in West Edinburgh. Edinburgh’s Garden District would breach the city bypass which acts as boundary for greenbelt development making the proposals controversial to some (Fraser 2010, *The Scotsman* 2010, *Urban Realm* 2013) though notably no published scholarship to date has explored the plans.

At the culmination of the Edinburgh's Garden District charrette in January 2011

Andrés Duany seemed to foresee the manner in which official planning policy would implement New Urbanist ideals saying

“Yes the land is green belt; yes Murray Estates wishes to make a profit from development of the land ... yes, it is currently against planning policy, however Murray Estates is seeking to work with emerging planning policy”. (MacKenzie, 2011)

Edinburgh's Garden District includes a proposal for a 60 acre national garden and housing would be grouped into zones with 1500 scheduled to be near to Edinburgh Park station — a fully integrated rail/tram interchange — and 1400 scheduled as a *University Village* close to Heriot Watt University. In terms of transit orientated development and the siting of housing close to employment opportunities

Edinburgh's Garden District neatly meets key New Urbanist principles. In fact it is one of the best placed developments for transport seen so far with proximity to the airport and even the Union Canal. Its focus on growing food features heavily in early marketing images (Figure 40) though as a concept it is both problematic and vaguely articulated. A small paragraph in the post-charrette paper notes “There was some discussion around the role of allotments and gardening and the potential for those living in the Garden District to grow their own food.” (Post Charrette Paper 2011 7). Subsequent exhibition boards (2014) made no mention of growing food. In January 2014 Murray Estates announced a public consultation would begin and exhibitions were held throughout January at Heriot Watt University (14th), Novotel Lochside Avenue (15th), Ratho Community Centre (17th), the Gyle Shopping Centre (19th) and at Wester Hailes Education Centre (30th).

Murray Estates characterise the £1 billion greenfield development of 3500 homes as a response to the significant housing shortage identified in Edinburgh, where the council's own 'Housing Need and Demand Assessment' estimated that the city needed 48,000 new homes with 19,000 homes proposed for areas outside the city. Housing need assessments have been described by the Edinburgh branch of the Scottish Green Party as over-representing the private building industry. The city's Cockburn Association in response to the Scottish Government's consultation on Enabling delivery of New Homes (Draft Scottish Planning Policy 2013) stated:

“We agree that the housing need and demand assessment (HNDA) must be robust. However, we have long been concerned about the accuracy of using extrapolated trend data to forecast housing land requirements. It is important to keep this key issue under frequent review not only to monitor economic changes, but also to identify the trend differences between forecasts and actual out-turn from previous calculations. The assumption appears to be that there is always a demand for more land not less – whereas previous evidence suggests this may not be the case. Once green land is built on it is lost forever.” (Williams, 2013 3).

It is unclear why the largely abandoned plans for a waterfront development in the north of the city on brownfield land are not being prioritised to fulfil the stated housing need. In an article published by *Urban Realm* Scottish architect Malcolm Fraser put his theory into candid economic terms saying that developers steer clear of poorer areas: “The costs are greater and the surrounding communities not the sort of address it is easiest to market. Their costs are lower on farmland – but the long-term costs to the public purse much greater, with our taxes carrying the greater infrastructure costs of car growth, bus and bin lorry routes and schools needed, while

also carrying the price of social decline in our city sites, closing down schools and financing regeneration initiatives.” (*Urban Realm*, December 2013 paragraph 4). The proposed Garden District development will ultimately be decided by representatives of the Labour SNP coalition. They will debate the Local Area Plan for Edinburgh in June 2014 and decide where housing allocations should be located.

Garden Cities/New Towns/Eco-Towns

“Utopian visions are as easy to criticize as dystopian realities.”
(Rutheiser, 1997 119)

The metaphorical revolving door that successive governments enter, looking for solutions as wide ranging as the ecological to the sociological, is typified in planning and architecture by the continuous reinvention of the Garden City paradigm. The rhetoric of the exemplar or model community is heavily utilised by the Scottish Government despite its vulnerabilities to changing political and economic ideologies. The *Scottish Sustainable Communities Initiative* (SSCI) bears many similarities to other large-scale, yet ultimately hard to control urban visions such as the British New Town Programme.

The New New Towns

Before examining specific Scottish examples of New Urbanist practice, and to help better understand what a Scottish New Urbanism might be, I suggest that the relative unpopularity (or perceived undesirability) of Scotland’s New Towns versus their

considerable attributes might point to a preoccupation for the Garden City. New Urbanist developments in Scotland are neither New Towns nor Garden Cities although they do have an important relationship to both. These commonly employed terms cluster around new residential housing and both have a part to play in a discussion about New Urbanism in Scotland. Both present formal approaches and both, to an extent, problematise the urban. Each offers a utopian town-meets-country ideal. Both typically manifest themselves in ways that are not distinct from suburbia while sharing New Urbanism's and Modernism's disdain for the suburbs. Scotland's New Urbanist developments have roots in the theories established in 1902 by Ebenezer Howard with *Garden Cities of To-morrow* (Howard, Osborn, & Mumford, 1946) but the formal approaches, ideological interpretations and consequences have significant differences. Not least among them the dubiousness of the concept of creating community. As Frederic J. Osborn noted in a letter to Lewis Mumford in 1956, "I doubt if you can create in a town strong neighbourhood consciousness, though you can provide neighbourhood convenience, and that produces just a little such consciousness. People gravitate towards others of like social class and interest." (Ward, 1993 20). Another significant difference between Scotland's New Urbanism and Howard's Letchworth City Gardens is that Howard did not specify or consider how Letchworth would look. Letchworth's designers Unwin and Parker were directly interpreting the Arts & Crafts movement and accordingly, the movement's moral logic into their architecture. The moral logic at Scottish sites such as Knockroon and Chapelton that most resembles the theories of firstly Unwin, and in the USA John Nolan, is the Aristotelian idea of *civitas*. In the USA New Urbanism has revived the principles of John Nolan's garden city ethic in planned places like St.

Petersburg and Venice (Florida, US) but without any serious attempt to account for it with historiographies or primary documents (Stephenson, 2002). Similarly, Scotland's New Urbanism makes use of historic architectural styles and claims a basis in traditional Scottish planning yet fails to respond to the country's real and autonomous urban history. The communitarian principles at the heart of Howard's Garden Cities would be viewed as dangerously naive and wholly impossible to deliver:

“Crucially, the residents of the Garden City were to collectively own the land, capturing long-term profits from rents to feed into a trust fund to provide for community needs - essentially a localised pre-cursor of the welfare state. Howard saw the nature of rents in the inner cities as deeply problematic ...” (A. Alexander, 2009 59).

It is self-evident that these principles have not been realised in any New Urbanist developments to date, or for that matter, in any of the derivations we have seen of UK New Towns, Eco-towns or modern-day Garden Cities. In New Urbanist developments, 'welfare' is largely articulated as the right for the middle class to participate in community. The New Urbanist movement provides consumers with model communities which demonstrate community and *civitas* as something regulatory rather than self-initiated.

Of the thirty-two British New Towns (1946- 1976) five were built in Scotland, beginning with East Kilbride (1947) and culminating in Stonehouse (designated in 1973 and ultimately cancelled), marking the end of Labour's decentralisation policy (A. Alexander, 2009 50) and to some extent the perceived validity of the New Town.

In 2014, the New Urbanist development *Chapelton of Elsick* describes itself as Scotland's largest planned new town; a claim that places Chapelton within the narrative of Scottish New Towns. The 838 hectare site at Chapelton compares with a 1148 hectare site at East Kilbride, a New Town with a population of over 70,000, so Chapelton is neither the largest by scale nor by population.⁸⁶ Caroline Southesk (2014) co-director of the Elsick Development Company responded to my enquiry vis-a-vis Chapelton and *New Towns* by distancing her and her husband's development from the term New Town:

“We would say that it is the largest planned new town for a generation and we believe it is probably the largest that has been privately done in Scotland. The site is over 2,000 acres. We need that size of site to make the scheme work financially because we are offering a great deal more in facilities and these require a certain density ... We would certainly see ourselves as being somewhat different from towns that are given the new town label.” (Southesk, 2014)

I hoped to clarify whether a different set of aspirations was at the basis of Chapelton and in response, I explained that I was interested in the idea that British New Towns were historically based on the Garden City concept, as is New Urbanism, and asked, “I'd like to know your thoughts on the differences between Chapelton as a (lower case) new town and New Towns such as East Kilbride or Cumbernauld.” (Hunter, 2014). Southesk's reply rehearses many laudable New Urbanist principles and also serves to illustrate the desire, also seen at Knockroon, to construct relationships with nearby and established bourgeois small towns.

⁸⁶ Data from 2007 (A. Alexander, 2009)

“We have always been concerned at the label New Town because there are connotations that arrive with it. We would see that the planning that we are doing is more in line with much earlier Scottish settlements like St Andrews, Montrose where there is a density built into the plan. The building materials are now different and we are able to offer a great deal more in technology but the proportions and the way the public spaces are managed is much more in line with historic towns.” (Southesk, 2014)

The reasoning given for privileging traditional forms is rationalised as being about density, proportion and public spaces. However the powerful pull of historic forms may well have more to do with status than with science. Following Colin Ward (1993):

“... the older the house you inhabit, the higher your social prestige, and the biggest of the huge imponderables since the 1940s has been the shift in perception that changed the British from a nation of neophiliacs, welcoming the new post-war society that would sweep away the shameful legacy of poverty and deprivation, mean streets and smoky skies, into a nation of antiquarians, cherishing the past and an imaginary “Heritage”. The architecture of the New Towns, both in houses and in public buildings from schools to hospitals to factories and shopping centres, is the utilitarian, and all too frequently, poorly maintained architecture of the 1950s and 1960s, and is consequently automatically despised.” (Ward, 1993 20)

In any case, Southesk is right to state that planners in East Kilbride and Cumbernauld put the car as the main driver of the plan (both belong to the few towns in Scotland who enjoy very little traffic congestion) and she emphasises the importance of encouraging community saying, “... we are conscious of it [the car] when designing but attempting to bring back proximity and therefore sociability.” (Southesk, 2014).

The history of British New Towns is far from conclusive but it is fair to say that they, and their 2 million inhabitants, reflected the diffuse intergenerational practice

of a variety of planners, architects and social scientists. It is noteworthy that a twenty-first century appraisal of the late 1960s early 1970s iteration of the Garden City described Milton Keynes — the final New Town — as a “disaster” (Edwards, 2001 93). Established urban scholar Michael Edwards was part of the initial masterplanning team and attributes the main failures, as he sees it, to “... slack thinking, drafting and drawing” by the planning team, and more importantly, the failure to work around market forces with firm land use policies, pricing strategies and “... tough design briefs to enforce compliance.” (Edwards, 2001 93) from UK house builders. Edward’s testimony is significant when compared with present day (highly prescriptive) New Urbanist masterplans since he interprets the flexibility of the Milton Keynes plan as being key to its failure.

The perception of New Towns as dysfunctional in environmental or ecological terms precipitated the largely abandoned *ecotowns* project in England which was devised in 2007 by the New Labour led Department for Communities and Local Government. Gordon Brown (poised to succeed Tony Blair as Prime Minister in 2007) told the BBC that ecotowns would be part of a mission to help create a “home-owning, asset-owning, wealth-owning democracy” (BBC, 2007). Brown was rehearsing the overconfident rhetoric that was commonplace at the time, but with hindsight seems faintly absurd as the speech was given in May 2007 just three months after the subprime mortgage industry collapsed in the USA and during the era that is now conclusively known as the onset of the Great Recession. In 2008 Housing Minister Caroline Flint said, “These developments will be exemplars for the

rest of the world, not just the rest of the country.” (BBC, 2008). Typically for New Labour, the ecotowns concept had little of the Garden Cities movement’s socialist ambitions. Far from producing exemplars the concept simply repeated history by being replaced by the enduring appeal of the Garden City. Contemporaneously, the utopian community is again being invoked by the British Government in the context of the Garden City. *The Telegraph* reported on a statement made in January 2014 by Deputy Prime Minister, Nick Clegg that, “in 2011, our housing strategy committed us to publishing a prospectus for new garden cities and that is exactly what we’ll do” (Hope, Swinford, & Dominiczak, 2014).⁸⁷ Clegg made claims about garden cities that many would find paradoxical, saying they were a “... way of protecting the countryside”, and going further, “It is possible to create them without building on the green belt, National Parks or Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty. And by doing it we could deliver homes people can afford in places they want to live.” (Hope et al., 2014).⁸⁸ The debate illustrates the continuing rhetorical power of the utopian garden city to offer a panacea whether it is on ecological, political or social terms. The focus on housing and families (and place and community) obscures difficult issues such as UK land reform and economic growth. The Scottish Government’s enthusiasm for New Urbanism may reflect a similar appreciation of the usefulness of the garden city paradigm, to be deployed in regular wrangles about development and housing

⁸⁷ In a related article *The Guardian* reported that a senior Liberal Democrat had accused the Prime Minister, David Cameron of being a “Nimby” since the prospectus included developments in key Conservative constituencies (Murray 2014).

⁸⁸ While Letchworth and Welwyn are most commonly referenced in the contemporary discussions about garden cities, Mr Clegg included Milton Keynes in his announcement, an indication, however tenuous, that his conceptualisation of the project may be broader than New Urbanism in design terms.

shortages. Similarly, the New Urbanism's attention to, what it defines as, local vernacular is a valuable asset to the nationalist government in Scotland.

Chapter 5. Case Study 1

Rationale for two Case Studies of Scotland's New Urbanism

In the previous chapters I have presented how New Urbanism has emerged in Scotland to date and problematised issues around what I term regional specificity. I have mapped out the key figures promoting and supporting New Urbanism and I have accounted for the reasons that New Urbanism has become established in Scotland, charting the movement's theoretical origins along the way. What remains to be presented is a detailed review of specific contemporary settlements. I will do this using two site studies that account for key questions surrounding the form that New Urbanism takes in Scotland. Scotland's government-supported New Urbanism reflects the evolution of ideas about place and community among both policymakers and developers locally and what ties those ideas to theories generated in the USA and Europe. To evaluate New Urbanism in detail, site studies of two developments, Knockroon and Chapelton, offer the first scholarly enquiry into how the movement is produced in Scotland. With both sites at early stages neither have yet completed their construction phases. Accordingly the site studies give prominence to the processes that have produced masterplans for these two new settlements. Analysing urbanism is necessarily a fluid type of research, with its object of study taking decades or more to offer serious opportunity for quantitative outcomes. Nevertheless, there is much to be learned from the ambitions at the heart of plans for new towns and cities as they reflect the dominant social and political concerns and aspirations of their time.

Regarding Knockroon and Chapelton and following Thompson-Fawcett and Bond's approach to their urban research (2003) I consider it is "... timely to interpret and explain the foundations that are stimulating [them] as mechanisms for change in urbanisation" and agree that:

"These new developments can be viewed as landscapes that elucidate and advance certain current social and political goals." (2003 153).

The site studies seek to reveal how New Urbanist ideals have been realised locally on the ground at these twenty-first century developments and how New Urbanism is being implemented in a rural, place-specific way in Scotland. By exploring how Knockroon, Scotland's first officially New Urbanist built development, has been planned, financed, designed and delivered, we can better understand how core principles of the New Urbanist movement are realised in practice with regional variations.

Case Study Methodologies

Knockroon raises specific methodologies and for the case study I collated marketing materials; official submissions made to the planning departments; design statements and pattern books. I visited the site on three occasions and recorded the development's progress from 2012 onwards (Figures 48, 49). My interpretation of the research material consistently reflected upon the local conditions with a focus on the architectural and social history of the area surrounding Knockroon. I connected the research material to critical analysis and relevant social science and urban studies

literature. The Knockroon case study answers the following questions: What form does the localisation of New Urbanism take? Is it a variegated form or a homogenous one? Is it local, regional or global? Does Knockroon's official status as a government appointed exemplar point to a significant change in development patterns? In both site studies (with Knockroon being a primary study and Chapelton, Aberdeenshire, a secondary study), my analysis of masterplans, design statements and the architectural typologies demonstrates how New Urbanist principles have been applied, and, importantly, identifies where place and community have been stated or implied in built form.

The processes of public and professional engagement, whether they are by charrette or Enquiry by Design (Ebd), are analysed, (it is worth stating that during the period of research it was not possible to attend the Knockroon EbD) establishing how each settlement has incorporated specific principles of the Charter of the New Urbanism (Arendt et al., 1999) or the Charter of Stockholm (C.E.U. Council for European Urbanism, 2003). In the case of both site studies, the limits of the site are acknowledged, Knockroon is only partially built and neither it nor Chapelton (unbuilt) have received a high volume of attention in the mainstream or architectural press. For this reason, primary documents such as pattern books, masterplan reports and official websites have been given emphasis.

In the introduction I posed the following questions: Is Knockroon a variegated form or a homogenous one? Is it local, regional or global? These relate to the themes in Chapters 1, 2 and 3 of this thesis which paid attention to the transnational basis of

contemporary New Urbanism. At Knockroon, the development takes a global planning and architecture movement and re-presents it as both local and identifiably regional. A key finding of my site studies is that Scottish New Urbanism takes a homogenous form. (Figures 50, 51, and 52; see also Figure's 2 and 3). We see that Knockroon reproduces a fixed idea of Scottish urbanism constructed elsewhere by other New Urbanist masterplans in Scotland. All are largely based on the era of housebuilding and urbanisation that occurred during the Age of Improvement which I will return to in the following sub chapter. My research finds that while Knockroon reflects some regional styles it does so in a mannered way that struggles to be understood as local; its lack of regional specificity to the existing settlement it attaches itself to is a barrier. This finding is based on my conceptualisation of regional specificity, an approach which responds openly to a site's cultural, political and economic history. Knockroon, I argue, is a global architecture. Despite its stylistically Scottish look, it is the product of a globalising movement which seeks to produce regional architecture through a systematic, technocratic procedure using pattern books and codes. The Prince's Foundation describes its design processes as iterative, but they are iterated within a tightly defined and therefore limiting matrix. There is no opportunity for Cumnock's architectural history to evolve or develop with Knockroon. Instead the town of Cumnock remains stuck in a narrative of failure with Knockroon effectively deepening the existing social divide (Figure 68).

An Architecture of Place?

New Urbanist Enquiry by Design or charrettes are intended to ensure that local communities participate in the planning of new housing developments, but the question which remains especially pertinent to towns built on greenfield like Knockroon is: How might architects predict who will live in a place and what are their values? In the Charter of the New Urbanism (1999), Stefanos Polyzoides begins to answer this question writing: "In contrast to an *Architecture of Time*, a New Urbanist architecture is an *Architecture of Place*. It does not rely upon the idle repetition of historical styles. Instead, New Urbanist architecture strives to evolve by exercising critical design choices across time. Its language and permanence endeavor to express a diverse set of deep values held by those who live in and around it." (Polyzoides, 1999 127).

Phase 1 of Knockroon depicted on the masterplan as Block 1 (Figure 54) is the first built example of Scotland's New Urbanism. The Knockroon development is financed and controlled by The Prince's Foundation for Building Community. The Outline Planning Application was approved in December 2009, planning permission was granted in 2011 and construction commenced in March 2011. Knockroon was conceived of as a mixed use development comprising 770 houses, associated shops, workplaces and infrastructure, commercial spaces, community facilities and open space with public transport and walking links. Phase 1, Block 1 has now been

completed and complete construction is to take place over 15 to 20 years. The small development in South East Ayrshire is half an hour's drive from the nearest urban conurbations of Ayr or Kilmarnock and around forty-five minutes from Glasgow, making it a suitable commuter suburb. Knockroon is comprised of a variety of types of housing from four bedroom semi-detached homes to one bedroom apartments, many named after local Ayrshire castles or stately homes such as Culzean, Kelburn or Loudoun (Figures 54 and 55). Housing is arranged tightly around a central throughway named Pottery Row (Figure 58). Block 1 features a pragmatic layout maximising plot sizes to achieve medium densities of thirty-five dwellings per 0.9ha (R. Illingworth, personal communication, July 24, 2012)⁸⁹. Importantly, there are no detached houses in Block 1 and no large gardens or setbacks. It is typical to see New Urbanist developments begin with a first phase which stays loyal to the movement's sustainability credentials with higher densities and then moves to accommodate larger single family homes with premium views (and prices) once the development has begun to establish itself. One of Knockroon's planners, Rob Illingworth at Working Group Design, informed me that further phases will comprise of sixteen dwellings across 0.5 ha in Block 2; twenty dwellings across 0.6ha in Block 3, and nine dwellings and four commercial units across 0.35ha in Block 4. Further research is needed to determine whether Knockroon, like Poundbury, will respond to market pressures to provide larger plots (R. Illingworth, personal communication, July,

⁸⁹ I wrote to Rob Illingworth to get detailed information about the project. Illingworth is one of the Knockroon project architects at *Ben Pentreath & Associates* who specialise in traditional architectural design and planning and have a particular interest in large-scale residential housing projects and have worked on major sites owned by The Duchy of Cornwall, English Partnerships, and BP.

