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New Urbanism: From Exception to Norm—The Evolution of a Global Movement

Editors
Susan Moore and Dan Trudeau

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Editorial

New Urbanism: From Exception to Norm—The Evolution of a Global Movement

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Abstract
This thematic issue explores the evolution of the New Urbanism, a normative planning and urban design movement that has contributed to development throughout the world. Against a dominant narrative that frames the movement as a straightforward application of principles that has yielded many versions of the same idea, this issue instead proposes an examination of New Urbanism as heterogeneous in practice, shaped through multiple contingent factors that spell variegated translations of core principles. The contributing authors investigate how variegated forms of New Urbanism emerge, interrogate why place-based contingencies lead to differentiation in practice, and explain why the movement continues to be represented as a universal phenomenon despite such on-the-ground complexities. Together, the articles in this thematic issue offer a powerful rebuttal to the idea that our understanding of the New Urbanism is somehow complete and provide original ideas and frameworks with which to reassess the movement's complexity and understand its ongoing impact.

Keywords
built environment; heterogeneity; new urbanism; normative planning

Issue
This editorial is part of the issue "New Urbanism: From Exception to Norm—The Evolution of a Global Movement" edited by Susan Moore (University College London, UK) and Dan Trudeau (Macalester College, USA).

1. Introduction

The New Urbanism began as a normative planning movement in the USA in the 1980s to respond to suburban sprawl and offer a new paradigm for development, especially in suburban contexts. In fewer than 40 years, New Urbanism has moved from the fringe to the centre, its influence evident in projects on every settled continent. With this global reach has come differentiation. New Urbanism in 2020 is decidedly heterogeneous, produced through complex, contingent, and partial translations of the principles of the movement into specific contexts via a variety of built forms and governance models. Yet, despite this heterogeneity, New Urbanism sustains itself as a universal movement, aided in part by the same academic literature that emerged in 1990s and 2000s to scrutinize its authenticity, ideology, and impact.

This scholarship ultimately typecast a variety of efforts associated with New Urbanism as firmly in the mold of the movement's prototypical work, places like Seaside or Kentlands, which sought to reproduce neotraditional urban villages. Critical scholarly engagement with the New Urbanism has tended to retain a focus on the originators of the movement and their intentions (see Brain, 2005; Clarke, 2005; Marshall, 2003; Passel, 2013), but attention to the New Urbanism (in theory and practice) has narrowed considerably over the last decade. The most recent 'thematic issue' on New Urbanism to be published in a peer-reviewed journal was *Built Environment* in 2003. So, the not-so-slow creep of New Urbanism into mainstream planning and development, and the extent to which it has become what Fulton (2017) calls "ubiquitous urbanism" has largely bypassed academic currency. Indeed, existing literature narrowly

contends with the multiple and differentiated forms of New Urbanism in practice and itself reproduces the illusion of New Urbanism as a singular, coherent, albeit dubious, set of practices essentialised through an orthodox and myopic critique which persists in privileging origin over reach (i.e. application, effect, and influence). In this way, we can see how the New Urbanism critique to-date has reduced the complexity of the movement to a series of aphorisms that have largely faded into the backdrop, become "no longer a big deal" (Fulton, 2017), and easily passed on or elided as a fad in terms of academic relevance.

This thematic issue and the seven articles which comprise it seek to redress this by exploring the evolution of the movement. It asks why heterogeneous forms of the New Urbanism emerge, how the contingencies of place contribute to New Urbanism's differentiated forms, and what ways are these multiple New Urban*isms* (re)packaged as a stable and coherent set of practices that are recognizable as a common movement with widespread appeal and increasingly global reach. We seek to debate whether or not New Urbanism has indeed gone from the exceptional to the mainstream, to the extent that it is perhaps no longer distinctive, raising the question of whether or not the label has lost its relevance altogether.