2012). Cars are currently accommodated using a part grid - part Radburn system (permeable cul de sac), an approach that Lee and Stabin-Nesmith argued in 2001 might reinvigorate the Garden City movement (in Cozens & Hillier, 2008 56). Knockroon is auto-dependent: you need a car to live in there despite what the marketing materials might gesture towards. By some definitions, Knockroon is sprawl, but on an almost microcosmic scale. The development is suburban by definition as it is situated on the edge of Cumnock's existing urban-to-rural edge rather than because it is sprawling *per se*. It is also sprawl if we scrutinise it alongside the common perceptions of what constitutes suburban sprawl: auto-dependent and outside of what's known in planning as the *ped shed*. The ped shed is the area encompassing the estimated time it takes for a pedestrian to walk from their home to daily amenities like a grocery store or a school, normally specified as a 5-minute walk (about 0.25 miles, 1,320 feet, or 400 meters), a desirable, though in many places, unrealistic ambition.

Knockroon, a striking freshly minted fragment of an 18th century village, stands out in its semi rural surroundings apprehended from the B7083 Auchinleck to Cumnock road (Figure 60). Despite the words that normally spring to mind when apprehending this sort of housing, such as 'chocolate box' or 'picturesque', in many respects Knockroon looks forlorn in situ. It is an enclave. With its composition of terracing along two sides one cannot see past the facades from the road. Walking around Knockroon midweek in August 2013 I felt conspicuous. Knockroon's architectural precedents are taken from a time when buildings were grouped according to the weather and windows likewise were often arranged to make the most of the heat

source in the home, rather than to let in light; definitely for looking out rather than in. Community here is articulated as intimately local. Despite some urban flourishes here and there – wrought iron railings close up against the ground floor windows as you would see in Edinburgh's New Town for example – the overall look is town-meets-country. In Scotland, the image of immaculate cottages has become a signifier of rural gentrification (Stockdale, 2010). With Phillips (2002) reporting a strong anti-suburban feeling among gentrifiers it is understandable that Knockroon styles itself alongside a traditionally rural template. I suggest Knockroon's consumers are attracted to a form of country living that is presented as sanitised and claims to be sustainable. But how long can Knockroon sustain its rural appearance? Would further development at its fringe alter its picturesque offering? In *Building Suburbia*, Dolores Hayden (2004) described how the suburban tripartite of home, community and nature is continually thwarted by repeated developments. Of nineteenth century America she wrote:

“Over and over, dwellers in the fringe reinvented themselves as advocates of pastoral life, but again and again their landscape succumbed to the pressures of new development.” (Hayden, 2004 43-44).

Surrounded as it is by fields on three sides and a smattering of post-modern bungalows on the other, Knockroon is quite obviously not a village when you get there but it is easy to see why it wants to be. Like all New Urbanist developments, (with the exception perhaps of Seaside, a holiday resort) the illusion that is aimed for is ultimately unconvincing — as unconvincing even as *Thames Town* in Shanghai, though the latter's comparatively stark cultural differences should mean the gap is

much wider. Thames Town suburban housing was built for professors of the seven newly built universities of Songjiang and no one seems to mind that it is a carbon copy of a Berkshire village in China. People go there to have their wedding photos taken: it is well-understood as a tourist destination. Knockroon asks you to suspend your disbelief, to accept it for what its developers present it as: a new neighbourhood built in an old fashioned style which will somehow confer old fashioned values, values thought to be lost by many, including Scotland's tastemakers and policy writers. The so-called identikit suburban 'sprawl' built at volume on the edges of many Scottish towns is where many of the country's working class now reside. Some are pushed out of the city by a combination of gentrification, continuous governmental manipulation of the housing market and the social pressure to own property. Many however, choose to live in newly built suburbs despite the negative associations that wider culture has bestowed upon them including the erroneous assumptions that suburbia is variously conformist, bland, uncreative and culturally deficient. Instead homeowners enjoy the benefits of new-build construction, proximity to the countryside and privacy offered by contemporary suburbia.

Knockroon differs from the archetypal image of sprawl in some important ways. It does not look like Scottish suburban housing of any era. It is neither the "Arts & Crafts housing for the poor on one side, and livid red brick bungalows from the Home Counties on the other", as described by Charles McKean in *A Scottish Modernism*⁹⁰ (1995 167-168). It certainly does not imitate the Scandinavian

⁹⁰ An insightful assessment of Scottish Modernism from 1933 to 1939.

influenced social housing which became widespread via Robert Matthew and Basil Spence in the era of what was called Scotland's *humane modernism* in the 1950s and early 1960s. Nor does it replicate the US influence of bungalows plotted along cul-de-sacs seen in the suburbs of Scotland's cities throughout the 1970s and 1980s (Figure 60).

Knockroon rejects the type of housing that has been the dominant style built throughout the 1990s until the present which is a quasi-neo-traditional typology that reflects the almost complete alienation of architects from the process of designing suburbia. This juncture in Scotland's suburban history is what Knockroon's architecture responds to. A market-led, under-regulated era that is a distillation of the housing policies of the Thatcher era combined with the shallow design focus of New Labour's *renaissance towns*, Knockroon counters what is colloquially referred to (by those disdainful of recent and contemporary suburbs) as the Wimpy estates, Lego-lands or Tesco-lands typified in the houses of UK television soap-opera Brookside (Figure 62) with a more tasteful looking variation on the suburb. Notably, North American suburban sprawl, typified by kit homes on near identical sub-divisions leapfrogging each other to get closer to a rural edge – captured by Delores Hayden in her pioneering analysis of sprawl with aerial photographs by Jim Wark in *A Field Guide to Sprawl* (2004) – becomes associated with poor taste in the popular imagination at a corresponding time to British sprawl.

The pejorative image of suburbia should be contested to acknowledge its diversity and value. Scholarship by Mark Clapson (2003) challenges deeply held myths about

suburbia by recording the complexity and diversity that is obscured by stereotypes. Moreover Clapson brings together the views of a new generation of suburban scholars and presents a historiography of English and US suburbanisation which reflects how popular and successful many suburbs are (Paul Barker, Joel Garreau, Alison Ravetz and Richard Turkington). Importantly, their views counter the ongoing characterisation of modern suburbs in a way that underlines the subjectivity of taste. Their work weakens Knockroon's depiction of community which implicitly infers that historic typologies produce successful places whilst contemporary standardised styles belong to a culturally deficient (yet still highly profitable) approach.

Age of Improvement Architecture at Knockroon

In the eighteenth century, post-Union commercial expansion and enlightenment ideas produced an urban revolution in Scotland. Voltaire is said to have remarked "It is from Scotland that we receive rules of taste in all the arts ..." (Allan, 2002 127). Today's New Urbanism is underpinned with many of the same preoccupations surrounding polite society and refinement, and what is more, it selects a style of architecture with powerful connotations to the era known as the *Age of Improvement*.

Gridded town plans, squares, generous thoroughfares and monumental public buildings were all ubiquitous elements of Scotland's early planned villages, which, following historian David Allan (2002) were "Rational and orderly yet also fundamentally utilitarian, such designs confirmed the subjection of both the

surrounding countryside and the community to the firm but enterprising and benign proprietorship of which Enlightenment thought generally so wholeheartedly approved.” (160). Colen Campbell’s influential *Vitruvius Britannicus* was published in the same year as the first Jacobite uprising of 1715, and featured neo-Palladian designs for Scottish country houses. This essentially reformist neo-classicism was taken up by William Adam, a Kirkcaldy builder whose rise to prominence, including the town plan for Inveraray, paved the way for his second son Robert Adam to dominate Scottish architecture and become the intellectual catalyst behind the ‘Adam Revolution’, and later, Edinburgh’s Greek Revival of the 1820s (Allan, 2002 162- 3). In the same way that historic referencing in Scotland, including the turn towards medieval and gothic styles, expressed a yearning for national cultural identity, are we to understand the historicism of contemporary New Urbanist suburbs as an expression of uncertainty in 2014, the year that Scotland decides whether to break with, or continue the act of Union established in 1707? A pristine Athenian portico (Allan, 2002 163) was as likely to be wryly apprehended in the later phases of the Enlightenment as now.

Scottish New Urbanism at Knockroon stylistically reflects a historically inegalitarian period known as the *Age of Improvement* c. 1730 to 1830. During this period Jacobite uprisings had been successfully crushed and a deliberate and systematic programme of social and agricultural reform was introduced nationwide (McClure, Wight, & Fullarton, 2002). Reform was firstly instigated spatially as eighteenth century improver Sir John Sinclair reported:

“Nothing could be more detestable than the method in which villages were originally constructed in Scotland. The houses were not built according to any regular plan, but scattered in every direction. The roads and alleys were inconceivable bad, especially in wet weather, as few of them were paved; and what added greatly to their miserable state was the abominable practice of placing the dunghill, in which every species of filth was accumulated, before their doors, a practice highly injurious to the health of the inhabitants.” (in Smout, 1970 74).

It has been argued that New Urbanism is authoritarian, that its attachment to typologies of the past is responding to an infantile nostalgia, yet this does not adequately explain its stylistic expression. It is my suggestion that New Urbanism, and in turn Knockroon, reveals a contemporary tension around taste. Accordingly, Knockroon is an expression of anxiety about class and taste more than it is any sort of contextual or cultural representation of Scottish architecture.

Typically new-build housing struggles to achieve what some might term a sense of place. The newness of pristine brickwork and slates coupled with an initial shortage of residents and landscaping make developments appear thin or hollow. Knockroon is more incongruous because, despite its bright, crisp newness, housing takes the form of buildings from over a century ago (Figure 63). The development has been designed to replicate part of a traditional village, not only stylistically but in its approach to planning with pends, a (planned) public square and civic buildings in addition to its neo-traditional architecture. Knockroon is built to an unusually high specification and quality with a focus on design and finish that is rare in contemporary new-builds and it is notable to which high degree it achieves its period look. In contrast to much of the neo-traditional styled housing built in the UK that

makes no effort to conceal cavalier interpretations of a mixture of styles and eras, Knockroon is a more faithfully rendered replica. The diluted, tense and confused variations of Scots Baronial seen in contemporary, luxury volume-built housing in Scotland is well established, and is offered as proof of the public appetite for traditional architecture. Knockroon is much more ambitious. The designers have selected a plain typology from around a 100 year period when pre-industrial Scotland underwent the urban changes brought by the industrial revolution. Careful grouping, simplicity and balance is aimed for, in contrast to the hyper-historicism at Poundbury: the outcome is pastoral harmony. The aesthetic here echoes, to some extent, the call for architectural purity made by Alan Reiach and Robert Hurd in the slim but influential volume *Building Scotland: A Cautionary Guide* (Reiach, Hurd, & Saltire Society). “The homely virtues of good harling, whitewash, Scottish slate and red pantiles rebuke the squalor, vulgarity and trashy ‘smartness’ of much building that has recently sprung up.” (Reiach, Hurd, & Saltire Society, 1941). Despite Alan Reiach’s avowedly modernist leanings, the book made a compelling case for drawing on the plainer aspects of rural Scottish vernacular. Reiach and Hurd made taste and virtue synonymous in the same way that the New Urbanism does.

History as Arcadian Symbol

The following section examines the regional architectural history of the area in order to better understand why Knockroon looks the way it does. I am interested in why, despite accurate sourcing for precedents from the geographic regions near to its developments, New Urbanism has produced places that have attracted hostile

reactions. Places that have been described variously as: nostalgic (M Hebbert, 2006) (Frantz & Collins, 1999); disquieting and twee (Sorkin, 1998a); and even, following Nan Ellin (1996, citing Tzonis and Lefaivre 1984, 185) of using historicism as “an expression of nostalgia for an authoritarian past”. The term *anti-historicist* is levelled by American theorist Doug Davis who maintains that Léon Krier, Robert Stern and Quinlan Terry, who have all designed buildings in New Urbanist developments, “... ignore the specific ideological or religious implications of the periods they quote [and] are in fact anti-historicist: they prefer history-as-arcadian symbol, not history-as-reality.” (D. Davis, 21 in Ellin 1996 160). If Knockroon’s architecture is found to be authoritarian then one might counter that it is only stepping into the vacuum left by Scottish Planning’s recent chequered history and inability to lead.

Historically, planned villages became common in Scotland towards the end of the eighteenth century and homes at Knockroon reflect the housing types of shopkeepers, tradesmen and professionals of that era. Cumnock originated from a medieval settlement and developed as a burgh of barony under James IV during the sixteenth century before undergoing significant changes during the late seventeenth and eighteenth century, including the construction of a town square (LLP, 2009 11). Knockroon’s architecture mirrors, on a smaller scale, an era where Cumnock was regarded as a success—the *Age of Improvement*. Here Andrew Wight in the *Present State of Husbandry in Scotland* (4 vols., Edinburgh, 1778 (vols. I and II)) describes the critical non-agricultural employment available at Cumnock, which partly explains why it escaped the fate of many other planned villages that ultimately became rural slums (Smout, 1970 78). “Cumnock is a neat clean village, pleasantly

situated near the water of Lugar. Here is carried on a small branch of the woollen manufacture. A few shoemakers in that town make for exportation about 3000 pair of shoes, a considerable article for private tradesmen.” (McClure et al., 2002). Industrial and architectural historian John Hume (2004) author of the definitive monograph of vernacular buildings in Ayrshire, reports that the earliest near-symmetrical two-storey, three bay house type seen at Knockroon is said to have reached Scotland around 1700 (Hume & Ayrshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, 2004 10) and became characteristic of Ayrshire country buildings along with lime-washing and smooth rendering. With the introduction of the railways in the 1840s (Hume, 2004), slating was introduced. The two-storey burgh house, housing tradesmen and professional men and their families — sometimes incorporating shops — was the characteristic west of Scotland house type between around 1770 and 1840 and impacted in Ayrshire by a housing boom that was produced by the weaving industry in the 1820s (Hume & Ayrshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, 2004 12). Architectural historian Elizabeth Beaton (1997) suggests that the low but uniform typology in Ayr may have been the influence of the newly published pattern books of the era along with English architectural fashions brought up by engineers of the Ordnance department. Beaton describes how from the turn of the 1700s, “medium sized, regularly-fronted houses began to appear in town and country, to become the backbone of Scottish architectural tradition” and “... served as farmhouse, lairds house or manse ... it could be quite imposing as a three-storey, five-bay house, sometimes modest with two storeys or just a cottage in single storey form.” (Beaton & Historic Scotland., 1997 69). Knockroon features regularly-fronted cottages with dormers (Figure 63) styled on 19th century precedents from all over

Scotland, built for farm workers and sometimes adapted for coal miners (Beaton & Historic Scotland., 1997 35). The brick houses provided by employers for workers in coal mines, ironworks and quarries were often basic thatched (and later slated) single-storey row cottages (mostly demolished now), none of which have been replicated at Knockroon. The last survivor of "... the more basic type of row" is said to have been at Skares, near Cumnock and was demolished around 1967 (Hume & Ayrshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, 2004 14).

This era of architecture was produced for a society for whom private ownership of land and property was almost completely dominated by titled landowners or the church. Cumnock and Auchinleck benefitted from the improvements made to agriculture, the extension of leases on land of up to 19 years (making improvements tenable for individuals to make) and the patronage of the Earl and Countess of Dumfries who encouraged the production of woollen goods and linen manufactured in Cumnock. The *Age of Improvement* changed the Scottish landscape as individuals living in small steadings or clachans were removed from the land and clustered into planned villages and the housing of country people changed forever. Beaton's postscript in her publication *Scotland's Traditional Houses* describes the late 19th and early 20th century, though her words could easily be applied to Scotland's 21st century New Urbanism:

"Throughout the developments the hand of the improver, landowner or industrialist can be seen shaping the ongoing vernacular." (Beaton & Historic Scotland., 1997 87).

While industrial growth, entrepreneurship and class (including the impact of so-called new money) influenced local and regional architecture, present-day Knockroon's edited selection of style creates an impression of history as something static and dependable. Its architecture reflects an era of relative stability—no war; rebellions quashed—and improvement under the stewardship of powerful elites. But New Urbanism's stylistic fondness for Age of Improvement architecture with its higher density planning — which brings not only higher profits but a perception of sustainability, place and community — might be interpreted by middle-class consumers differently were they aware of some of the sentiments expressed at the time.

“The more the working class are brought by close neighbourhood to be witnessed of each other's conduct, to be examples or reproofs to each other, the more they will be excited not to consume their hours in lazy basking or vain tattle.” (John Gray 1789; in Smout, 1970 92)

Artists' Impressions: Invoking the Picturesque

As the first built example in Scotland of a unique form of New Urbanism, Knockroon marks the significant trend towards a New Urbanist approach seen elsewhere in Scotland and the UK (Figure 2). The housing development features neo-traditional architecture sourced from Scottish precedents with neo-classical elements, a commitment to walkability and sustainability, placemaking and community. Knockroon is a living example of New Urbanist logic applied to a Scottish condition. What the images of Chapelton (Figures 3, and 50), Ellon (Figures 34, 35 and 51), Knockroon (Figures 2, and Figures 48, 49 and 50) and Tornagraim

(Figures 8 and 10) have in common is that they are all depictions of 21st century housing estates in Scotland. Note that in all illustrations (Grouped in Figures 50, 51 and 52) regardless of geographic location, the architecture and layouts are stylistically very alike; specifically the steeply pitched roofs, nepus gables and dormers; white or pale yellow harling; sash and case windows and importantly, a shared conception of public space. Other aspects that mark these drawings (or in the case of Ellon, a model) apart from generic neo-traditional development is the privileging of the pedestrian and lack of road markings and associated visual clutter. Mature trees and landscaping help to add to a sense of history being created and no utilitarian elements are depicted such as rubbish bins or lampposts.

The form taken by the New Urbanism at Knockroon (Figure 2) is a self-conscious architecture that employs the aesthetic of the picturesque to great effect, presenting a village scene that might have existed for two hundred years. Though Knockroon is an invocation of the picturesque, it also reflects the contested interpretation of what the picturesque is within the humanities (Macarthur, 2007 17). Following John Macarthur (2007), critics such as David Watkin (1982) have held that the picturesque is concerned with historic architectural form and represents an important cultural aspect of Englishness. Alternatively, the work of Raymond Williams, John Berger and John Barrell "... varyingly influenced by Marxism ... establishes that the picturesque had a largely repressive political meaning in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries Britain." (Macarthur, 2007 17) A similar sense of repression is felt by traditionalists when appraising state-designed tower blocks. In architecture, oppression is in the eye of the beholder.

It is precisely this tension between traditional forms and what they connote that has dominated the New Urbanist discourse. Knockroon's rural frame conveys a similar image of bucolic paternalism as its predecessor in Dorset, Poundbury (Figures 6 and 7). It shares its sincerity and accordingly some of its kitsch. Knockroon's picturesque appearance is central to its appeal to a specific type of customer interested in "... a rural home with period features..." and a "... mix of traditional design features and facilities for contemporary living." (Knockroon, 2011b). Knockroon explicitly references the past, aiming to achieve an authentically local and regional sense of belonging. The desired outcome is the antithesis of placelessness, homogeneous sprawl, edge city alienation and, to return to Macarthur "... the putative inhumanity of modern cities" (2009 387). Despite its abhorrence of the effects of globalisation on urbanisation, the powerful New Urbanism movement is itself global.

Knockroon values the undeniable power of scenography and seeks to recreate an authentic architecture from a blend of architectural details that will confer place. Place in the artists' impressions is conceptualised as civil, ordered, convivial and community orientated. Boundaries are clear: a socially conservative code of conduct is candidly presented to the visitor. Knockroon's gardens and interiors reflect closely "...the tastes and lifestyles of the upper middle class, for these dominate the cultural representations of cities today." (Zukin, 2009 546).

A Model Community

The following section presents an analysis of the symbolism of Knockroon's built form including how community is described at Knockroon. The images in Figures 47 and 48 show part of Block 1, Phase 1 of Knockroon. The new buildings run along the existing Auchinleck Road and turn into the newly created street pictured, named *The Kirk's Alarm* (Figure 63). On the corner is the Knockroon Visitor Centre (Figure 64), intended to eventually become commercial premises. During my visit the realtor explains that it is called a visitor centre as opposed to a marketing suite because this way, passers by and curious locals who are not necessarily house-hunters can drop in and access information about the development. It also helps to articulate an impression of Knockroon as a place for people to visit in a touristic way, as do visitors to stately homes or other similar architecturally themed historic attractions. A large area opposite the visitor centre is earmarked for car and coach parking on the site plan which indicates that organised groups of visitors may be expected (Hope Homes, no date). The literature on display in the Knockroon visitor centre includes the main sales brochure for the homes. The brochure features hand-drawn illustrations of the development at various future stages rendered in pencil and watercolour. It is extraordinary how close they are in detail to the built examples (Figure 65).

Knockroon's marketing literature proposes many links between the new housing development and the stately home Dumfries House which is located two miles away,

(Knockroon is built on land owned by the Dumfries House estate).⁹¹ More significantly, the marketing proposes that Knockroon is distinctive from ordinary housing developments:

“Knockroon is not just another housing development” (Hope Homes, no date).

“A unique concept...” (Hope Homes, no date).

Hyperbole in real-estate marketing is to be expected. However Knockroon’s claims distinguish it from its nearest competitors in a way that is important to pay attention to. Knockroon, informed by New Urbanist principles, distinguishes between itself and surrounding developments by self-identifying as “a model community for Scotland” (Knockroon, 2011a), but from where does it derive its authority? Knockroon’s developers do not employ the term “model community” to, following Susan Fainstein (2000), present a “... model of spatial relations based on equity ...” (452) (as would happen in the so-called *just city* model). Instead, the term articulates a programmatic model of spatial relations. What makes the development a model community, and what chiefly differentiates Knockroon from the majority of market-led housing developments is not attention to architectural details and traditional planning (though these factor highly). The defining feature is its conceptualisation of community.

⁹¹ “Knockroon is not just another housing development. It is a new community being built on Dumfries House Estate. With a network of paths leading to the house and the many facilities of the estate itself, it has a wide mix of sizes and types of homes, shops, businesses and community facilities.” (Hope Homes, no date)

Community is one of the most valuable and compelling tools at the movement's disposal in constructing an argument for the traditional forms used in its developments. The responsible use of the power of physical design is the strategy put forward by Andrés Duany (1998) in a response made to criticism from Alex Krieger (Harvard Graduate School of Design) in the article *Whose Urbanism?* (1998). In it, Krieger asks:

“Can you separate out the search for the "image of community" from the desire for community itself? ... By claiming too much (far more than is fathomable), you draw much of the criticism which then appears to you as hostile to what are noble aims.” (Krieger, 1998).

Duany argues that the built environment's potential to affect human behaviour was a defining premise of the Modern movement saying, “... design has such a powerful affect on human behavior that it could transform, in very short order, a viable neighborhood society into a self-destructive one ... Accepting this power and wielding it responsibly is a key to New Urbanism's success”. (Duany, 1998). Duany is clear in his belief in the power of design and suggests that as long as that power is used for good it is acceptable to attempt to influence human behaviour through design strategies. Although Knockroon may struggle to evidence the claim that the design of the development encourages a sense of community, what it succeeds in doing is to sell the image of community.

Community is inscribed in various different ways. Most visible is a focus on pedestrian street life with cars mostly hidden from view behind homes despite most residents requiring access to private transport. This is a common New Urbanist feature: literature regularly focuses on making a new place more pedestrian-friendly, rather than describing a decrease in automobile use (Mapes & Wolch, 2011a 113). Tradition is communicated clearly by the neo-traditional architectural typology, the proximity to nearby heritage (in the form of Dumfries House) and the design of the interiors. The phrase a “model community for Scotland” (Knockroon, 2011a) suggests that Knockroon’s developers take something found typically in non-new urbanist developments — the heterotopic show-home — out of the interior into the exterior and advertise the entire development as a stage for residents to perform their role as a model community. Despite the research outcomes of prominent urban scholars, including Emily Talen, who suggest that New Urbanism is no more able to produce community than ordinary developments (E. Talen, 2000b), community is nevertheless mobilised to present a more attractive proposition. Knockroon’s built form articulates a challenge to the widely perceived alienation or indifference produced by ordinary suburbia with an architecture of propinquity, including designed-in opportunities to meet, to be seen and to shop, none of which, as outlined in Chapter 3, offer substantial evidence of being able to produce model communities (Nicolaidis, 2008; Richards, 2003).

Significantly, Knockroon shares some of the characteristics of what New Urbanism characterises as the opposite of community: suburbia and in particular, suburbia on film inhabiting a kind of “middle landscape”. Following Philip C Dolce (2009) in

Suburbia: a Sense of Place on the Silver Screen, residents will not have to negotiate the "... insecurity and disorder of public spaces or strangers" (160) as found in urban streets and squares. However, residents are not isolated in large single family homes like popular depictions of suburbia on film. They are nestled together at densities which preclude privacy and signifies community as something which is axiomatic: communal, personal and public.

As a model community Knockroon sets out to improve upon a wide range of criteria that encompasses many physical and scientific outcomes such as environmental sustainability, quality of construction and access to amenities. Its marketing literature promotes specially created walking and cycling routes that take residents directly from Knockroon to a country estate two miles away. The significance of the new development's historic origins are extolled and, following Sharon Zukin's (2010) urban research on the duality of ideas about authenticity, the developers mobilise the heritage of nearby Dumfries House, the former Palladian country home designed by John Adam and Robert Adam and built for the 5th Earl of Dumfries, to confer a historic foundation onto Knockroon. Framing Knockroon within a historic backdrop confers a perceived authenticity of the new development and provides a physical example of decorum and good taste. In this way a symbolic part of the Knockroon lifestyle is the connection to Dumfries House — [its] rococo interior and Chippendale furniture acting as a time-capsule depicting the late 1750s and 1760s. While many current residents of Cumnock might identify themselves more with the area's now defunct coal mining history, Knockroon steers its marketing towards the history of Dumfries House, which — until the Prince of Wales bought the building

— had been a private estate with little local interaction since the death of the 6th Marquess of Bute in 1993. The Prince's charity states that it hopes and believes the development will create employment and bring prosperity to the area which is ranked within the two highest datazones on the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD). Official imagery, suffused as it is with a visual shorthand of community, civility and the good life, appeals particularly to those who are familiar with this short-hand, who subscribe to its social code and are literate in the aspects of community New Urbanism is keen to foster. Implicit in a visual shorthand of who is welcome in a place is normally also who might be excluded. Ray Gindroz (1999) justifies the image of propriety imbued in well tended gardens and tasteful streets in the Charter of the New Urbanism, he writes about the security benefits of a " ... managed environment, 'owned' by the neighbours who live there, and under control." (Arendt et al., 1999 135-6). It would be difficult to find commentators who would argue that neighbourhoods should not be secure, that communities should not have a sense of ownership or that suburbs should be out of control. My argument is that Knockroon's premise is straightforward enough; a real-estate venture that will generate the profits required to repay the costs of acquiring Dumfries House. It is also no surprise that the Prince has taken the opportunity to build a housing estate which reflects his well-established enthusiasm for traditional values. Can Knockroon's developers legitimately present it as a model community? My scepticism is rooted in an analysis of official documents that make claims about regenerating Cumnock and state that Knockroon's housing reflects Cumnock's built heritage. Both claims break down under scrutiny. The Knockroon marketing department understandably focuses on the friendlier aspects of property development

but the Prince's Foundation and the Prince of Wales himself deploy a typically New Urbanist social justice mandate that is not realised through the development itself. In what ways might Knockroon affect the wider community of Cumnock or nearby Auchinleck, the two towns in closest proximity?

Historic Context of Cumnock and Auchinleck

South East Ayrshire

Knockroon is situated in the South East of Scotland near Cumnock. Cumnock is a classic engulfed settlement containing pre-suburban fabric at its core and a mixture of development surrounding it, tending to be lower and lower density towards the rural fringe. Historically it was a market town which prospered during the era of coal mining but declined after the closure of the pits. Knockroon is built on the road which connects Cumnock with Auchinleck. Cumnock is one of the lesser-known small towns in Scotland. It is notably absent from monographs of architectural history such as *Scottish Urban History* (Gordon & Dicks, 1983) or *The Story of Scotland's Towns* (Naismith, 1989). Nonetheless the town was the recipient of a Saltire Housing Award in 1962 for its Barshare housing scheme by Scottish modernist architect Robert Matthews (Glendinning, 2008). Cumnock is also known for its association with the Socialist leader James Keir Hardie (1856-1915), with a street named after him and a monument located prominently outside the local library.⁹² Auchinleck is the small town situated on the north side of Knockroon.

Research produced by the University of Strathclyde and Architecture and Design

⁹² Hardie lived much of his life in Cumnock, was instrumental in the founding of the Scottish Labour Party and became a Member of Parliament in 1892.

Scotland (A+DS) (66) depicts a similar economic trajectory for Auchinleck as Cumnock. Significantly, A+DS characterises both towns as failures.

“Cumnock became a hot bed for unemployment and related social problems. It housed a stagnant immobile population. Many of these problems persist, although the town has begun to attract some commuters ... with a number of modern private housing estates emerging.”
(Architecture+DesignScotland, nd).

With little interaction existing between Cumnock and Auchinleck the positioning of Knockroon between the two deserves serious consideration if community and place are to be improved.

Expectations for the benefit Knockroon will bring to its surrounding area are laid out in official documents, websites and masterplans. These have been circulated in the public realm since 2008 and form the basis for the permission to build there. Use of the words community and regeneration are problematic for most urban scholars as they construct an imagined outcome that is compelling without the empirical evidence to demonstrate how it will be achieved. Regeneration is problematic because of its complex set of indicators of success or failure that depend as much on who and how the data is collected as much as constraints on how long it takes to gather it. Promises made by developers are established early-on in planning applications and masterplans though they are rarely wholly delivered. The rhetoric of growth employed in mainstream media can also be compelling and is a powerful tool in overcoming so called NIMBYism. The conceptualisation that the Knockroon could regenerate nearby Cumnock is articulated most explicitly in a television

programme broadcast by ITV in May 2012 titled *Prince Charles: The Royal Restoration*. The programme, presented by popular presenter Alan Titchmarsh, was about Dumfries House and described how the Prince's charities bought the stately home for around £20m with a loan. The charities hoped to recoup some of their outlay within five years from the sales of housing at Knockroon, built on land owned by the estate. What follows is a transcript from the programme:

Presenter:

"Another important reason for the Prince to buy Dumfries House was to do something to help the local area—Cumnock in East Ayrshire. One of the most economically deprived in Scotland."

Prince of Wales:

"Using the house as a focus for wider regeneration and opportunity—trying to raise aspirations and hope again—when so much has disappeared..."

Chief Executive of East Ayrshire Council, Fiona Lees:

"We've got a high level of unemployment and a high level of dependence on incapacity benefit. We've got a town that in the past few years has seen significant decline with the decline of the mining industry. This is a community that's got its challenges"

Fiona Lees is the Chief Executive of East Ayrshire Council and her participation in the programme lends credibility to the claims made for regeneration. The programme makers film her as she drives to a different town called *New Cumnock*. The cameras pan around an empty expanse of land whilst Ms Lees describes how the local council took the decision to demolish 200 houses in New Cumnock which they were unable to let out. The story being told in the transcript above is situated in Cumnock but the visual evidence to back it up used in the programme is another town entirely. This mistake is not one that was made by Knockroon's patrons or developers, but it is emblematic of how the New Urbanism uses transformational rhetoric and often deploys the terms "community" and "regeneration" to diminish opposition to new developments.

Presenter:

"The Prince has set himself a formidable challenge; to use Dumfries House to kick-start the regeneration of the entire area, creating jobs and drawing in much needed investment. In effect, transforming the community's economic fortunes".

The New Urbanist preoccupation with community and regeneration has had little demonstrable effect in US developments. Similarly its highly principled yet flawed record of providing affordable housing is relevant to Knockroon which records no affordable housing in Phase 1. The issue of affordable housing remains opaque with the Prince's Foundation reporting that at Knockroon, they were informed by East Ayrshire Council that no affordable housing was required or desired.

Designing Scottish Urbanism

Does Knockroon's neo-traditional architecture reflect consumer attitudes?

To answer the question it is firstly useful to consider the context for neo-traditional house building in the UK. British volume-built domestic architecture has little or no input from architects outwith the confines of specific housing developers — this distinguishes Knockroon — which is designed with the input of an independent architect and a designer. The designers of Knockroon are Ben Pentreath, an architectural designer from the practice Working Group Design (who has previously designed homes for Poundbury and masterplans for Tornagrain), and architect Lachlan Stewart who with his wife founded the architectural practice ANTA in Fearn, Ross-shire. Both practices are experienced in the design of traditional buildings and both also do a considerable amount of interior design. Both operate eponymous retail concerns which sell textiles, furniture and other household decorative accessories direct to the public. The products serve the contemporary appetite for rural heritage consumption. Neo-traditional architecture is produced in the UK to dramatically differing ratios of success (if we regard an authentic or accurate aesthetic as the criteria for success). It is the dominant approach to domestic architecture, yet it remains remarkably under-theorised. Following Dostrovsky and Harris (2008), significantly, the widespread application of historicist typologies "... coincides with the beginnings and growth of gentrification ... gentrification and the suburban revival of historical styles should be viewed as related expressions of a more general change in the zeitgeist." (Dostrovsky & Harris, 2008 315), arguably the

perception of wealth which increasingly became accorded to period properties is key. The authors go on to describe the way in which neo-traditional housing styles in Canada became progressively more historicist from the 1970s onwards. Across the UK, and in Scotland, a similar pattern is evidenced by the move from the plainer, flat-fronted elevations of 1960s and 1970s suburban bungalows, villas and semi-detached homes, which normally featured pitched roofs but little else in the way of historic styling, to the re-introduction of bays, columns, pediments, eaves, dormers and so on that appeared in the 1980s and 90s. The photograph of reflects this accurately (Figure 61).

Following the Scottish boom fuelled by the Right To Buy scheme, since 1981 home-ownership in Scotland increased from 36% to nearly 66%. From 1996 until 2006 ownership grew by 12 percentage points, the highest growth rate in any area within the UK (Foster, 2006 2). A look at the new housing built during the 1980s and 1990s in Scotland identifies a new enthusiasm for larger, American style properties that includes Victorian and Georgian style layerings. The era of Reaganomics and Thatcherism ushered in an acceleration of conspicuous consumption in the West that came to partly define Scotland's suburban landscape. A discernible shift towards the McMansion emerged. Essentially an exaggerated form of the 'generic house', it is bigger and bolder and typically features a take on the Scottish baronial style with sandstone veneer façade, multiple roof line façades, double or triple garage, crow-stepped gables and or turrets. It is not surprising that the style should endure since the prototypical baronial style drew on the Scottish castellated tradition for inspiration. Industrial entrepreneurs of the 19th century wanted large houses with

detailing that suggested a "... sense of inheritance." (Beaton & Historic Scotland, 1997 99). Understanding where the perceived appetite for historic details has come from helps in turn to understand the built form of New Urbanism as it is expressed at Knockroon.

The widely held assumption that neo-traditional housing is a result of consumer preference is contested by architectural historian Daniel Maudlin (2009). Instead, he claims that it is firstly a direct result of Government policy that underpins identity-building political agendas and consequently is further compromised by developers.

Maudlin writes in *Constructing Identity and Tradition* (Maudlin, 2009):

"In an increasingly globalized world, national governments appropriate vernacular building traditions to support national identity-building political agendas. In England the neo-traditional house has become an established feature of suburban architecture. This is not, however, as is often assumed, indicative of the nostalgia of the consumer. Rather, neo-traditionalism is the result of planning policies introduced by the government to preserve regional architectural identities and maintain a visual 'Englishness' in the built environment. These policies have, in turn, been undermined by the nationwide standardization of 'traditional designs by national house-building companies.'" (Maudlin, 2009 51)

Maudlin concludes that scenographic interpretations of the historic built environment, reproducing existing historic fabric, are linked to policy rather than consumer demand. Since Scottish policy demands that new developments adopt vernacular materials, forms and street design, it is similarly vulnerable to the corrupting (stylistically) influence of the national house-builder. Maudlin's suggestion that maintaining a visual "Englishness" has a political role to play by

Governments who produce policy can be extrapolated to the Scottish condition easily. Maudlin posits that Prime Minister Thatcher used a range of policies to “reinstale a ‘submerged’ patriotism vision” in the populace. This adds greater significance to my suggestion that the Scottish Nationalist government’s appreciation of New Urbanism hinges on the assumption it can reinstale or encourage a definitively ‘Scottish’ built environment with which to deepen public support for political independence. Scotland has not suffered the dramatic revisions to its built environment as in places like post-wall Berlin, but an attitude persists within its civil service that community has been lost leading to, I suggest, the temptation to resort to what German commentator Werner Sewing (2003) calls *Bildregie*, that is, the “... reduction of architecture to mere stagesets for the pursuit of various urban lifestyles and experiences.” (in G. J. Murray, 2008, 3-21).

The Source Material: Foundational Documents

The following section is a close reading of the key documents that have helped to produce Knockroon’s built form. The *Register of Typologies* (The Prince's Foundation for the Built Environment, n.d.); the *February 2008 Knockroon Masterplan Report* (The Prince's Foundation for the Built Environment, 2008); *Knockroon May 2009 Design Statement* (The Prince's Foundation for the Built Environment, 2009) and the *Knockroon Design Code* (The Prince’s Foundation for the Built Environment, n.d.). The way that Knockroon looks is bound up with issues surrounding taste, branding, the ever-growing appetite for heritage consumption and

much more. Most importantly it is an architecture that is inherently ideological. A nuanced reading of Knockroon reveals that it differs from conventional neo-traditional housing in two important ways: in its earnestness to be taken seriously and in its positioning of real-estate as a lifestyle choice that confers a cluster of values on to purchasers. New Urbanist Knockroon has been painstakingly designed to take precedents from other Scottish places and it does so selectively.

Register of Typologies: How Local Precedents are Selected

The first document to be published in connection with Knockroon was the *Register of Typologies* (The Prince's Foundation for the Built Environment, n.d.), a ninety-four page document which featured exhaustive character studies (Figure 67). In architectural terms these are far from what might be termed Post-Modern. They are not exaggerated or fanciful renderings of historical styles but rather a pattern book of acceptable local precedents. The Register seeks out 18th and 19th century architecture. It does not accommodate post-war styles such as Cumnock's Barshare estate (1962) or the 1970s and 1980s yellow brick bungalows directly adjacent to Knockroon (60). Importantly, the typologies selected and presented in this first document, the *Register of Typologies* (n.d.), which catalogues a wider mix of Cumnock's architectural styles, are absent from later public planning documents such as the *2008 Masterplan Report* (The Prince's Foundation for the Built Environment) and the *2009 Design Statement* (The Prince's Foundation for the Built

Environment). What follows is an interpretation of the key design documents with an analysis of what has been edited out of the founding literature.