2. Creeping Conformity

Fulton's (2017) provocation that contemporary New Urbanism might be 'dead' was less a condemnation of the movement than it was praise and acknowledgment of the maturation of its influence, to the point of its own redundancy. The 'urbanism' that New Urbanism proponents champion has undeniably materialized in town centres, suburban shopping districts, and city housing projects, certainly across the USA; it is not exceptional anymore, but rather *expected*. Fulton (2017) further observes that "we don't have to think all that much anymore about how to get urbanism to our town—it just shows up." But how and why does it 'show up'? The pathway or evolution from 'radical' and exceptional to 'global' and mainstream, as discursively presented through the similar accounts of the rise and proliferation of the New Urbanism in the articles in this issue, is a story of naturalization. The familiar characteristics of the New Urbanism, even its inherent but often neglected heterogeneity of forms, are however far from 'natural,' if by natural we can infer neutral and apolitical, but rather they are the product of the confluence of highly contextualized and deliberate political and ideological assemblages of power, influence, and capital.

Perrott (2020), in particular, challenges Fulton on this point of New Urbanism 'showing up,' and rightly cautions us on the risks of accepting this naturalization story unproblematically. In her re-telling of the Markham Centre case study, she demonstrates fluidly how even the notion of 'evolution' and change of design and planning vision and outcomes over time have been deliberately manipulated into the discursive impact and reach of New Urbanism's political and development imprint in suburban Toronto. Grant (2020), in her commentary, similarly cautions that the domination by any particular planning and design paradigm leads inevitably to conformity (see also Harris, 2004), but with conformity need not come complacency and neglect of the attendant risks and implications of following the trend.

From Sweden, Filep and Thompson-Fawcett (2020) demonstrate how New Urbanism—in two variant forms represented by Hammarby Sjöstad and Sankt Erik—has transitioned from attempts at socially engineering intentionally 'good' communities to an accepted 'building pattern' and formal building type (i.e., compact development, walkable, well-designed public realm, etc.) that perpetuates in the absence of the movement's deterministic social order amongst residents, and embodies a conscious effort (as seen elsewhere, see Moore, 2010; Perrott, 2020) to distance itself from it. But they point out, as do Perrott (2020) and Dierwechter (2020), that there is power and influence in the communicative role of the built form, one that reinforces the continuing relevance of New Urbanism, albeit its evolutionary and contingent rather than universalist discourse—as recognizable yet differentiated, as "acknowledged, but not over-stated" (Filep & Thompson-Fawcett, 2020, p. 414). Trudeau (2020) further suggests that the survival of the movement rests to some degree on its capacity to embrace this side of its own influence, to move beyond endorsing its own reflection via high profile and lauded exemplars, and to explore how to improve the implementation (in terms of social and environmental equality, for instance) of the rest of what 'shows up.'

This critique of the movement's shortcomings in implementation is echoed in Garde's (2020) article on the past, present, and future of the movement, and within Mehaffy and Haas' (2020) review of the movement's founding influences and the codification of its aspirational principles into key documents, including the Charter of the New Urbanism, and more recently, the UN-Habitat's New Urban Agenda (UN, 2016), and their limited impact on practice. The Swedish, Canadian, and American examples of New Urbanism referred to in the thematic issue demonstrate the extent to which New Urbanism reproduces recognisable, even ubiquitous, neighbourhood building types or forms, but has not delivered the social order oft-associated with the movement's inception. As Filep and Thompson-Fawcett (2020, p. 406) observe, this is the current "holding pattern" of contemporary New Urbanism.

3. Spatial and Ideological Confluence of Governance and Advocacy

New Urbanism's proliferation was, in part, derived via its introduction to the design and planning world as a grounded product rather than an abstract concept