Key Features of the 2008 Masterplan Report

In the *2008 Masterplan Report*, a thirty-six page document, buildings are at this stage depicted using pencil drawings (Figure 69), of particular interest is the artist's impression of Adam Square (situated between Cumnock and Auchinleck) which depicts a Poundbury-like civic structure in the centre of the development (Figure 70) and begins to describe how Knockroon will inhabit the B7083, designed along Gordon Cullen's (1961) *Townscape* theory, providing urban "events" to encourage people to walk and cycle (The Prince's Foundation for the Built Environment, 2008 6). The report demonstrates how the current journey from Auchinleck to Cumnock will be transformed by Knockroon. Within an architectural discourse this type of gesture would be described as disruptive, not in a pejorative way, but simply in terms of the architect's or masterplanner's conscious determination to alter or affect behaviour of traffic, and by extension the perception of the people passing through Adam Square. Significantly the principle building in the square is a tollbooth, the type of building historically employed to extract a toll from those entering the borders of a city. The logic of the typology of the tollbooth building is unclear other than as a dormant symbol of Scotland's architectural history. A traditional Scottish tollbooth forms the main focal point of the square which Knockroon's architects plan to erect on the main road between the two communities. It is this type of detail, a three-storey 21st century tollbooth sited prominently between two existing

communities that is synonymous with New Urbanist masterplans. Here the tollbooth is a thumbnail to the broader story. To some it stands for upholding tradition — a structure that acts as a town hall, a civic building providing facilities for both communities. To others a tollbooth will be associated with a particularly public form of law enforcement. Scottish tollbooths, erected in the 17th and 18th century not only collected tolls but detained criminals; some were equipped with the apparatus for public punishment and gallows. If it seems a stretch to interpret the tollbooth this way, after all Stirling's tollbooth is now a successful arts venue, it is worth noting that the prison cell in Falkirk's tollbooth was still in use until 1984 (Mair, 1988 48). The point remains that as a symbol of security to some and of control to others, these symbolic structures (like Celebration's water tower) are arguably arbitrary, cursory architecture.

The *2008 Masterplan Report* is significant because as the outcome of the *Enquiry by Design* (charrette-style) public planning event (February 2008) the document has a didactic role to play, just like the post-charrette papers we have seen earlier. These documents are presented as disseminating the opinions and aspirations of local people for the new development. It is received as a distillation of the event outcomes, a visual and descriptive proposal of what is to come. The *2008 Masterplan Report* is virtually indistinguishable from the September 2008 application responding to the government's *Scottish Sustainable Communities Initiative* (The Prince's Foundation for the Built Environment, 2008b). It outlines to the SSCI funders why Knockroom should be accepted and supported as an exemplar. It was jointly submitted by East Ayrshire Council and The Prince's Foundation for the Built Environment and is

ambitious. It seeks to roll out the architecture on Knockroon across the East Ayrshire region. The report requests that the Scottish Government would assist in funding the production of a pattern book to be used for "... the region as a whole in addition to the Knockroon development." (The Prince's Foundation for the Built Environment, 2008b 18). It also lays out the business case for the development:

"... a new commercial market will be created at Knockroon that will be very much centred on the vision and concept of *place*. This will not only provide local people with a new set of aspirations, but a wider choice of housing options, both affordable and market rate, not currently available at Cumnock." (The Prince's Foundation for the Built Environment, 2008b 18).

The implication is that Cumnock suffers from placelessness. It also infers that aspiration is a credible route out of Cumnock's undeniable poverty — a claim that has been made by successive governments and which remains difficult to define or demonstrate. It is not unusual for real-estate developers to stray into the rhetoric of regeneration in this way. It could be indicative of the developer's own aspirations for social equity through design which are well-intentioned, but arguably naive. The report stated that the proposed indicators of success would be generally assessed according to various principles, for example:

"Quality of life should be improved by creating a pleasant environment and an increase in property values; "Good neighbourhoods should encourage people to live and work locally. This will help generations of families to establish themselves in the area; and "Employment opportunities should improve with the knock-on effect of increased income and spending in the area." (The Prince's Foundation for the Built Environment, 2008a 18).

In this way the authors share the links made by the New Urbanism between architecture, the good community and property values.

The Poundbury of Scotland

When the Prince of Wales announced that the land he had inherited with the purchase of a local stately home named Dumfries House was to be developed into a housing estate the media were quick to predict a Scottish Poundbury. And in effect, Knockroon is a smaller-scale Poundbury. Knockroon shares Poundbury's adherence to core New Urbanist principles and is a similarly picturesque urban extension. Both occupy a quasi-rural location offering high quality homes with a distinctive, locally sourced identity. Both seek to provide a sense of community and describe themselves as model communities. Both take the concept of mixed use seriously; Knockroon incorporates 2030sq.m. of commercial and retail space with a focus on flexible workspaces for small to medium sized enterprises and this balance is expected to continue throughout later phases.

The photograph of Poundbury Phase 2 in Figure 71 demonstrates how it lacks not only of the patina of age, but evidence of the civic and industrial machinations that produce accidents of siting, extension and reconstruction. Note formal gestures such as the building on the corner site, intended to look like a bell-tower. Its roof is an almost exact replica of a reconstructed tower in Echternacht, Luxembourg, Léon Krier's childhood home. The tower and castellated ornaments and oriole windows are certainly eclectic but it is unclear what the narrative is intended to be for this

block. What was the imagined historic use for this new building? Is it written into the notes attached to the architect's drawings? The trained eye immediately begins to look for the mistakes. Like fashion, a similarly contrived industry, New Urbanism's earnestness to be taken seriously is at the heart of why it fails. Like a guileless, over-coordinated outfit, Poundbury's matching roof tiles, window treatments, paintwork and exterior renders all combine into a street that for some is tasteful and for others, forced. The *May 2009 Design Statement* (The Prince's Foundation for the Built Environment) produced for Knockroon offers substantially less detail on architectural style in comparison to the earlier *Register of Typologies* (The Prince's Foundation for the Built Environment, n.d.) produced at the outset of the planning process. Instead, the first few pages feature a full page photograph of Dumfries House along with an introduction where Hank Dittmar described the design of Knockroon as drawn from a number of sources "... but especially from the knowledge gleaned from local people, who willingly shared with the team what they liked and disliked about their community." (The Prince's Foundation for the Built Environment, 2009 2). There is no further detail on what these preferences were or how the participants were selected or notified to give their views. Early on the document states that there would be synergies between Knockroon and Dumfries House in terms of "... attracting tourism and aiding economic development" and goes on to say that, "The ambition is that Knockroon will be the 'Poundbury of Scotland' ..." which attracts approximately 18,000 visitors a year. (The Prince's Foundation for the Built Environment, 2009 4).

The implication is that Knockroon could have a similarly big impact on the local area, stimulating tourism and economic growth. Planning theorists and sociologists alike have been sceptical of the role of tourism in regeneration and Knockroon's rural location makes it even less likely to sustain significant economic benefit. These claims make the developers susceptible to criticisms that New Urbanist developments overstate their social impact. The *May 2009 Design Statement* for Knockroon states that Knockroon should have "... a timeless quality that gives the impression it has been there for hundreds of years." (The Prince's Foundation for the Built Environment, 2009 26)

In the section *Design Principles*, the statement (2009) describes using traditional models which it states are typically absent in contemporary suburban developments emphasising the use of walkable street networks, balancing the "... universal principles of traditional placemaking and the essence of its context's local character and identity ..." as well as design that can "... encourage civic pride..." (The Prince's Foundation for the Built Environment, 2009 6). The conceptualisation of universality and timelessness combined with place or the idea of local is paradoxical. Universal values or principles cannot negotiate diversity or difference and therefore civic pride becomes something more do with the suppression of difference and the homogenising of values. The *Design Statement* (2009) describes how this contributes to the creation of a public realm and uses familiar New Urbanist terminology to explain how Knockroon will be a mixed use, sustainable urban form. This implies, I suggest, a form that is distinct from a suburban form, despite the development being

suburban by normal definition. I emphasise the following claim because it is regularly made by New Urbanists, but, under scrutiny often breaks down:

“Design that respects the complex character of a place and takes into consideration its history, geology, transportation links and its natural landscape. Design that employs and connects a variety of enclosure and openness to make people *always aware of being in a place*.” (my emphasis) (The Prince's Foundation for the Built Environment, 2009 6)

Knockroon claims to respect the complexities of place, including history, yet it perpetuates the simplistic approach of other New Urbanist developments I have visited. Regional architecture is delaminated, and becomes two-dimensional; typological forms are selected which create distance between existing communities — typically social housing — and this results in an architecture that is, following Verrege (1997) “... extracted from historical time and divorced from the processes of change that shaped them.” (J. Grant, 2006b 198).

The *2009 Design Statement* refers to the early *Register of Typologies* (n.d.) as a design tool, one that would ensure a design intelligence that it describes as time-tested and long lasting, but there are increasingly fewer examples of Cumnock's typologies as the statements evolve. The *May 2009 Design Statement* features a large image of Poundbury and includes examples from two East Ayrshire towns, Newmilns and Kilmaurs, to explain the precedent taken for the form of Adam Square and the replica tollbooth style building. Only on pages 12 and 13 are there specific examples of streets in Cumnock, and only here as morphological examples. Another image of Poundbury, this time presenting the urban edge of the development, is used

to help describe Knockroon's relationship to the landscape between Auchinleck and Cumnock (The Prince's Foundation for the Built Environment, 2009 16). In a section titled *Key Features, Details & Typologies* the *May 2009 Design Statement* states that the masterplan incorporates both precedents drawn from the immediate area and as far as Maybole, Newmilns, Kilmaurs and Sanford near Strathaven. The statement observes that "Mauchline and *Cumnock itself*, were found to be a particularly rich source of inspiration." (my emphasis) (The Prince's Foundation for the Built Environment, 2009 18). Despite this claim for regional specificity none of the subsequent examples in the text include Cumnock. Instead they refer to precedents in Lanark, Mauchline, Maybole, Sanford and Eaglesham. The Design Statement (2009) continues with a section on *Built Form & Architecture* which explicitly states that the goal of Knockroon's design team is to create a new development that is both "... rooted in Cumnock and East Ayrshire ..." and "... instantly recognisable as Cumnock to both resident and visitor." (The Prince's Foundation for the Built Environment, 2009 26). There is a disconnect between what is being claimed in terms of context and lack of clarity about what is meant by local.

The subsequent set of images presented in the *May 2009 Design Statement* (Figure 72) were produced by James Hart Dyke and Edwin Venn and incorporated into the Design Statement by *Willie Miller Urban Design*, the Glasgow based consultancy commissioned to to coordinate and submit an outline planning application on behalf of the Prince's Foundation for the Built Environment for Knockroon. These depict a pared down version of the sketches seen in the earlier *Register of Typologies* (n.d.) and rehearse the plainer typologies (with neo-classical detailing) represented by

sketches in the *2008 Masterplan Report*. The new sketches bear a close resemblance to the buildings which have actually been constructed at Knockroon during phase one with their irregular rooflines, scaling and massing.

The watercolour used on the front cover of the *May 2009 Design Statement* (Figure 72) bears a close resemblance to not only Knockroon, but what was hoped for in early visions of Poundbury (Figure 73), produced by artist Carl Laubin (Williams, 2004 47). In both one can see that both affirm a form of civic life that reads as safe and homogenous but also unreal and strange. How are we expected to apprehend these illustrations? The Knockroon watercolour depicts mostly faceless women engaged in the activity of shopping or strolling in an open space that though not pedestrianised is free of cars. The people are almost all engaged individually, not in pairs or in conversation. In this way New Urbanism at Knockroon is, arguably unwittingly, furthering the same (contested) tropes about woman and suburbia as outlined by Clapson (2003) who asserts that woman and the suburbs have been “conjoined in a depressing and gendered myth of passivity and pointlessness.” (125) So how were these images conceived and how closely, if at all, do they represent the intentions of Knockroon’s designers and developers? What is supposed to be happening in the unknown artist’s picture? It is difficult to accept them as simply theatre when they are hinged on a set of socially focused principles. Importantly the key elements that New Urbanism relies on are included: shops and buildings together (mixed-use), no cars (pedestrian is visibly privileged) and traditionally styled ‘local’ architecture. It is startling to see how similar images of Knockroon resemble another

New Urbanist development Chapelton (See Figures 2, 3 and 74 and 75) near Aberdeen (designed by DPZ). Note the same corner shop with gabled end, the same assortment of sash windows, chimney blocks, dormer windows and road devoid of traffic (despite New Urbanist planning's complete dependence on the motor car). Why, despite two separate design processes (one charrette by DPZ and one *Enquiry by Design* by the Prince's Foundation) and masterplans for two very differently scaled developments – Knockroon being an urban extension with 750 homes planned and Chapelton a stand-alone greenfield 'new town' with 8000 homes planned – are they so similar?

A 'Symbolic Redefinition of Locality'

Following Virag Molner's study of post-wall Berlin (2010), the term 'symbolic redefinition of locality' is appropriated here as a framework to view Knockroon's design codes and, I argue, how they mediate between Cumnock's actual built environment and the bourgeois architectural history preferred by Knockroon's designers. My research demonstrates that Knockroon's architecture, by the time its developers progressed to producing a pattern book, the *Knockroon Design Code* (2010), had evolved to pay little attention to the history of Cumnock either in cultural or architectural terms. Instead, it was looking further afield for examples of architecture in middle-class villages of Mauchline, Maybole, Eaglesham and Strathaven. What assumptions are made by the design code for Knockroon and how is the design realised in practice? Local architectural layers are missing from what is

described as a locally produced plan and arguably the question of what the consequences of this are is diminished by Knockroon's small-scale status.

Moving to a macro scale, in the discussion of post-Berlin wall reconstruction where GDR period attempts at architecture and placemaking were ignored or destroyed, Phillip Oswalt (1994) commented that "the historically given must give way to the simulation of a fictitious historical image precisely in the name of History ..." (in G. J. Murray, 2008 11). This applies to the neighbourhoods in Cumnock that are perceived by New Urbanists as failures or mistakes. Their exclusion speaks to the issue of what type of place is authentic and what type of community is culturally legitimate (Molnar, 2010; Zukin, 2010). Since East Ayrshire Council have adopted Knockroon's design codes as Supplementary Planning Guidance, the probability of any periods of Ayrshire's architecture that do not correspond to Knockroon being referenced in any new development looks unlikely. These periods (seen at Townhead or Barshare for example) have been delegitimised and correspondingly so, arguably, have their inhabitants.

Similarly, while Knockroon seeks to create a diverse, distinctive community using design codes it must acknowledge that its codes produce not only a static abbreviation of Cumnock's existing architecture but an enclave that is unlikely to be populated by existing residents of Cumnock. Not only is Knockroon more likely to appeal to commuters working in Glasgow or Ayr than local residents, the development that looks frozen in time is set again to be frozen by restrictive codes

that new residents will adopt to preserve the look and, by extension, the code of conduct anticipated by Knockroon.

The *Environmental Statement* (2009) produced by Jacobs Engineering emphasises that Knockroon will be an “extension” not a “separate place” which helps to create an impression of inclusiveness that could be misleading since Knockroon is situated on the fringe of existing suburban development (Jacobs Engineering U.K. Limited, 2009 1.3). Under the heading *Need for the Scheme* and the sub-heading *Description of the Area* the *Environmental Statement* describes how “The townscape of remodelled eighteenth and nineteenth century dwellings, exemplified in the Town Centre Conservation Area, is reflective of the area’s heritage.” (Jacobs Engineering U.K. Limited, 2009 3.2). However, the Town Centre Conservation Area is limited to a relatively small area, the historic core of the town centre. It is reflective only of a very small proportion, not the wider aspects of Cumnock's heritage.

The Statement also refers to “... a degradation of the urban environment including an increase in areas of vacant and derelict land, and the loss of the railway station.”

(Jacobs Engineering U.K. Limited, 2009 3.2) The *Environmental Statement* does not describe the location of the degraded urban environment but it does describe vacant and derelict sites. As New Urbanist theory supports urban infill as opposed to suburban sprawl, in this section (*Need for the Scheme*) the Prince’s Foundation might be expected to account for its preference to build on green belt land instead of in Cumnock's degraded areas.

How Knockroon's Design Code was Received by Key Stakeholders

The form that New Urbanism takes at Knockroon is almost wholly dictated by its *Design Code* (2010). The code was interpreted by two key stakeholders as being too prescriptive, a widely-held view among New Urbanism's critics. A+DS Design Review department offered their advice to the Prince's Foundation's project team as part of A+DS's support of the Scottish Government's *Scottish Sustainable Communities Initiative* (SSCI).⁹³ That offer was declined by the Knockroon project team (Architecture + Design Scotland, 2010). However A+DS gave their recommendations anyway, writing that they were "... happy to give comment ..." noting, "Although it has not been the subject of a full review we offer our observations following a brief study of the submitted material via desktop review by staff." (Architecture + Design Scotland, 2010 1). A+DS recommended that the code should be more robust in some areas and less detailed in others but did not give any detail.

The report is critical of the fact that the precedents provided within the Code suggest a particular style for the development and describes them as "very prescriptive." (Architecture + Design Scotland, 2010 2). The report notes a lack of guidance on the design of the interface of roads generally or a strategy for parking across the masterplan. Referring to the fact that East Ayrshire Council were intending to adopt the code as Non-Statutory Supplementary Planning Guidance, the report (2010)

⁹³ Design Review has now changed its name to Design Forum

cautioned that if extending the influence of the document to other developments in the area, “careful consideration” should be given to “how the Codes pertain to specific projects, and specific sites, each with their own particular context and topographies.” (Architecture + Design Scotland, 2010 2). An anxiety about the style of Knockroon is evident and this comes through in later representations made to the East Ayrshire Council’s Cabinet report in the context of the Code being adopted as Non-Statutory Supplementary Planning Guidance for the assessment of all future planning applications for the development site.

The report produced by East Ayrshire Council (East Ayrshire Council, 2010) that accounted for the processes was used to debate the use of the code and included feedback from multiple stakeholders. On the publication of the *Knockroon Design Code* (The Prince’s Foundation for the Built Environment, 2010) the developers were required to submit a formal Section 75 agreement that would enshrine their codes in an agreement with the local planning authority and ensure that the further phases were built according to the strict aesthetic principles. A consultation exercise was undertaken to obtain the views of the public and design and heritage organisations before the plan could be adopted as Non-Statutory Supplementary Planning Guidance. In total ten representations were made, including two from Architecture and Design Scotland (A+DS) and the Scottish Civic Trust. Both A+DS and the Scottish Civic Trust commented on the prescriptive nature of the design code and asked why the code could not encourage a variety of architectural expression. The Scottish Civic Trust welcomed the way the code used precedents from the surrounding area but it suggested that contemporary interpretations of these could be

used "... rather than slavishly copying traditional architecture." (Wild, 2010 1) The Trust also referenced housing in Scotland that they considered to provide a balance between traditional and modern design, citing the *Drum* development in Bo'ness and the *Scottish Highland Housing Fair* in Inverness.

A+DS, contributing as a non-departmental government body, were able to independently make recommendations. A+DS rehearse the Civic Trust's observations and questioned the "precision" required as well as "what needs to be controlled and what doesn't" (East Ayrshire Council, 2010 27). In response to both representations, East Ayrshire Council concluded that whilst they noted the view from both on the prescriptive nature of the codes, no changes were considered necessary since the proposed style was "appropriate" to the location, and the codes had been produced by a week long *Enquiry By Design* (East Ayrshire Council, 2010 29-30). Since South Ayrshire Council had already partnered with Knockroon's developers, The Prince's Foundation for Building Community (PFBC), to produce a masterplan and a proposal to the SSCI, it is logical that they chose not to pay attention to representations at that stage. I suggest that the procedure for participation used by the PFBC, known as *Enquiry by Design*, is one of the most important factors in harnessing official advocates and diminishing opposition.

Knockroon is framed as part of the solution to Cumnock's deprivation, not part of the problem. Following Sophie Bond (2010) who problematises community in *Being in Myth and Community*, the UK's urban policy has constructed community as "largely place based, localised, and overly moralistic" (Bond, 2010 780). Accordingly, in areas of economic deprivation such as Cumnock, efforts at regeneration which tackle economic issues with design are met with tacit encouragement from beleaguered communities. Building community is expressed as a tangible outcome of urban regeneration projects which have attempted to tackle the consequences of deprivation using spatial and social engineering.

'Place-making' is a core part of the Scottish Government's strategy to increase sustainable economic growth. "Good place-making can provide communities with an important cultural context; a sense of pride and belonging; and a sense of local and national identity." (Scottish Government, 2011). The Scottish Government (2013) states that it has embedded place in its fiscal decision making with Infrastructure, Development and Place occupying one of the central themes of its economic strategy. It states that "Place should not be considered merely as a backdrop to our lives, but as an agent of change." (The Scottish Government, 2013 4). The official policy presents design and community as interdependent saying: "Good design can guarantee that we get it right the first time, avoiding scenarios where we are left with problem buildings or places that fail our communities." (The Scottish Government, 2013 4). The vision for Scotland's built environment as articulated by government is of "... places that work" and a "legacy ... rendered in our buildings, streets, squares

and places. This will be a tangible expression of who we are as a country, and what we want to be.” (The Scottish Government, 2013 4).

Efforts to regenerate Cumnock by the Prince’s Foundation have hinged on the reinstatement of an appreciation for traditional buildings. Knockroon’s developers have instituted a series of training programmes such as *Get into Sustainable Building* organised by the Prince’s Trust and The Prince’s Foundation for Building Community along with Knockroon’s construction firm Hope Homes where students can apply to receive work experience on building sites throughout Ayrshire, including Knockroon. The Prince's Foundation for Building Community Summer School, which in 2012 took place in London and Scotland, saw students participate in a three week course culminating in a competition to design an open-air summer house in the walled garden of the Dumfries House Estate. Efforts to revive traditional building skills are the stated aim including craft and conservation skills in the fields, amongst others, of timber, thatching, cob and dry stone walling and lime plastering.

The *Environmental Statement* (Jacobs Engineering U.K. Limited, 2009) produced for Knockroon in the early planning stages also addresses skills, training and employment. It describes an educational campus between Knockroon and the centre of Cumnock and suggests that, “A relocated primary school could be placed here and training workshops for a range of rural skills could be developed on council owned land, linked to the Dumfries Estate. Key areas for skills and employment opportunities include estate management, construction, farming and food production.”(Jacobs Engineering U.K. Limited, 2009 5.2). New Urbanist

developments typically have a tension between the image of production and the reality of consumption. However Knockroon has demonstrated not only the will to improve community related opportunities but also the organisational and delivery skills required to make observable impact. In this way, the approach of the Prince's Foundation distinguishes itself from North American approaches in Scotland which have yet to demonstrate a tangible interest in improving social equity.

The public response to Knockroon has been overwhelmingly positive, which is in direct opposition to the considerable opposition generated by Tornagrain, the second New Urbanist exemplar in the Scottish Sustainable Communities Initiative. There exists little demonstrable NIMBYism or locally generated criticism directed at Knockroon. A few inflammatory articles surfaced in 2011 which remonstrated about perceived rules and regulations: these were in fact the Design Code that was prepared for East Ayrshire Council's planning department by the Prince's Foundation. In the newspaper article *Fit for a Prince* (*World Architecture News*, 2011) the authors claimed that "the media has continued to batter the project ..." despite there being little evidence to support this (*World Architecture News*, 2011 1-2). Media coverage of Knockroon rehearses the hysteria we have observed in North American coverage of New Urbanism. *The Scotsman* published an article titled *Prince Won't Waive the Rules in his Model Village* (*The Scotsman*, 2011) that called the design code a "manifesto" and described how future residents were being "... forced to abide by a dizzying series of rules ..." (*The Scotsman*, 2011 1-2). This was echoed in a later article in *The Daily Express* titled *Charles Lays Down His Village Laws* (Duffy, 2011). The journalists reporting on Knockroon describe outrage, yet

the opposite is true of media generated locally by Knockroon's nearest neighbours, Cumnock and Auchinleck. In fact *The Cumnock Chronicle* has carried only positive articles since 2007 and online Auchinleck local digital news source *SI Auchinleck* similarly has reported mainly good new stories. The latter's attempt in January 2011 to stimulate debate by asking readers if they thought the design codes were too restrictive was met with an indifferent lack of response.

I asked The Prince's Foundation why they thought Knockroon had avoided being entangled in so-called NIMBYism. Tom Perry (2013) works with the Prince's Foundation and was part of the Knockroon Edb. He said, "There was as much of a NIMBY attitude as anywhere else at the outset", but that it was defused by the relationship to the Dumfries House project, a project "that would bring benefits to the area." (T. Perry, 7 November, 2013). Perry (7 November, 2013) described how turning people's views around was partly about being open with the wider community, "getting local press on side", and working with the council and elected representatives. Perry acknowledged that:

"It's not an exact blueprint though, it worked there but there were some big voices who got up right at the beginning and asked the wider community to be positive and not just moan about it, working closely with people most directly involved (neighbours) and make sure they feel like you're not ignoring them also helped. They were quite a positive bunch from what I remember and realised they didn't get too many opportunities like this come along and to take advantage of it..." (T. Perry, 7 November, 2013)

In sharp contrast, the reaction to Knockroon by readers of Scottish architecture magazine *Urban Realm* have typically been extraordinarily heated. Polarised along

the lines of traditional-versus-modern, the open comments area on Knockroon articles has been dominated by design professionals, with neo-traditional housing igniting extensive discussion. Comments mirror the crass characterisation common in anti New Urbanist discourse including associating the movement with Disney, the artificiality of the theme park (in a pejorative way), and accusing it of stymying the evolution of local architectural style. Commenting on the article *Knockroon Show Homes Completed* (2011), one of 92 posters wrote:

“... the Disneyfication of Scotland starts here. This will only strengthen the case for planning department design guidance which falls back on historical principle rather than engages meaningfully with any debate on the future of direction of vernacular.” (Auntie Nairn, in *Urban Realm*, 2011).

Traditionalists argued against perceived modernist puritanism, “Why don't they get out of their puritan ‘modernist’ straight-jackets, take a reality check, and realise that traditional styling, handled well, can actually contribute in a very meaningful way to the attractions of a place in which to live.” (Michael, in *Urban Realm*, 2011).

Scottish architect (and Visiting Professor at the Scott Sutherland School of Architecture at Robert Gordon University) Alan Dunlop warned that Knockroon was not an adequate response to the failures in Scotland’s housing and called for high quality contemporary design instead of “... car free, fake chimney, limited daylight, tarmac surrounded, imitation georgian pastiche.” (Dunlop, in *Urban Realm*, 2011). Knockroon is far from car-free, and its chimneys are real; it is really the Georgian pastiche that Dunlop objects to and he, like many opponents of Scotland’s first example of New Urbanism, is troubled by what historicist architecture says about

contemporary Scottish society. I wrote to ask Alan Dunlop if time had altered his opinion as it was set out in the comments board in 2011. He responded to say his opinion had not changed and outlined his reasons why:

“The problem with New Urbanism as it is presented in Knockroon and similar ‘heritage’ led regeneration is that they are insular and self seeking and do not address the real social issues and housing problems in Scotland or the UK. It is an estate agent’s marketing ploy dressed up as architecture and a new way of living, appealing to people’s romantic idea of the past. Instead New Urbanists are not urbanists at all, they ignore real architectural issues of the decline of our cities, the need to increase density and how we regenerate brown field sites and create high quality housing peripheral towns and the encroachment on green belt land. What they propose is elitist and self serving on virgin sites.” (A. Dunlop, 6 October 2013)

Dunlop’s view is reflected in urban and planning theory as I have outlined in the literature review. The same issues around nostalgic design, failure to achieve urban densities, and reliance on greenfield predominantly over brownfield are raised again and again in discussions about New Urbanism. Another key issue for critics of the movement is affordable housing – the question of affordable housing at Knockroon has emerged as one of the most convoluted and difficult to answer straightforwardly. The initial *Environmental Statement* (2009) produced by Jacobs Engineering for the Prince’s Foundation referenced the interconnected issues surrounding the masterplan. The statement is hundreds of pages long and goes into great technical detail. I argue that it presents overly-simplistic evaluations with weak reinforcing evidence. The statement (2009) advises that no affordable housing is planned at Knockroon since it had been “... decided that adequate rented social housing is present in Cumnock and

consequently that the Development should aim to cater for shared or co-ownership demand.” (Jacobs Engineering U.K. Limited, 2009.2).

Of the wider region, housing charity *Shelter* said, “East Ayrshire needs more affordable homes.” (Shelter, 2012). Using statistics drawn from a wide range of published data, Shelter reported that East Ayrshire suffered a loss of over 4000 affordable homes over a decade as a result of the Right to Buy scheme.⁹⁴ With the number of households on the council waiting list numbering nearly 4000 in March 2011, and only 1,178 new lets available in 2010-2011, Shelter forecasted it would take more than three years to clear the current waiting list. The charity also noted that 36,000 properties in East Ayrshire currently fail the Scottish Housing Quality Standard. My Freedom of Information request on the 10th September 2012 regarding affordable housing at Knockroon was submitted to establish whether or not the stated “further detailed discussions with housing officials and social housing providers” took place and what their outcomes were (Jacobs Engineering U.K. Limited, 2009, 2). East Ayrshire Council’s Department of Neighbourhood Services acknowledged that: “No further discussions have taken place with housing officials. A final decision regarding affordable housing at Knockroon has still to be made.” (Gouck, 2012).

On the subject of affordable housing, during the Longniddry Enquiry By Design event (12th, 13th, and 14th November 2013), I met with Mark Greaves from the

⁹⁴ Operation of the Homeless Persons legislation in Scotland: 2012-13, July 2013, Scottish Government; Housing Statistics for Scotland 2012: Key trends summary, August 2012, Scottish Government; Annual Performance and Statistical Return: 2011-12, Scottish Housing Regulator; and the Scottish House Condition Survey Local Authority Analysis 2008 - 2010, Scottish Government.

Prince's Foundation and asked him why, if affordable housing was important to New Urbanists, might there be none planned for phases 1 or 2 at Knockroon?⁹⁵ Greaves explained that East Ayrshire Council had advised the planning team that no affordable housing was necessary. In [their] opinion, Cumnock had a surplus of rented and social housing stock. This established that the Foundation's role is in some ways limited. It does not have the structural control necessary to be involved at a level that can ensure it delivers on promises made regarding affordable housing. In this way, the rest of the environmental statement takes on more meaning: it states "Provision of a wider range of mixed tenure and better quality private market housing would also enable movement within the neighbourhood and thereby encourage community stability. The final mix should however be determined through further detailed discussion with housing officials and social housing providers." (Jacobs Engineering U.K. Limited, 2009.2). Movement, in this context, suggests an economic 'mobility' that is unlikely to be within the grasp of much of Cumnock's existing residents. It is unclear what is meant by community stability: the report does not outline in what ways the community might be unstable.

I requested copy of East Ayrshire's Strategic Housing Investment Plan 2012/13 - 2014/15 committee paper, which makes reference to Knockroon. The paper was approved by Cabinet in March 2012 and a table within titled *Housing Priorities* shows that of a total of eighteen priority areas, fifteen were ranked as high and three

⁹⁵ Mark Greaves is an urbanist and town planner. He continues to be an active member of The Prince's Foundation's Professional Network, delivering Prince's Foundation projects such as *Enquiry By Design*. Greaves is on Architecture & Design Scotland's Design Forum Panel, and is a member of the Academy of Urbanism and the Congress for the New Urbanism.

were ranked as medium, including Knockroon. 40 socially rented units are recorded, estimated to start construction in 2014/2015, and estimated to be completed in 2015/2016. Scottish Government Funding is recorded as coming from the AHSP Affordable Housing Supply Programme at £1.600m, with no recorded funding from the Council, and finally £3.400m from “other sources”, listed in the document as Private Funding making a total provision of £5.000m for affordable housing at Knockroon (East Ayrshire Council, 2011 60-65).

Case Study Conclusion

Knockroon refutes the suburbs and the suburban way of life. It is supported by government support for something that is at once tangible and abstract: place. Place and community have become intertwined in both theory and policy. The form that New Urbanism takes at Knockroon and elsewhere in Scotland is largely informed by ideas about place and community. Place refutes placelessness. Community refutes the instability that comes with individualism. Traditional architecture signifies history, historical truths and universal values. At Knockroon the architecture signifies Scotland's new age of improvement where the failures of past governments and policies can be wiped clean. As Scotland prepares for a referendum on independence most of the significant new housing developments in the past five years have been masterplanned and designed to reflect the dominant styles of the 18th and 19th century. Does this represent an anxiety about Scottish identity? Is it simply the undeniably success of the New Urbanism both politically and economically? The former and the latter reinforce one another. While the New

Urbanism has the power to be successful almost anywhere, importantly, the institutional fear of failure within local and national planning departments in Scotland makes it even more compelling.

Chapter 6. Case Study 2: Chapelton

Chapelton of Elsick has been selected from what is now a sizeable list of New Urbanist activity in rural Scotland including Ballater, Banchory, Cove, and Ellon (clustered around Aberdeenshire) and Nairn and Tornagrain (near Inverness).⁹⁶ Initially, Tornagrain, as a Scottish Government exemplar in the Scottish Sustainable Communities Initiative, was considered a good example with which to examine what may be the important differences in approach between the UK's Prince's Foundation and the US approach led by Andrés Duany (DPZ). However Tornagrain was substituted for Chapelton since the Aberdeenshire development had quickly overtaken the former's pace in terms of scale and construction. Chapelton is now the largest new housing development under construction in Scotland and a stand-alone greenfield new town with 8000 homes planned (Figure 76). The housing development is located in the Portlethen–Stonehaven corridor which means it neatly meets the stated requirement for new homes within the Aberdeen City and Shire Structure Plan 2009 (approved by Scottish Ministers in August 2009 and looks forward to 2030). In this enquiry I am interested in what ways Chapelton is representative of the landscape and settlement context of Scotland's rural areas. In this final chapter I will analyse Chapelton's architecture, its official literature and charrette process and I will elucidate the developer's social goals and posit similarities to Scotland's planned villages of the *Age of Improvement*. Finally I will

⁹⁶ Originally called *Chapelton of Elsick* the development is now referred to as simply Chapelton. 'Of Elsick' has been retired from most printed and online copy.

suggest an alternative vision for the development which takes New Urbanist theory to a more extreme, and potentially more regionally specific, outcome.

In the preceding case study I found that Knockroon's developers and government supporters had described Cumnock's (sub)urban extension as both local and regional. Yet in practice, Knockroon has developed with a universalising conceptualisation of Scottish urbanism. Chapelton reproduces the same built forms as seen at Knockroon on a significantly larger masterplan; 8000 homes in comparison to 750 respectively (Figure 76). Chapelton superficially reflects some regional architectural styles and the new town has been specifically designed to have mass appeal to specifically middle class house buyers. Its traditional forms signify, like Knockroon, a static and homogenous interpretation of community, which in itself is a commodity. The following section reviews the architectural typologies selected by Chapelton's architects and the forms of the interconnecting neighbourhoods. It examines the ways in which Chapelton has been planned as a fully functioning town and finds equivalences to the suburban sprawl and spatial inequality that New Urbanist theory contests.

For the case study I collated marketing materials, official submissions made to the planning department, design statements and pattern books. I visited the construction site on one occasion and followed the development's progress from 2013 onwards, including media reports and correspondence with co-director of the development company Caroline Southesk. My interpretation of the research material consistently reflected upon the status of Chapelton within the narrative of Scotland's planned

villages and towns. I connected the research material to critical analysis and relevant social science and urban studies literature with special attention to Susan Moore's study of New Urbanism and its normalising effect on the Toronto region: *What's Wrong With Best Practice?* (Moore, 2013). The Chapelton case study answers the following questions: What form does the localisation of New Urbanism take? Is it a variegated form or a homogenous one? Is it local, regional or global? My analysis of masterplans, design statements, architectural typologies and charrette process demonstrates how New Urbanist principles have been applied and importantly, identify where place and community have been stated or implied in built form.

The Chapelton Charrette

The following section examines Chapelton's charrette including pre-charrette activity and post-charrette marketing literature. Public consultation about Chapelton began with a meeting at Cookney town hall in 2011. Cookney is a hamlet located about two miles west of the nearest small coastal commuter town, Newtonhill. Cookney is the closest location to the planned town and the meeting was attended by approximately 140 people (EDC 2011). Five thousand pre-charrette papers were delivered to addresses across the Portlethen and Newtonhill area. Pre-charrette newsletters, charrette visual aids and design work, masterplans and final websites all utilise hand-drawn figure-ground drawing and painterly artists' impressions to construct friendly, community orientated vignettes. However there is another important role for New Urbanist marketing which is done with words rather than

pictures. Objections, or potential objections, are articulated and resolved at the early stages of the planning process.

DPZ have had decades of experience in the area of achieving consensus, and overcoming dissent at Chapelton was approached in a formulaic way. The first widely disseminated communication was in the form of a pamphlet with an introduction from the Earl of Southesk. The pamphlet focused from the beginning on distinguishing what was planned for Chapelton from other single use developments. It quickly moved to mention (in the following order) a variety of aspects of the proposed town: “Approximately 4000 homes including 25% affordable homes integrated into the heart of the community”; a community academy and up to four primary schools; a flexible community space, public park and open spaces; a high street with shops catering for local needs; a pub, hotel, restaurant and cafe; and a medical and dental practice. (Elsick Development Company, 2010 3). The document elaborates a fully fleshed out town putting to rest any fears about soulless identikit sprawl.

Objections raised to date from residents who live locally to the proposed new town of Chapelton are typical of issues that arise from New Urbanist developments. The following objections have been noted from the *Aberdeenshire Local Committee Report* (2013): “No evidence of a sustainable town, employment uses, schools, retail or transport has been shown in the applications”, “Development is too large for the infrastructure to cope”, “Loss of prime agricultural land”, “Any access to rail network will require travel across the A90”, “Existing education and healthcare

facilities will not cope with the development”, and “The short term solution to extend Mackie Academy is contrary to part of the justification for a new town at Elsick, since it was expected to provide a secondary school.” (Aberdeenshire Council, 2013 4-5).

These issues mirror those raised at the Prince’s Foundation charrette (Enquiry by Design) I attended in Longniddry. The tool used to overcome these objections is a formulaic marketing strategy used widely in New Urbanist developments. Marketing procedures filter through every element of the process leading to planning permission, whether it is development documents for government officials of town meetings or post-charrette papers. Combined, these expensive but worthwhile operations lead to successful permission to build and in turn have a normalising effect on urbanisation elsewhere as detailed by Susan Moore's research in the Toronto suburbs (2013).

Scotland's Largest Planned Town for a Generation

Chapelton promises to be “a vibrant new community ... adapting the best traditions of Scottish town design for modern living.” It describes an extensive range of new homes and schools and a “lively town centre” and notes that the variety of properties on offer are “suitable for all ages, incomes and needs.” (Elsick Development Company, 2014). The development’s home page emphasises the input of expert urban designers, architects and engineers as well as the application of advanced technology such as high-speed broadband. Contemporaneously, the Chapelton homepage (2014) locates its conception of a new town within the utopian imagery historically employed to describe the (Garden City inspired) UK New Towns movement (1946-1970) where community and place were identified with broadly socialist ideals and modern design and technology. It has developed a less personalised and paternalistic perspective since 2010 where the following excerpt is taken from. It also demonstrates an emphasis on quality of life, community and place:

“As a family, we are committed to promoting a development that builds on the North East’s reputation for quality of life and of which we, and future generations, can be proud. The scale of the site and long term control of it gives us the ability to achieve this. We aim to create a community that is happy in itself and has a strong sense of place, rooted in Aberdeenshire such as the hypothetical neighbourhood shown above.” (Elsick Development Company, 2014)

Chapelton’s developers make no regeneration claims, in contrast to Knockroon, (Chapelton is developed on greenfield) and do not claim to be a model community or

an exemplar, but they do want to be taken seriously as a town, referring to Chapelton in the media as Scotland's largest (planned) new town. Chapelton relies heavily on the rhetoric of community and place in its marketing materials and the outputs of the Chapelton charrette express New Urbanist values more explicitly than at Knockroon, as I will identify. The use of the word town is worth paying attention to in this text because it implies an urbanity that Chapelton on closer examination rejects. The economic paradox in Scotland is a New Urbanist preoccupation with urban forms in countryside suburbs that reflects the failure of our cities to adequately house families – “the insolubility of city problems” (Ward, 1993 144). The term “new town” is significant and as I discussed earlier, the developers prefer to distance themselves from the New Town label and its association with state-organised examples such as East Kilbride or Cumbernauld. I wrote to Caroline Southesk to ask about the label New Town⁹⁷. Southesk is co-director of the Elsie Development Company and has a background in public relations. She explained, “We have always been concerned at the label New Town because there are connotations that arrive with it.” (Southesk, 2014). Community at Chapelton is conceived of as “... a self-sufficient town where residents can live, work and play.” It is clearly not masterplanned along the Garden City self-sufficiency paradigm, but along the more commonly seen exclusive suburb with essential connections to the nearest urban centre. What follows is interpretation of Chapelton's masterplan followed by the first neighbourhood *Cairnhill* and finally a detailed examination of housing types and architectural forms.

⁹⁷ See also the section *The New New Towns* (Chapter 4).