or process, thus enabling its ease of mobility and its adoption and adaptation by a diverse set of governing institutions and organisations in myriad high profile development projects (Dierwechter, 2020). In his article, Dierwechter (2020) applies a neo-Weberian theory of (American) political development to argue that governing institutions that have committed themselves to the adoption and promotion of New Urbanism (e.g., Seattle; for Markham Centre see Perrott, 2020), directly and indirectly, produce spaces for the 'reinforcement' and 'transformation' of the movement. In other words, New Urbanism's brand of principle-led 'placemaking' aligns with the multi-level or multi-departmental, often contentious operating orders of governing bodies, which supports consensus around the core ideas of 'good planning' or 'good community' yet provides the necessary flexibility to accommodate the particularities of context. New Urbanism thus provides the form(s) that align with the dominant political order and, as Dierwechter (2020) suggests, it is the collision of variant institutional orders in a specific place—what he refers to as intercurrence—that results in the context-dependent socio-spatial manifestations or geographies of New Urbanism, which can be scrutinized in light variations by race, ethnicity, class, gender, age, etc.

The intercurrence thesis is complimented in this issue by the application of a similar logic brought to investigate the political influence and 'worlding' practices (Ong, 2011) performed by powerful lobbies, campaigns, and movement-supporting organisations. Both Trudeau's (2020) and Mehaffy and Haas's (2020) articles demonstrate the extent to which the genealogical and discursive work of the movement's own apparatus—such as The Congress for the New Urbanism (CNU), the Charter of the New Urbanism (CNU, 1996), and the annual CNU Charter Awards, as well as the UN-Habitat New Urban Agenda (UN, 2016)—make it easier for local contexts to commit to a New Urbanism vision, plan or flagship project, and/or to transform a plan to fit a particular, localized, political agenda. At issue, following Trudeau (2020), is the reinforcement of the singularity of the movement, of its widespread appeal, but the relative neglect of the lessons we can draw from the plurality of New Urban*isms* that actually exist.

4. Future of New Urbanism

Several authors in this thematic issue point out the risks and implications of getting too comfortable with the current holding pattern or unquestioningly conforming to the expected urbanism paradigm, citing the discrepancies between intent and implementation. Grant (2020) and Garde (2020) in particular draw out the implications for housing affordability, social inclusion, public participation, environmental citizenship, and climate change. Yet, it would be an oversight not to mention here the extreme challenges facing planning and urban design practice and academe in terms of the urgency for responsive governance in the wake of the Covid-19 global pandemic. Urban density, itself at the heart of the compact neighbourhood design underpinning New Urbanism, is now being challenged by public health concerns, often in the absence of due consideration of the combination of structural factors (such as race, ethnicity, income, class) that produce uneven socio-spatial patterns of infection and mortality. Whilst Perrott (2020, p. 391) in her article declares "sprawl is the past, new urbanism is legacy, and competitive urbanism is the future," some would argue that new working, commuting, consuming, and socializing patterns in the post-Covid metropolis will reinforce suburban sprawl. But rather than the antidote, this time around New Urbanism might be conceived as a contributing factor. The ubiquity of New Urbanism has made density acceptable and expected, even in new and retrofitted suburban centres, suggesting that extended zones of 'suburban' flight are possible.

The future of (sub)urban development is unclear and it is equally uncertain how anxieties and prohibitions surrounding the COVID-19 pandemic will filter into tomorrow's built environment or affect the ideology or practice of normative planning movements like the New Urbanism. It is safe to assume that New Urbanism will still have a role to play in post-Covid urban planning and design. Indeed, it seems this movement may continue to be relevant to the conjuncture of crises surrounding affordable housing, racial injustice, and public health that has been laid bare by the pandemic. In this regard, New Urbanism hardly seems dead or that its history is complete. Nevertheless, as we move toward a post-Covid world, it is unclear whether its prescribed approaches to planning and design will continue to be expected or even accepted. In such a moment, it will be vital to trace and scrutinize how and why New Urbanism 'shows up' and the different ways in which it takes shape. Toward that end, the articles in this thematic issue offer vital food for thought, innovative frameworks, and new perspectives that help us to make sense of the next chapters of New Urbanism's evolution.