Parks and landscaping feature prominently in the Chapelton masterplan. The network of streets and parks have been designed to follow the site's landscape, incorporating existing trees and woodland. The street network is designed to maximise views, including sea views from Cairnhill. With most of the site located within a large bowl, Chapelton is designed to remain largely unseen by the existing settlements in the area. The masterplan integrates the important foundational elements of good New Urbanist practice featuring high street connectivity and pedestrian permeability and a gridded network as opposed to a hierarchical traffic circulation system.

Chapelton's masterplan pays attention to and provides social and public spaces. As set out in the *Chapelton of Elsick Development Framework* (2012) the masterplan displays the good intentions and ostensibly egalitarian aspects of the new town where there will be a Town Park that is "likely to be used by visitors from elsewhere", local parks and squares in each neighbourhood and a community woodland and allotments where residents can grow their own food⁹⁸ (Elsick Development Company, 2012 23). Chapelton's southern and eastern edges will be lined with what are referred to as agricultural plots – large plots designed for "detached houses engaged in some sort of agriculture or to suit horse ownership." This design strategy is described as necessary to allow for larger houses and plots within the relatively compact town and to "preserve the views of the green belt from the adjacent country road". A counter interpretation is that what is being preserved is the option for wealthy residents to

⁹⁸ Much of the site is classified as being able to produce a moderate range of crops (3.2).

occupy large single family detached homes on (some would argue wasteful) sprawling plots and benefit from uninterrupted countryside views.

This marries with New Urban examples I have visited in Europe such as Val d'Europe near Paris (Figures 77a, b, c and d) and Poundbury (Figure 78). It is this tension between the purported social goals of the movement and the economic reality of real estate ventures that fuels antagonistic critique. Official New Urbanist images in *The Transect* (described by the Centre for Applied Transect Studies as a common language for a new zoning paradigm) depict the rural edge quaintly, such as in this illustration from the early plan for Echternach in Luxembourg by Léon Krier (Figure 80). In practice, New Urbanist developments routinely place disproportionately large houses in positions with seclusion and premium views.

EDC have worked with Andrés Duany from the outset which is reflected in Chapelton's masterplan, a very pure distillation of New Urbanism. In comparison with other masterplans produced in Scotland the DPZ hallmarks are numerous. Replacing vague and often alienating artists' impressions and badly organised data and rationale for development, DPZ have helped EDC put forward a strategic set of literature that resembles the output of an experienced publishing house. The skilful and polished marketing procedure helps to smooth away dissent and prepare the ground for public acceptance. Hallmarks include painstaking attention to detail and first-rate graphic design with DPZ helping to transform traditionally dull development documents into clear, colourful, easily digestible and most importantly

compelling compositions such as the *Chapelton of Elswick Development Framework* (2012).

This is not a superficial observation. DPZ's ability to turn data into attractive yet authoritative literature places them at the intersection between local government, planning officials and the public and it is from this position that they set out an incredibly impressive vision. The quality of DPZ pre-planning literature is so high, so organised and so well designed it can arguably be understood by every single stakeholder, no matter the level, or lack, of expertise. This combines to construct masterplans and reports that are thoroughly comprehensive. Despite claims by critics about New Urbanist over-simplification, DPZ earn one of the most important elements of successful planning applications – trust.

The Landowner and the Planned Village⁹⁹

Chapelton's developer is the *Elsick Development Company* (EDC) headed by the David Southesk, Earl of Southesk, son of the 3rd Duke of Fife; and 62nd in line to the British throne. EDC describes itself as a family controlled company, representing the Duke of Fife and neighbouring landowners, covering a substantial single area of land in the vicinity of Portlethen and Newtonhill (Elsick Development Company,

⁹⁹ I borrow the subheading from the title of T.C. Smout's essay *The Landowner and the Planned Village in Scotland, 1730-1830*.

2010).¹⁰⁰ Chapelton is being built on 634 hectares owned by the Duke of Fife with a further 204 hectares in the ownership of neighbouring farmers. David Southesk gained land management experience by managing Southesk Estates, a 2,800 hectare agricultural estate in Angus. Following a law degree Southesk worked in corporate finance as a London stockbroker. He holds an MBA and a land management diploma. His wife and co-director of EDC Caroline Southesk has a background in public relations.

Figures 81, 82 and 83 depict the land ownership dispersal in geographic context. It is a significant feature of Scottish New Urbanism that Scotland has the most concentrated pattern of large scale private land ownership (Figure 84) of any country in the world (Wightman, 1996). An imposed feudal system means that rural land is typically passed down through families along with inherited titles. In Scotland, the three active New Urbanist housing developments which have planning permission or are under construction are owned by aristocratic landowners: land at Knockroon is owned by the Prince of Wales while land at Tornagrain is owned by Lord Doune, the 21st Earl of Moray¹⁰¹.

Is this significant? Yes. One of the main reasons attributed to the failure of planned places anywhere is when masterplans develop without sufficient control, or indeed a lack of overall vision (as described by Michael Edwards earlier. He interprets the

¹⁰⁰ Elsick Development Company ("EDC") was set up by the Earl of Southesk to promote the development of 634 hectares of land, owned by his father, the Duke of Fife, and a further 204 hectares owned by neighbouring farmers (Chapelton of Elsick Development Company 2014)

¹⁰¹ Known as the Duke of Rothesay when in Scotland, a title not associated with any legal entity or landed property, unlike the Duchy of Cornwall.

flexibility of the Milton Keynes plan as being key to what he perceives as its failure). In the case of Scotland's New Urbanism, there is currently no impediment to keeping control of the masterplan. And with Scottish Government support, there is every reason to expect that Chapelton, Knockroon and Tornagrain will all emerge as fully formed New Urbanist places where form-based codes and pattern books prevail successfully. Similarly, since none are conceived of as urban infill there is very little reason to expect that the masterplans will be distorted or the vision compromised (as is common in small to medium scale urban developments) by market instability, multiple stakeholders and local politics.

For landowners in Scotland, now is an opportune time to develop since — as illustrated by my experience of the Longniddry charrette and Gordon Macleod's (2013a) appraisal of Moray Estate's strategy at Tornagrain — the National Planning Framework, Scottish planning policies and national architecture including Planning Advice Notes (PANs) all broadly support the theory that underpins a profitable New Urbanist procedure. Many of Scotland's most attractive historic small towns and villages were planned places designed and built by 1850. Rural villages of the type common in England were almost unknown in Scotland which had only fermtouns until the eighteenth century¹⁰². Planned villages and towns were created by a combination of private landowners (New Lanark), aristocratic patrons (Islay) and some post-rebellion Government efforts in 1715 and 1745 (Callander and Kinloch Rannoch) (SCRAN, n.d.). In this way, the manner with which New Urbanism has

¹⁰² Seventeenth century exceptions are accounted for as being villages only within the context of peasant farming - set apart from planned economic growth as seen in Age Of Improvement iterations (Smout, 1970 75)

developed in Scotland extends the narrative of planned places which began with the Age of Improvement.

Historic Precedents

Chapelton's first phase is made up of four neighbourhoods yielding around 4000 homes *Cairnhill, Chapelton town centre, Wester Cairnhill* and *Newhall*. In Figure 85, the architectural render depicts Cairnhill's *Hume Square* — presumably named for David Hume, the Scottish Enlightenment essayist known for his philosophical empiricism and scepticism — and some of the first buildings that are to be built. The render shows a cafe and corner shop with outdoor seating, awnings and farm shop style produce; all of which perfectly accommodates modern day notions of civilised, leisurely consumption. The lack of traffic, road painting or signage adds to the look of a place that would historically have been built to accommodate horses and hay-carts. The image resembles paintings by Robert Polhill Bevan of market squares circa 1915.

The EDC website states on its *Design Principles* page that “Design and architecture should follow some regional precedents, respecting local history, location and climate.” (Elsick Development Company, 2013a). Accordingly, the architectural style evokes the 18th century symmetrically fronted cottages and houses of the Royal Burgh of Cromarty, one of the first towns in Scotland to be designated a conservation area and described as “the jewel in the crown of Scotland's vernacular architecture.” (The Highland Council, 2006).

The urbane feel of upmarket Dunkeld is also evidently a precedent, with its carefully retained Georgian appearance. Features found in Dunkeld streets, such as arched gothic windows have been reproduced on civic buildings like the one on this render of *Geddes Street* (Figure 86). These precedents have been adopted by the developers as opposed to the nearest neighbouring towns of Newtonhill, Portlethen or Stonehaven.

It is important to understand New Urbanist imagery as having a sophisticated relationship with historic images as well as the picturesque. Its progenitors are highly attuned to how attractive the image of community is. Following Lehrer and Milgrom, one can say that with this type of image, it is less representative of an “architecture of community” and more so an image of architecture that in itself constitutes what sort of community will live there (Lehrer, 1996 61-62). The symbolism employed has evolved exponentially from the comparatively explicit efforts of luxury house builders such as Cala, these designs depict wealth but (crucially to some commentators) neither good taste or community. It must be emphasised that such observations are subjective. It is not within the remit (nor could it be) of this thesis to evaluate what is or is not ‘good taste’. The observations are intended to illustrate marketing-led decisions that have been made when generating the aesthetic of Scottish sites of New Urbanism. It is by noting preferences for one style over another that we better understand the underplayed social consequences that I argue include economic stratification.

At Florida's *Celebration*, an old fashioned water tower (Figure 87) is stationed outside the new town to alert visitors to the pseudo-rural nature of the place — the structure is seemingly unaware of, or at least ambivalent about the enormous *Publix* supermarket car-park at its feet and chain restaurant *Joe's Crab Shack*. The water tower is in reality simply one more sign on the vast Orlando strip but its role is important because it is the first stage in the suspension of disbelief that is needed to first acquaint the observer with the correct narrative.

The role of the architecture at Chapelton constructs its own narrative of a historic market town with a modern understanding of pavement cafe culture. The higher density, mixed-use square sells the look of community while the single family homes surrounding Hume Square (Figure 76) offers the more typical individual accommodation supplied by volume house builders which deliver the highly desirable twin benefits of space and privacy. Although the New Urbanism rejects the values of the suburbs and in particular the individual freedoms (St. Antoine, 2007) represented by large lots and the privacy they confer, it bows to the market and accommodates this appetite in its developments (Val d'Europe, Celebration, Kentlands).

Brooks Murray of Shoreditch, London were appointed Town Architects for Chapelton in 2011. Caroline Southesk from EDC described the designers as “the Scottish/British team” sourced from the following practices: Covell Matthews (Aberdeen); Benjamin Tindall, (Edinburgh) — who also worked on Knockroon and An Camas Mor) — Gavin Murray from Brooks Murray, London (selected as the lead

architect after the initial charrette, working with Turnberry Consulting Ltd) and Walters & Cohen, the specialist architects of three planned primary schools. Of the architect's six renderings of Chapelton of Elsick, attention is not privileged upon individual houses as it would be by conventional volume builders. Instead, community and place are depicted by vignettes which present squares, terraces and social spaces. In *Liddel Place* (Figure 88), described as "a Cairnhill neighbourhood square", a cyclist shares the road with a runner and a parked SUV. Opposite, a parent and child play in the park and in the foreground a couple around the mid-thirties age group appear to be returning from a shopping trip. The young woman holds a number of shopping bags including one from an international high-street clothing brand. In this way the scene appears to acknowledge the reality of Chapelton as a commuter town. What is difficult to imagine is where single people might inhabit the scene. Chapelton's artist's impressions present a family focussed place.

As I have demonstrated, house types in Scotland's New Urbanist developments follow an Age of Improvement typology. Chapelton seeks to reflect northeastern Scottish architecture and street planning, but once again, a lack of regional specificity arguably renders the designs superficial. Chapelton's pattern book is 238 pages long with full colour illustrations (Figure 91). It references both the small town of Inveraray (Figure 92), designed by John Adam and developed by the third Duke of Argyll, and Edinburgh's New Town as precedents. Just like the *Knockroon Pattern Book*, the Chapelton iteration features a mixture of real architecture in the form of photographs of existing places and sketches of Neo-Georgian housing from apartments and terraces to single family homes. Many sketches are indistinguishable

from the style used at Knockroon as shown in Figure 90. This produces the same rural to urban semantic confusion found at Knockroon. Figure 89 depicts house types selected from Chapelton's *Housetype Lexicon* (2012) such as *Auchleek*, a three storey, four bedroom, three bathroom townhouse style home. The line drawings in the *Housetype Lexicon* make clear how similar Chapelton's house types are to mass-market housing. Seen in black and white, the illustration for *Auchleek* depicts a generic box with neo-classical detailing around the front door, a choice of either sash or casement windows, patio doors to the rear and a gable end with only two small windows as commonly seen in volume build residential projects. The build quality may well be higher, but the software tools being utilised by the designers are no different and account for the many similarities with volume-builders such as Barrett.

Pioneering Pattern Books in Scottish Urbanism

It is worth noting that the use of building codes is neither a new procedure, nor one that has been limited to New Urbanists. Pattern books and codes, as well as a certain amount of consultation and even advertising were also in use in early iterations of planned villages in Scotland. We know from Douglas G Lockhart's (1978) archival research, which includes newspaper advertisements from 1750 to 1850, that building codes varied greatly from village to village but nevertheless new villages were designed, staked out and contained clauses relating to items including "dimensions of the house, roofing material, chimneys, windows, distance from the street, and use of rear garden ground." (Lockhart, 1978 95).

Consultation has been evidenced by notices in newspapers of the era describing “meetings between landowners and villagers to discuss matters of mutual concern” (Lockhart, 1978 98). Lockhart (1978) found that newspapers announced the founding of many villages and informed prospective settlers about buying plots and employment opportunities (95). One advertisement for a planned new town to be named Gordonstown in Aberdeenshire (approximately twenty-five miles from present day Chapelton) promised the equivalent of the modern day show home and visiting centre experience:

“Any person inclining to take feus in this village may have immediate access to building and yards; ... And ... will be shown the grounds and a copy of the plan of the village, with the conditions.”(Lockhart, 1978 99)

If this sounds superficially similar to the way in which we understand the advertisements and settlers of early nineteenth century suburbs in the USA developing, it is worth noting that in Scotland the overwhelming catalyst for mobility was displacement, as opposed to the pioneering spirit of the American borderlands which developed into picturesque enclaves, increasing subdivided and eventually becoming the suburban sprawl at the heart of the New Urbanist movement.

Lockhart’s research describes the effect of the British credit crisis of 1772 and the collapse of the Ayr bank on planned villages in Scotland, writing that few villages were founded during the 1770s. However by 1780 new villages clustered around cotton mills in the lowlands, fishing in the Western Isles and eventually, the notorious Highland clearances saw planned villages emerge primarily around sheep

walks in the early nineteenth century. Ultimately, following Lockhart, “The planned village movement was concluded one mile south of Elgin with the founding of New Elgin in 1850, appropriately by an urban landowner, the Incorporated Trades of Elgin.” (Lockhart, 1978 96).

Just as the planned villages of the eighteenth century were envisioned as “settlements for a new morality, towns to bring respectability to the Celtic fringe” (Smout, 1970 80), contemporary New Urbanism is envisioned as producing model communities; as reforming disjointed laissez faire and incremental planning of the 1980s and 1990s; as taming the automobile which is ideologically linked to repairing modernist errors; and as regenerating areas of decline through design.

The influence of historic architecture is clearly visible. Compare the image of Inveraray (Figure 92), designed by John Adam and developed by the third Duke of Argyll, with that contained in Chapelton’s pattern book and housing planned for Cairnhill (Figures 89 and 91). The *Housetypes Lexicon* prepared by Brooks Murry Architects (2012) is an impressive 183 page guidebook to Chapelton’s architectural designs, richly illustrated and packed with specific data and measurements for the wide variety of house types from outbuildings to mews houses. There are four types of apartment buildings and a further six that also feature retail spaces below demonstrating Chapelton’s partial commitment to New Urbanist mixed-use planning (Figure 93). There are more detached houses than semi-detached; fourteen to four respectively and a further nineteen cottages with each design individually named with rural sounding titles like Glamis, Glenbervie and ten different mews houses all

beginning with the letter ‘B’. With only ten terraced styles it is clear that Chapelton will seek a rural appearance, similar, it would seem, to Poundbury’s morphology.

The alarmingly urban scale of the four storey townhouses (Figure 94) in the *Post-Charrette Paper* (2011) have been replaced with more nuanced adaptations in both the *Pattern Book* (2012 second edition), and *Housetypes Lexicon* (2012). The *Housetypes Lexicon* goes into astonishing detail and makes Knockroon’s pattern book seem slight in comparison. The architects pragmatically define architectural details such as doric columns and conservatories (these are tightly attended by notes about render, gabled zinc roofs and glazing options) along with garden boundary conditions such as drystone walls, all clearly illustrated with detailed measurements, elevations and contextual examples. The six bedroom, seven bathroom *Forebank* (Figure 95) is arranged in a similar fashion to a rural farmsteading and indeed is described as a farmsteading in the *Housetypes Lexicon*. This will occupy a privileged position on the edge of the development protected by “metal estate fencing”. Time will tell whether the three six-bedroom and five five-bedroom homes articulated as agricultural in nature will emerge as such or become a form of gated community. (*Housetypes Lexicon*, 2012)

Transport

Chapelton has no retail element that could sustain high street chains. The young couple depicted in Liddell Place would have to drive to Union Street in Aberdeen, a 10 mile drive. The EDC website does suggest that a new railway link into Aberdeen “may be possible as a result of the additional population from Chapelton” and notes

that in the early stage of development, it will be a challenge to deliver a bus service, as it is unlikely that commercial operators will provide a new service or divert an existing one into Cairnhill. (Elsick Development Company, 2013b). To overcome this, EDC propose a *Park & Choose* facility where residents can catch an express bus for trips up and down the A90. In this way, sustainability remains unarticulated excepting the common New Urban focus on pedestrians which is typically limited to within the masterplan. The Elswick Development Framework prioritises proximity:

“The provision of social and community facilities is considered by EDC to be essential to delivering a sustainable new community not only as it further reduces the need for residents to travel outside the settlement (reducing the reliance on vehicular travel and thereby carbon emissions) but also because they facilitate community cohesion by providing a space for social interaction.” (Elsick Development Company, 2012 30).

This way of dealing with transportation shares many similarities with US variations on New Urbanist developments but a key difference is the approach to retail. Retail and hospitality at US development’s Celebration and Seaside have proven themselves over time to be profitable. Celebration struggles to achieve the critical mass required to sustain any growth, partly because of where it is situated in a region dense with theme parks and strip developments, though when I visited late on a Friday evening, straight off a flight from New York, the two local bars were packed with holidaymakers and Disney employees and *Oldtown* looked and felt like a small oasis of downtown.

Aberdeen's First Outdoor Mall?

Chapelton's developers have imagined a future for their town that emulates the historic planned villages of the 18th century. However with its proximity to Aberdeen, Scotland's third most populous city, Chapelton could have been envisaged along the lines of a more comprehensively mixed use, high density model. In order for Chapelton to achieve its ambitions for self-sufficiency it might have considered pushing the concepts of the New Urbanism to a more extreme level. The concept of the outdoor mall, where residents can shop, dine, entertain and live, supported by incoming visitors in the same way as successful factory outlet malls and retail parks, has been realised.

Chapelton's first phase will yield around 800 properties, and the entire scheme has planning permission for 4045 homes. The development, which is being constructed on 2,000 acres of farmland, could ultimately contain 8,000 homes. The New Urbanist *Crocker Park* occupies a footprint of 75 acres and is located in an affluent outer-ring suburb of Cleveland (Figures 96, 97, and 98). This outdoor mall has an anticipated population of 4000 on completion. The project, designed by Street-Works, takes its inspiration from Mizner Park in Boca Raton, Florida and Santana Row in San Jose, California and features a 50% residential to 30% retail mix, with devices such as 'liner lofts' which wrap around car parking ramps to edify the streetscape (Drukker & Jabuka, 2007). In Rachel Shannon-Solomon's article titled *Home is Where the H&M Is*, she suggests that the inhabitants of Crocker Park, Ohio are also the "products ... of the master-planned town itself", noting the wide sidewalks lined with "young trees and chain stores" and describing the identical storefronts

distinguished only by their signs including “Barnes & Noble, Coach, H&M, Urban Outfitters, Chipotle, Cheesecake Factory” (Shannon-Solomon, n.d 4). Shannon-Solomon notes that the US economy where the middle-class is shrinking (what is referred to in Britain as the squeezed middle), property developers stand to reap the benefit from finding the right niche product and consumer. The Elsie Development Framework describes both a niche offering and the self-sufficiency New Urbanism strives for:

“A key principle of the new settlement is to provide all of the facilities and services necessary for residents’ daily needs. To this end, Chapelton will accommodate not only shops and restaurants, employment and schools, but also social and community facilities such as community centres and GP surgeries..” (Elsick Development Company, 2012 30).

My (spurious) proposal would take the example of the Shopping Building in Milton Keynes, turned into a mall before it could develop into a high street (Ward, 1993 146) and reverse the concept. In Scotland, Chapelton’s nuanced retail offering is aimed at the consumer who will arguably tolerate a tasteful gift shop or heritage paint store in the vicinity but be turned off by anything too mainstream or downmarket. Chapelton shows restraint and seems to understand the local market. The Disney main street aesthetic at Crocker Park is differently expressed at Val d’Europe and differently again at Celebration: it is more nuanced than it might initially seem. There is no trace of main street in artists’ impressions of Chapelton despite what its detractors might claim.

However one could argue that if Chapelton's developers were more radical, less informed by their aristocratic backgrounds, they might have developed a town that better reflects the region. The oil rich city, home to the highest concentration of millionaires in Britain, has numerous malls all over the city centre and has more under construction at the time of writing. Tellingly, Aberdeen has an Apple store (as does Crocker Park), unlike the capital Edinburgh. Aberdeen's huge wealth and geographic as well as ideological distance from government is the focus of a recent article by Peter Geoghegan (2014) for *The Guardian*. He quotes local city councillor Barney Crockett, (convenor of the enterprise, strategic planning and infrastructure committee on Aberdeen city council) saying of Aberdeen, "It is an almost purely private sector city. Aberdeen is more buoyant now than at any other time since oil was discovered [in the 1970s]." (Geoghegan, 2014). Aberdeen seems like an ideal place to establish a Crocker Park style development. But is a high density, pedestrian and car friendly outdoor mall featuring a range of high street stores and housing types with easy access to Aberdeen for work and the benefit of acres of office space more appropriate to Aberdeenshire than an enlarged Cromarty or Dunkeld?

In John Punter's (2011) expansive analysis of the English urban renaissance of the last decade (1999-2009) he cautions that the retail, entertainment and hospitality development of most city centres operate well beyond economically sustainable levels (35). Punter (2011) writes that, "The academic predictions of the inevitability of renaissance gentrification in all its guises, the illusions of social mix and community, and the inherent limits to the cities' consumer economies have all

become evident. Urban design may have achieved a lofty status within contemporary planning guidance, and created a number of new urban places of quality in the last decade, but its capacity to contribute to a more equitable, inclusive and sustainable urban renaissance has been severely constrained.” (35).

The Post-Charrette Paper

The *Post-Charrette Paper* (2011) strikes a confident tone. An introduction from the Earl of Southesk describes the success of the charrette which attracted over 300 attendees and “generated much helpful feedback”. The introduction describes how the masterplan has incorporated public suggestions such as providing a kayaking facility and how architects have designed delivery cupboards into the house designs which number forty different variations (EDC, 2011 1). There is a strong focus on pedestrian activity which the Earl stresses will break with past developments by removing dependency on the car. As discussed earlier, this is a common New Urbanist focus which avoids the issue of vehicular access to the new town itself.

The *Post-Charrette Paper* reports that the design team visited the eighteenth century planned villages of Montrose, Stonehaven, Keith, Huntly and Fochabers in order to compile studies of northeastern planning traditions. In doing so they trace a line that moves north bypassing Aberdeen and the markedly less picturesque easterly towns of Peterhead and Fraserburgh. The selection of Fochabers holds significance for the urban historian, built as it was in 1776 “... a new Town agreeable to your Grace’s

Idea of having it Square & compact” at the behest of the Duchess of Gordon.

Fochabers rests on the remains of what is now known as the lost town of Fochabers (Adams, 1978, 49-126, 68-69), Fochabers (Moray region) near Inverness and Tornagrain. It is easy to see why the village retains its appeal as a precedent for Chapelton:

The plan of the village is typical of the slightly more elaborate villages, owing much to the kind of layout designed by Craig for Edinburgh. [...] all are simple, well proportioned Georgian houses, and there are some excellent doorways. Particularly fascinating is the development of a real local character by the interpretation of the Georgian house in entirely local materials. (Brogden, 1996 29)

The paper offers illustrations of some of the “dozens of iterations of the masterplan” (EDC, 2011 3) and seeks to construct an impression of public input where all comments are considered. It describes how the masterplan was “finessed” and how the team convened for an intensive workshop at DPZ offices before further refining the Chapelton masterplan. Critics would argue that on the subject of public opinion and input the developers demonstrated a noncommittal approach. This is true.

However the charrette process including its published documents such as the *Post-Charrette Paper* are so dramatically different from the approach of what could be termed generic volume house builders that it is easy to see why in comparison the New Urbanist developer at Chapelton appears direct and forthcoming.

This of course helps to diminish the importance of damaging questions surrounding any new town. The way that public questions are framed is an exercise in public

relations: “What assurances can be given that the development will proceed as indicated and builders will not change the masterplan?” The implication is that it is builders rather than property developers who subvert good design. Difficult questions about how industry and jobs will be designed into Chapelton are dealt with briefly and inconclusively by focusing on provision of space and vaguely advising that “... employment opportunities will exist ...” (EDC, 2011 4). However where EDC make concrete promises they arguably underemphasise them. The news that the historic Elsick House will be “gifted to the community and its use will be made by public decision in conjunction with the Duke of Fife’s family” occupies a small paragraph in the *Post-Charrette Paper* whilst in contrast, Knockroon invokes Dumfries House much more despite its weaker connection to the new housing estate. With one Academy (high school) and four primary schools envisaged and affordable housing interspersed as it is at Poundbury, Chapelton’s developers have made serious attempts at achieving the New Urbanist vision for town making. Even canonical developments such as Seaside and Celebration boast less in this regard. On the question of whether a big supermarket chain such as ASDA or Tesco would be planned, the answer, wrapped up in details about diversity and choice is obvious presumably even to the suggester.

Affordable housing is a component of Chapelton, Knockroon and Torngrain, however in all three it is planned for later phases of development and remains contentious. Regarding Chapelton, the department of Housing and Social Work initially commented that they required an on-site provision of 25% of the total development to be affordable units over the full development. 60% of the total units

would be for social rent, with the remaining 40% being made of up Low Cost Home Ownership (mortgaged with shared equity split between Scottish Government and the developer) and Mid Market Rent (below the normal market rent level in the area, though rents are higher than a tenant would normally expect to pay in social housing). This was the starting point from the council's Housing Service. The most recent committee report at the time of writing stated that a reduction to 13% affordable housing provision is now proposed. The report acknowledges that, "Due to the high standard of the house types through the development, there are also concerns that the build/construction costs may well be outwith what the Council, or Registered Social Landlord (RSL) partners, can deliver within the Scottish Government benchmarks and funding regime." (Aberdeenshire Council, 2013 7-8). Despite attempts to produce the type of new town advocated in New Urbanist theory, where subsidised housing blends seamlessly with higher priced units, this Scottish invocation already appears vulnerable to historic criticisms that New Urbanism produces exclusive enclaves which perpetuate inequality, intentionally or otherwise.

Chapter 7. Conclusion

Summary of the Research Findings

There is much to commend New Urbanism in theory and in practice, in both the United States and Scotland. The movement continues, despite its detractors, to produce high quality property development using strictly observed planning controls, in most cases with significantly better build-quality, public spaces, amenities and infrastructure than standard, largely unregulated plot-based residential developments. It is not the purpose of this thesis to evaluate whether or not the New Urbanism is an appropriate form of urbanisation in Scotland, but rather to report on the processes which have ushered in such an important approach; to examine the outcomes of developments to date and to suggest possible impacts and areas of further scholarship and I hope that this thesis accounts for these aims well.

In Scotland there are two strains of New Urbanism. Firstly, an imported, North American version that is being delivered directly by firms like DPZ (Duany Plater-Zyberk) and UDA (Urban Design Associates) and secondly, an adapted UK version spearheaded by The Prince of Wales. To-date, no significant scholarly research has examined the important similarities and differences between the two. This section reviews and answers many of the questions arising from the Knockroon and Chapelton site studies which both feature masterplans rooted in New Urbanist approaches but with subtly different delivery mechanisms.

The research finds that the transfer of knowledge of New Urbanism has been received in Scotland theoretically intact, though in practice its dissemination is selective about which theories to enact. Scottish New Urbanism has been reconfigured transnationally in only very limited ways as demonstrated in the two site studies. There are material differences but the fundamental processes are essentially the same. The Prince's Foundation (now arguably distancing itself from Andrés Duany and DPZ) bring an approach to town making in Scotland that, while heavily indebted to the Congress for the New Urbanism's adeptness at marketing and design apparatus, has emerged from the European classical tradition as pioneered by Léon Krier. US practitioners UDA and DPZ differ slightly in their practices in Scotland.

In the earliest iterations of New Urbanist practice, UDA, by working in close partnership with The Prince's Foundation, have demonstrated a more nuanced contextual approach when planning new places than DPZ. The latter's dependence on form-based codes and its Transect tool renders it less place-sensitive than either the Prince's Foundation's or UDA's approach. This is borne out by recently self-published research by Adam Architecture founder Robert Adam's report *Describing Trends in Urban Design* (Adam and Jamieson, 2014) which sought to challenge an "American-originated movement that claims local distinctiveness" (8). This report tested a sample of 40 plans based on a form-based descriptive method and found that New Urbanism was a "global type that is not place sensitive". (*Urban Realm*, 2014, paragraph 7).

All three organisations use the same portfolio of procedures to achieve neo-traditional developments and successfully engage with local and regional government officials in order to overcome the practical barriers to real-estate development. There is little to distinguish between the organisations' approach to the concepts of place, community and *civitas*. Both are similarly preoccupied with historic and traditional forms of architecture that, though informed by regional typologies, share a collective myopia. Both replicate middle-class enclaves and are unwilling to meaningfully engage with local communities about the fundamental issues surrounding their developments. Issues connected to participation in the planning process remain a serious problem, and questions remain about whether agencies use genuinely reflective strategies to address local culture and history.

The similarities exhibited by how all three organisations operate in Scotland implies a monolithic approach. However a key differentiation is how each organisation presents itself publicly. DPZ remain behind the developer of Chapelton and as such their role, through penetrating, is straightforward consultancy. The Prince's Foundation, as demonstrated by the analysis of the Longniddry charrette and the Knockroon case study, is a more complex actor. At Knockroon the The Prince's Foundation are both developer and consultant, whilst at Longniddry they are acting on behalf of the local landowner, but with the status of the Prince's various charities lending their private consultancy business a credibility that raises further questions around the ethics of charrettes.

Procedures

As I have demonstrated previously, the charrette or *Enquiry by Design* (another term for a charrette employed by The Prince's Foundation) is used to strengthen the case made for using a particular architectural and planning typology. By sanctioning neo-traditional planning and architecture at the early stages, developers can push for the pattern books they have designed to be enshrined into future planning guidance and assessments, with the effect of specific typologies being replicated for decades into the future. Following Susan Moore (2013) this can have the effect of endangering alternative urbanisms. Citing Beauregard (2002) Moore (2013) rehearses [his] caution regarding the

“... application of codes and principles to community development. It reveals the difficulties of capturing local variation and history and points to the importance of who plans and what point of view they espouse.”
(Beauregard, 2002 188 in Moore 2013 2382)

In this way, research by Moore (2013) and Beauregard (2002) reinforces my argument for regional specificity. In other words, an approach to development that first asks whether development should take place at all before beginning a process of discussion that rather than seeking consensus, acknowledges ‘dissensus’ (Rancière, 2003) as a way of ensuring that the specific regional, cultural, social and economic components of an existing community are adequately and equitably addressed before any design framework is conceptualised. The role of the charrette in Scottish urbanism is presented by both the New Urbanist movement and the Scottish Government as a tool that can transform existing power dynamics and empower local

people. As I have outlined in Chapter 4, the charrette is a peripatetic (part of its usefulness) device that is more effective in the hands of some than others in its stated goal of increasing public participation and widening access to the planning process. Advocates champion its directness and relative lack of bureaucracy; critics maintain that existing power dynamics exploit the charrette system to disempower communities. The charrette in Scotland remains under-researched and ambiguous yet is increasingly being taken up, which may have consequences beyond residential planning.

Community

Throughout the thesis I argue that the emergence of New Urbanism in Scotland is representative of a governmental perceived lack of community, aligned with the privileging of upper middle-class tastes and lifestyles. It is for further scholarship to deduce whether Scotland's New Urbanism will produce the sense of community public officials fear we lack. However I have shown that it is the Scottish Government's commitment to place and community that makes its approach increasingly New Urbanist (as opposed to simply neo-traditional). In Scotland the terms 'community' and 'place' are heavily emphasised in official policy whereas, for example, in England, following Daniel Maudlin (2009) policy has "... never sought to create communities but to maintain visual regional identities, 'English character', in the built environment." (Maudlin, 2009 54). Maudlin makes the important distinction, "It is Neo-Traditionalism, not New Urbanism". (Maudlin, 2009 54).

Scotland's policy shares with US New Urbanism and the Prince's Foundation's European style New Urbanism, a focus on community and the importance of place.

This relatively new term has become widely used in the past five to ten years, particularly in the language of regeneration, architecture and urban design. It is, following architectural writer Andrew Guest, particularly employed by politicians, civil servants and government advisors but less so by the public or by practising architects and planners (Guest, 2011 1). Placemaking is described in the context of Scotland's emergent urbanism as synonymous with New Urbanism by Porta and Romice (2010 2). I suggest its usefulness as a term lies in its inherent ambiguity and following Simon Richards (2003) I will rehearse political theorist Adrian Little's observation that "...it is perhaps the lack of conceptual clarity around community that has made it such an attractive tool for politicians, theorists and policy makers." (Menin, 2003 113). Place and placemaking can be applied to a variety of urban issues to activate simplistic representations of space and ideas about community.

To reiterate why this is problematic, it is important to note that Scottish policy *does* explicitly intend to create, reinforce or regenerate community despite a poverty of empirical basis. Following CNU member Emily Talen, a clarification of what is meant by community in the context of urban design is needed by New Urbanists (E. Talen, 1999). In her articles, *Sense of Community and Neighbourhood Form: An Assessment of the Social Doctrine of New Urbanism* (1999); *The Problem with Community in Planning* (2000b); and *A Matter of Priorities: New Urbanism and Community Life* (2003); the question of physical form and environmental design

having a significant impact on a sense of community is interrogated. Her findings concede that "... new urbanists are plagued by a sheer lack of evidence. Our current understanding of the relationship between town design and sense of community is largely without empirical basis, and is therefore deficient." (E. Talen, 1999 1362). She acknowledges scepticism that accuses developers of using social goals to mask high-density planning that is profit-driven, and suggests that, "The need to confront the social doctrine of new urbanism is also critical because the social claims of its promoters are not modest" (E. Talen, 1999 1362). The claims made by key figures within the movement such as Krier, Duany and Plater-Zyberk are consistent in their surety that their approach can create community. New Urbanist literature vigorously promotes environmental design as a solution to contemporary anxieties about social cohesion in official publications (Arendt et al., 1999; Katz & Bressi, 1994; Krier, 2009).

Talen's approach is to systematically look for evidence which proves or disproves the ability of the built environment to create a sense of community. She surveys widely from the fields of Planning, Environmental Psychology, Urban Design and Community Psychology as well as Architecture and Urbanism and pin-points the theory that she believes allows the New Urbanism to base its design elements on. She reports that a much-cited article entitled *Social Support and the Physical Environment* (Fleming et al., 1985) suggests that group formation can be compelled by environmental variables that support chance contact, and Talen notes that the New Urbanists rely on this research in order to make their case for a variety of their design elements (Talen, 1999). Talen's research effectively summarises an important

point that critics of the New Urbanism have been making since the movement's inception in the 1990s. It is that there does not yet exist any demonstrable evidence that 'sense of community' can be created through design (Harvey, 1997; Krieger, 1998; P. Marcuse, 1997). Despite her findings the movement continues to maintain and defend its theory. The most apparent reason would arguably be that 'community' is one of the most valuable and compelling tools at the movement's disposal in constructing an argument for the traditional forms used in its developments.

The Argument for Improving Housing Quality

An easier argument to evidence for Scotland's New Urbanism is that it is far better than the low quality housing estates that predate Knockroon, Chapelton and Tornagain. Higher density housing drawing on both iterations of Gordon Cullen's *Townscape* (1961, 1971) with sustainable features built-in are an favourable in comparison to the repetitive, meanly proportioned cul de sacs that are a feature of much of Scotland's urban periphery. Yet, criticism from some professional quarters remains fierce. For architect Malcolm Fraser, chief among the problems of the establishment's approach to housing is the idea that urban infill (always cited as preferable in New Urban theory yet hardly ever realised with the notable exception of some of the schemes designed by The Prince's Foundation) is too costly, complex and difficult. For Government in these straitened economic times, growth, even on agricultural or green belt land, is preferable to no growth. In a polemical article for Scottish planning and architecture magazine *Urban Realm*, Fraser (2013) refutes Andrés Duany's claim that, "You can't build family homes in the city" (Fraser,

2013). Fraser has designed an infill development in Edinburgh, on the site of a recently cleared 1950s slab block that challenges Duany's view.¹⁰³ Fraser writes, "They are as dense as tenements but everybody has a garden; are loved, sell well today and make great communities and are, definitively, great, urban, family homes." (Fraser, 2013). The Scottish Government supported SSCI exemplars are sited on a variety of types of land with those in Glasgow and Edinburgh tending towards existing brownfield sites and infill and larger, new developments situated on woodland or greenfield. Ultimately each of Scotland's exemplars which have New Urbanist origins are planned for suburban greenfield sites, some of which are rural and all of which employ neo-traditional typologies.

Both standpoints have merit. If Scotland is to achieve better quality housing without radical root and branch changes within the civil service then New Urbanism stands up under scrutiny as an achievable model for offering a more comprehensive outcome. Ideally, Fraser's call for development in difficult infill sites would be heeded and there is an argument to be made that the New Urbanist's methods of post-political (MacLeod, 2013b) participation speed up the intransigence of city bureaucracy by working more effectively with stakeholders such as road traffic engineers, civil engineers and public bodies who control utilities. My research finds that there are indications of a trickle down effect with charrette knowledge transfer having a beneficial impact on the production of Local Development Plans for Wick

¹⁰³ Fraser wants to modernise old models for contemporary high density living such as the traditional Edinburgh *Colonies*. These were first built by workers' Co-ops, from around 1850 and consist of terraces of double-upper flats, accessed by forestairs from the west, over ground floor ones, accessed from the east.

and Thurso (2013); Aberfoyle, Arrochar, Balmaha, Drymen, Succoth, Tarbert and Tyndrum (2013); and South Wishaw (2013). Local plans are arguably strengthened with the specialist knowledge and local experience that charrette style working offers. The benefit of having early dialogue with agencies and local authorities appears to be assisting communities to plan ahead for growth (Loch Lomond and the Trossachs National Park charrette outcomes). Ongoing primary research is required and indications from recent dissertations at masters level point to an increasing interest in both New Urbanism and charrette style working.

The Sustainability Question

Is Scotland's New Urbanism more sustainable, or is sustainability merely giving New Urbanism a halo effect? Recent contributions that Andrés Duany has made to Scottish masterplans draw on his recent publication *Garden Cities: Theory & Practice of Agrarian Urbanism* (2011) published by the Prince's Foundation. Here he writes, "Because of its mitigating effect on climate change, a neo-agrarian way of life should be made available to as many as possible." (Duany, 2011, 3). This approach is evident in Duany's plans for *Edinburgh's Garden District* which incorporates ideas about the newly established community being relatively self-sufficient by growing their own food. It drew criticism from local architects with Malcolm Fraser arguing that the plans were "Trojan horses for the suburbs and retail and business-parks that will bring in the money" (Fraser 2010).