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Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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Article

Does New Urbanism "Just Show Up"? Deliberate Process and the Evolving Plan for Markham Centre

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Abstract
This article traces three decades of planning for a Canadian suburban downtown in Markham, Ontario, an early adopter of new urbanism. While leading new urbanist design firm Duany Plater-Zyberk & Co. (also known as DPZ) produced site plans for both Cornell and Markham Centre, much of the research attention on the implementation of new urbanism has focused on the Cornell development, where build-out began in the 1990s. Construction was delayed in Markham Centre until a decade later and continues today. The article is empirically grounded in a discourse analysis of policy, housing advertisements, and interviews with key actors in the planning and development process. New urbanism's popular influence has led Fulton (2017) to argue that a ubiquitous urbanism now "just shows up." Mainstreaming of new urbanist principles and the discursive framing of planning for Markham Centre as an 'evolution' further underscores this perception. Key actors describe an 'organic' planning process illustrating how the plan has changed in response to shifting market dynamics, political interests, and funding opportunities. The article explores the discourse about new urbanism and argues that in Markham Centre new urbanism has not just shown up, but has rather required a deliberate, collaborative, and adaptable process. Development that is transit oriented and attractive to knowledge economy workers underpins the contemporary vision. New urbanism as a label is losing relevance in Markham, where sprawl represents the past, new urbanism describes the legacy of 1990s planning, and a 'real' competitive urbanism is the vision for the future.

Keywords
discourse; knowledge economy; Markham; new urbanism; organic metaphor; suburban downtown; suburbs; transit-oriented development

Issue
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1. Introduction: New Urbanism from Fringe to Centre

New urbanism emerged 30 years ago as a movement encouraging good design as an alternative to sprawl. Alongside smart growth and sustainable development, new urbanism has been an influential voice among the broader calls within urban planning theory and practice to retrofit, repair, and urbanize the suburbs, (Dunham-Jones & Williamson, 2009; Gallagher, 2013; Grant, 2006; Tachieva, 2010). At stake for new urbanism is the opportunity to reverse the problems generated by sprawling post-war suburban expansion including environmental damage, social isolation, unmemorable places, and separated, single-function land uses (e.g., residential subdivisions, office parks, and shopping malls) that lead to car dependence and traffic congestion (Duany, Plater-Zyberk, & Speck, 2000).

Fulton (2017) asserts that now new urbanism has become standard practice and "just shows up" as a "ubiquitous urbanism" that is "no big deal" (para. 4). Does new urbanism just show up? In this thematic issue, authors have been asked to consider Fulton (2017) and debate whether or not new urbanism has gone from the exception to the mainstream of planning to the extent that new urbanism has lost its distinction and relevance as a label. In this article I respond to these questions through an analysis of how planning and development discourse represents Markham Centre, in the Toronto metropoli-

tan area, as a case study in contemporary new urbanism (Figure 1).

In the 1990s new urbanism emerged as the planning framework for approximately 3,500 hectares of former farmland turned new greenfield development blocks arcing around Markham's built-up edge (Figure 2). Duany et al. (2000) describe the new urbanist vision for Markham's greenfields as "an uncanny inversion of the typical North American city: classic sprawl at the center, surrounded on all sides by a consistent gridded urbanity" (p. 200). The most well-known of these development blocks in the urban planning literature is Cornell, designed by Miami-based leading new urbanist design firm Duany Plater-Zyberk & Co. (DPZ) who characterized it as "a fairly pure application of the neighbourhood concept" (Duany et al., 2000, p. 199). Lesser known is that DPZ also designed a neighbourhood plan for Markham Centre, which due to wastewater servicing and other constraints was not implemented at the same time as Cornell. Markham Centre is now under construction. Because of the lag between plan and development, this case study offers the opportunity to examine implementation of a new urban vision over an extended time period.