The plans for Edinburgh's Garden District promoted a private development built on green belt land as opposed to infill in Edinburgh's many brownfield sites close to existing material and cultural infrastructure. Edinburgh's Garden District is the Scottish example most vulnerable to Mike Davis' (2005) assertion that the way developers use New Urbanism is to give them environmental import which he links to political conservatism, "Smart developers accordingly have been quick to put New Urbanist halos over their otherwise rampant landgrabs and neighborhood demolitions. Likewise, shrewd conservatives like Paul Weyrich have come to recognize the obvious congruence between political traditionalism and architectural nostalgia." (Mike Davis, 2005)¹⁰⁴. Putting to one side the issue of style temporarily, much of the critique around New Urbanism's claims to sustainability are located around its narrow focus such as conceptualising nature as an amenity, and its inherent ambiguity, as well as the difficulty in comprehensive measurement systems (Mapes & Wolch, 2011). For Jeffrey Zimmerman (2001) New Urbanism represents the continued "... defence of privately defined middle-class amenities and lifestyles" (250) and in this way Scotland's New Urbanism at Knockroon and Chapelton maintains his argument. Both developments gesture towards sustainability with wood-burning stoves, herb gardens or cycle paths, but they in no way contest the popular sense of entitlement amongst Scottish society to single family homes. The quasi-moral features of the focus on preservation of local wildlife and landscape is taken up by Noah Quastel (2009) who uses the term eco-gentrification to describe how developers "... recast hobby gardening as an urban consumer good ... and a

¹⁰⁴ Richard Florida's (2014) article announcing that America's most sprawling cities were Republican would not have surprised many New Urbanists.

contribution to ‘the overall betterment of the surrounding community’ (Quastel, 2009). In ‘*Living Green: The Promises and Pitfalls of New Sustainable Communities*, Mapes and Wolch (2011b 108) note that sustainable communities often represent the uneasy collaboration between developers and environmentalists. They summarise the main issues, which we have seen at both Scottish sites:

“Typified by clustered housing, walkable, mixed use town centres, New Urbanist or traditional neighbourhood design (TND) aesthetics, and open space set aside for habitat conservation, they are usually sited at the urban fringe where they promote auto-dependence and habitat fragmentation as well as socio-economic segregation (Bunce, 2004; Fillion, 2003; Gearin, 2004; Kruger, 2007). ... such communities have yet to be subjected to rigorous sustainability performance evaluations.” (Mapes & Wolch, 2011b 108).

One of the largest most well-established New Urbanist developments *Kentlands* in Maryland, designed by DPZ, has had its sustainability rhetoric described as deceptive. Critic Alex Marshall (2007) questioned the cynicism of “... naming Kentlands’ elementary school after Rachel Carson¹⁰⁵ when the development has supplanted farmland, contributing to pollution of the rivers and the outward spiral of destructive sprawl.” As I outlined when I proposed an outdoor mall instead of the rural village of Chapelton, the proverbial elephant in the Scottish Government’s room is that the most sustainable way of living is in cities. Following Harvard economist Ed Glaeser (2011), “Urban living is sustainable sustainability. Rural eco-towns are not.” (217)

¹⁰⁵ Whose 1962 book, *Silent Spring*, helped kindle the American environmental movement.

Finally, Peter Marcuse (1998) makes the compelling argument that sustainability should not even be considered as a goal for a housing or urban programme since it masks very real conflicts of interest. Bad programmes can still be *sustainable* and furthermore as a goal it may “encourage the sustaining of the unjust status quo” (103) and contribute to the problematic assumption that everyone has common interests in sustainable urban development. To conclude, sustainability at Scotland’s New Urbanist sites is loosely articulated around ecological aspects. The Government’s Scottish Sustainable Communities Initiative (SSCI) activates sustainability as a catch-all term encompassing the creation or development of a long-lasting sense of community and an enduring and distinctive ‘place’. In its partnership with New Urbanism the SSCI takes an already opaque interpretation of the term sustainability and adds to its opacity, leaving it vulnerable to the suggestion that a halo effect is indeed part of a strategic developmental apparatus.

Architectural Regionalism

Does Scotland’s reinvigorated enthusiasm for architectural tradition translate into the desire for a true architectural regionalism? I suggest that the built heritage that is referenced in newly produced pattern books, form-based codes and registers of typologies in Scotland’s New Urbanism is an invented tradition (Hobsbawm, 1983) and one that is embraced by government and utilised to encourage growth and to a lesser extent tourism. I acknowledge that the concept of an ‘authentic architecture’ is highly problematic and I have to admit that, as Simon Richards rightly pointed out to

me, Eric Hobsbawm himself could not with any authority say what a 'real' tradition was.

Successive architecture policies have emphasised tradition and heritage in an opaque way, reluctant to engage in specifics and eager to capitalise on tourist-friendly images of Scottish places, as opposed to the riskier or more difficult to reconstitute parts of the larger narrative. In an edited collection of writing on architectural regionalism (Canizaro, 2007), a widely referenced essay by Wendell Berry (1972) cautions against "regionalisms of pride, based on invented traditions and selective readings of history, and regionalisms of condescension or exploitation, which use distance and detachment to edit out features of places that are not attractive to tourism or the economic forces of globalization." (Canizaro, 2007 36). I have used the term regional specificity in an attempt to synthesise Berry's main points into an analytical framework that asks that the developers of new places respond authentically to the multiple and multi-layered histories and cultural tropes of a region. Authenticity is a problematic term, as I have outlined in the text.

Nevertheless the editing process used even in the early stages of organising a charrette (the Pre-charrette Paper) all the way through to the final build is so steeped in the apparatus of marketing it cannot hope to represent Berry's (1972) phrase, "... local life aware of itself." (39). New Urbanism self-mythologises. In doing so it constructs its own idea of a town. Wedded as it necessarily is to the neo-liberal economics of real-estate, its comprehensive approach to marketing as opposed to architectural regionalism is the driver. This is key: marketing is of crucial importance to the New Urbanism. New Urbanism in Scotland is not an architectural movement

that is underpinned by excellent marketing psychology. It is, conversely, a remarkably adaptable marketing procedure that allows CNU members to consult on the construction of neo-traditional architecture.

Nevertheless the issue of style remains absolutely integral to any examination of New Urbanism. I have cited Susan Moore's (2013) research on the mobility and normalisation of New Urbanist practice heavily because I believe it holds increasing relevance to Scottish urbanism. Chapters 3 and 4 illustrate how Scottish architecture policy produces the same reification of "... a select set of truth claims via the unspoken validation of certain social and political values" that Moore found in Toronto (2013 2883) along with a rhetoric of failure and regeneration. If, following Sohmer and Lang (2000), New Urbanism is constituted mainly from three different practices: aesthetic style; urban design practice; and a set of land use policies, and "The most ubiquitous is aesthetic style — it is often used without the other two." (Sohmer & Lang, 2000 756), then the normalisation of neo-traditional architecture is likely. Neo-traditional architecture, delivered by standard profit-orientated developers, with little to commend it to New Urbanism's self-imposed higher standards, becomes a consequence. On a recent visit to Celebration, the canonical New Urbanist development in Orlando, I saw firsthand nearby the effect that both Seaside's and Celebration's success has had on regional Floridian developers.

I stayed in a ubiquitous 1960s budget motel, named *Celebration Suites at Old Town* though it has no affiliation with Celebration (Figure 99), located off highway 902. Directly opposite was a neo-traditional inspired subdivision squeezed onto a cramped

lot with plenty of references to Seaside yet none of its excellent planning features (Figure 100). The desire for New Urbanist design features is, following Sohmer and Lang (2000), primarily aesthetics-led. In a 1995 survey only one fifth of the respondents liked New Urbanism as prescribed by the CNU, reportedly put off by high densities and mixed use, while nearly half wanted “New Urbanist–style houses, but without New Urbanist urban design” (Sohmer & Lang, 2000 756). Similarly, Anne-Vernez Moudon (Moudon, 2000 40) reports on surveys that showed potential new home buyers showed affinity for New Urbanist town design but also results that were “unsettling”, including a continued preference for large lots, thus rejecting compact neighbourhoods.

The image of urbanism presented by New Urbanism in Scotland is predicated on a maligning of contemporary suburbia and its forms which can be traced back to the civil servants who author policy documents. Following Herbert Gans (1967) I argue that it is a form of upper middle class ethnocentrism. Gans wrote about this in 1967 regarding Levittown and I argue the perception persists within state departments that ‘good government’ will create better community (vi) and “proper planning ... would do away with landscape despoiling little ‘boxes’” (vi). If we accept that architecture in any form is a cultural production then neo-traditional design, specifically the post post-modernism of New Urbanism, is highly problematic. I have outlined some of the reasons for its emergence and ongoing use in Scottish suburbs and cities which include the eviction of architects from housing; policies that underpin politically conservative typologies; the gentrification of urban areas that has elevated traditional architecture to a higher social status; and public taste. There is a debate around style

that the New Urbanism is at pains not to discuss and this is true of Scotland's variety. There is no conclusive way to summarise the role of neo-traditional architecture in New Urbanist practice but it can certainly be argued that the attention paid to traditional and classical forms is not founded in appreciation of the presence of living structure (Alexander, 2002a). It is an attempt to reclaim the cultural capital (Kenny & Zimmerman, 2004) of historic places. It does invoke nostalgia for the past, symbolised by the re-telling of narratives of loss and placelessness. The solution presented is not to repair and support poorly constructed or maintained places but a *tabula rasa* approach more in common with modernism's faith in design.

The Dual Role of Obfuscation and Distraction

My early chapters revealed that obfuscation was a useful device; the hysteria in wider debates has helped to focus attention on polarised positions, with posturing and preaching replacing nuanced or reasoned enquiry. Similarly, later chapters demonstrated, especially with Longniddry's charrette, that in Scotland the real issues behind contemporary suburban development are being obscured by a lack of statistical transparency surrounding demand for housing, the manner in which land ownership is presented, and the political privileging of economic growth that needs urgent analysis. My research shows that more than being a socially focussed or community development project New Urbanism in Scotland is primarily a process designed to succeed at winning planning consent and selling houses profitably. This echoes research from around the world in places like New Zealand (Winstanley,

Thorns, & Perkins, 2003), Canada (J. L. Grant & Bohdanow, 2008) and England (M. Thompson-Fawcett & Bond, 2003).

Paradoxically the New Urbanism's halo effect is based on the sustainability of New Urbanism when a strong argument exists to promote higher density urban development over rural suburbs. If proximity is so conducive to community it follows that enduring and successful typologies such as the Scottish tenement should be promoted. However the focus on place — that hard to clarify object — obscures what should be a conversation about specifics; specific communities, specific histories, specific cultures and variations and tastes and ways of living. In short, pluralism. As much of the scholarship before me has found, specifically Jill Grant's excellent *Planning the Good Community* (Grant, 2006b) to which I owe a great debt, New Urbanism is full of complexity and contradiction. Unfortunately that is not expressed by its conceptualisation of architecture, planning or people.

In turn the Scottish Government's preoccupation with places, streets and patterns and codes is a consequence of its failure to interpret the worst aspects of Scotland's urbanism as being ultimately connected with economic and social factors. Instead of a self-initiated policy brief, the Scottish Government's political inefficiency, lack of leadership, and aversion to risk has relied on Whitehall edicts (themselves heavily reflective of New Urbanism's transnational reach). Political independence could point to opportunities for a professionalisation of the Scottish civil service with much more input from Scotland's architects. *Designing Streets* (2010b) and *Designing Places* (2001) are currently an irrelevance to practising architects since they are

devised as how-to-guides for a profession that knows how-to. As Edward Glaeser (2011) puts it in *Triumph of the City*, “For the government to mandate a single style of urbanism is no more sensible than for the government to enforce a single style of literature.” (147). Glaeser’s (2011) examination of the dangers of taking Jane Jacobs’ theory to extremes is deadpan and relaxed. However, Scotland’s government has developed a reputation for pushing through socially conservative new initiatives (mandatory minimum alcohol pricing; the introduction of Gaelic in primary schools¹⁰⁶) and its decision to blow up social housing in the form of Glasgow’s high-rise Red Road flats as part of the opening ceremony of the 2014 Commonwealth Games (Commonwealth members have a combined population of almost one third of the world population) created widespread anxiety about its ability to understand the nuanced narratives within architecture and society.

The plan to screen the demolition of the modernist-inspired, state-sponsored housing was dismantled after public protest pointed to the obvious problems with presenting the procedure of demolition as spectacle. With almost nothing of import to replace the housing at Red Road with, and with one tower remaining to house asylum seekers (implicitly presenting these actors as being of lower priority or value to society), the widespread reaction was of disbelief. David Grevenberg, Glasgow 2014 chief executive cited vaguely articulated safety fears, depicting the 17,000 who signed the online petition as a security risk, while First Minister Alex Salmond told BBC Scotland, “I don't think the safety issue is face-saving. It's very important.”

¹⁰⁶ Though the Scottish Government has so far refused to authorise a bilingual ballot paper for the referendum in September 2014.

(BBC, 2014)¹⁰⁷. As scholarship by Jacobs, Cairns, & Strebel (2012) attests, Glasgow, where the high-rise is arguably "... at the end of its life as a social housing solution", would be presenting the failure of its social housing to the Commonwealth as entertainment, to an audience comprised of many nations for whom the high-rise is constantly being renewed and built to higher specifications (Jane M. Jacobs et al., 2012 126).

Limitations of the Thesis

It is important to take note of a number of limitations that accompany the contributions that are made in this thesis. My survey of New Urbanist literature, important events and places outlined an important issue with the research. The convoluted nature of the debate on urbanism and the way it has been reported has generated an unwieldy and greatly polarised body of material. The seemingly unavoidable tendency towards triteness at the conclusion of doctoral research notwithstanding New Urbanist practice in Scotland is not easily summed up; contradictions proliferate. Where on the one hand UDA in comparison to DPZ appear more sympathetic to local context, detractors point out that their use of wide boulevards are atypical to Scottish morphology. Similarly, the Scottish Government's support of New Urbanist theory in official documents is at odds with its own practice: see The Princes Foundation's representation (2011) to the government's SESplan for Edinburgh and South East Scotland where Ed Taylor

¹⁰⁷ David Grevemberg's statement said, "Opinions have been expressed which change the safety and security context" (BBC, 2014)

(2011) complained that of the 48 allocated Strategic Employment Locations in the SESplan Area, only three (within Central Edinburgh) were designated for mixed use. Almost all of the remaining 45 Strategic Employment Locations were mono-functionally zoned, 'pods' of development geographically isolated in either edge-of-town or out-of-town locations (Taylor, 2011 2). The paradoxes within the movement defy sweeping generalisations and in this way, while limiting the research, also point to an enacting of the specificity I have called for throughout the thesis.

Crossing disciplinary parameters is useful and necessary, but it has often been difficult to account for which critical voices to give weight to. Interdisciplinarity remained a potential issue throughout the research since scholars located firmly in other disciplinary fields would bring a nuanced eye and ear to the economics, architectural design or sociology of New Urbanism in Scotland. Despite these shortcomings I believe the research to have its own form of highly-interdisciplinary significance.

At the outset I proposed to offer an original contribution to knowledge by analysing the form taken by the New Urbanism in Scotland. It is timely for an appraisal of Scottish urbanism that asks questions about both the typologies and the procedures surrounding New Urbanist practice and offers an insight into how the theories are disseminated by a variety of actors. My main body of study was limited to two sites which points to a potential qualification that should be kept in mind when considering the thesis. Overall the research assembles the views of academics in geography and architecture primarily, but includes planning, political, sociological and city scholarship, as well as material from mainstream media and online blogs

where relevant. In this way it attempts to make an at times inchoate literature into a coherent contribution to the body of knowledge surrounding a Scottish condition.

Directions for Future Research

Suburbs have become an increasingly popular area of study and my own ideas have been shaped and thoroughly informed by The Cultures of the Suburbs International Research Network¹⁰⁸. In June 2013 I presented a paper about regional specificity to my colleagues at a conference titled *Out of Control Suburbs?* which took place at Hofstra University, Long Island, NY — one cannot think of a more appropriate place to discuss suburbia. The keynote speech given by Dolores Hayden (Yale) encouraged us to ask questions about definitions of suburbia, and representations of suburban experience, specifically as this is inflected by class, ethnicity and gender. As Professor Hayden argued, we need a critical conversation about suburban growth in the context of relationships between the government, real estate (and related interest groups), and of course citizens.

Even conservation groups such as English Heritage, not known for their interest in this area have assigned suburbia (and not only the commonly thought of examples such as the Garden City) a central place in ongoing research.

¹⁰⁸ The Leverhulme Trust funded ‘Cultures of the Suburbs International Research Network’ started in September 2011. The Network is a partnership between the Universities of Exeter and Kingston (UK), Witwatersrand (South Africa), Hofstra (USA), Griffith (Australia), the National University of Ireland, Maynooth, and Jain University Bangalore, and its purpose is to support scholarly activities relating to the cultural life of the suburbs.

“Suburbs represent more than 80% of the everyday places where people live but they do not remain in stasis, despite popular perceptions to the contrary. Now, English Heritage has identified them as worthy of special attention [...] Rather than revisiting discrete, well established topics that have typically exercised researchers – garden suburbs, the middle-class developments of Metroland etc – we have started out with broad themes such as high-status suburbs, social housing and informally planned areas.” (English Heritage, 2014, 18)

Yet, surprisingly, Scotland’s New Urbanism, it has been emphatically suggested to me, is old news. There lingers an idea that the criticism of New Urbanism has come in and been processed in the appropriate places by the appropriate people. A prominent urban historian told me in person that there was little advantage to further research on the New Urbanist movement as everything important had been said. The Scottish Government’s chief architect intervened to prevent the publication of one of my early articles (commissioned by Architecture and Design Scotland) that asked questions about the government’s own Charrette Mainstreaming Programme. Gilzean reasoned that “the debate on style had been had”, suggestive of the notion that there is a singular debate rather than an ongoing and fluid dialogue within the civil service.

It is notable that despite little US-led New Urbanist activity in England, Scottish civil servants advising a nationalist government pushed for the services of DPZ. It is especially noteworthy that during the three waves of New Urbanist activity I have outlined, the Prince’s Foundation’s approach proved more willing to plan for infill and suburban retrofitting. Despite this, the Scottish Government chose to align itself with the DPZ iteration of New Urbanist practice which primarily has planned

greenfield and green belt developments. It may simply follow that DPZ are a much larger organisation than the Prince's Foundation with more capacity for large-scale projects. However it could indicate an institutional predisposition to a new generation of New Towns in Garden City camouflage. If it does then, following Colin Ward (1993), we had better face our failure to deal with land ownership, land valuation and the community interest (141).

Placelessness and failed attempts at urbanism are not evidence of any particular movement or style of architecture. Failed architecture is normal. The failure of places to be *places* as articulated by the New Urbanist movement and the Scottish government deliberately obfuscates economic inequality, political repression and class-based subjugation. The failure of democracy is a latent but important area for future research. Taboo conversations about land reform have still to take place and the issue of Scotland's — unelected — civil servants shaping contemporary urbanism has yet to be explored by contemporary scholarship.¹⁰⁹ The speed and scale with which New Urbanism has emerged in Scotland is testament to not only the ambition and ability of the CNU and the Prince of Wales but also to the Scottish Government's lack of vision, fear of failure and seeming inability to contest the social inequalities of neo-liberal planning. As the referendum on Scotland's

¹⁰⁹ The state's handling of architectural procurement, especially of public buildings is an ongoing and contentious issue. The assignation of city-status to towns such as Inverness and Stirling does nothing to bridge the clear disparity between the country's urban conurbations. There is a significant amount of new research needed to untangle the committee level strangulation of local planning and development in Inverness, and Glasgow's legacy of regeneration rings hollow on any reading of its handling of the Commonwealth Games. Edinburgh's Old Town community council resigned en-masse in 2014 expressing distress and frustration at the city's privileging of commercial interests over community aspirations (Grangemouth's community council resigned en-masse stating the same reasons) yet Edinburgh maintains its underachieving *City's Design Initiative* (led by City Design Leader Riccardo Marini).

independence approaches, and as various actors move into prime position for a power grab, can the narrative of Scotland's urbanisation move finally from feudalism towards a socially just urbanism?

It is fitting to give the last word to Colin Ward (1993) whose understanding of the role of social class in British planning and architecture is formidable:

“New Towns have, on the whole, fared better than old cities, but anyone opening a discussion of them is faced by the same sophisticated disdain. We have to make a distinction between the social irresponsibility of that contempt for the way most people live, in or out of a new settlement of any kind, and the need to accommodate outward movement and the formation of new households.” (134)

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