The subtitle of this thematic issue is 'the evolution of a global movement.' In this article I examine how key actors in the planning and development process mobilize a discourse of 'evolution' to characterize the changing vision for Markham Centre. Discourse does 'rhetorical work' in building preferred narratives that frame policy issues, define problems, and articu-

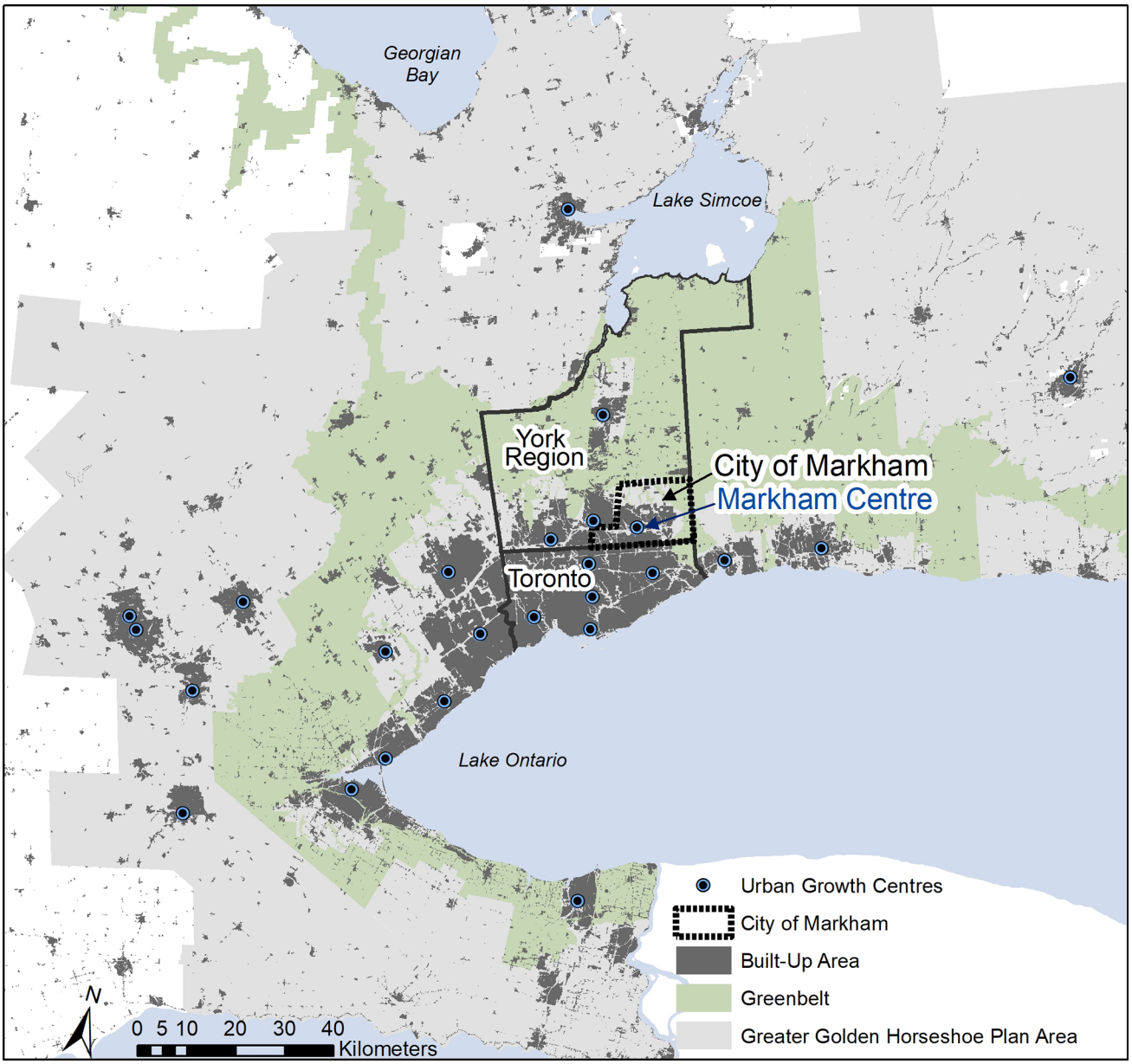

Figure 1. Markham in the context of the Greater Golden Horseshoe plan area. Markham Centre is located approximately 30 kilometres away from the City of Toronto central business district. Source: Author, based on open source data from the Province of Ontario.

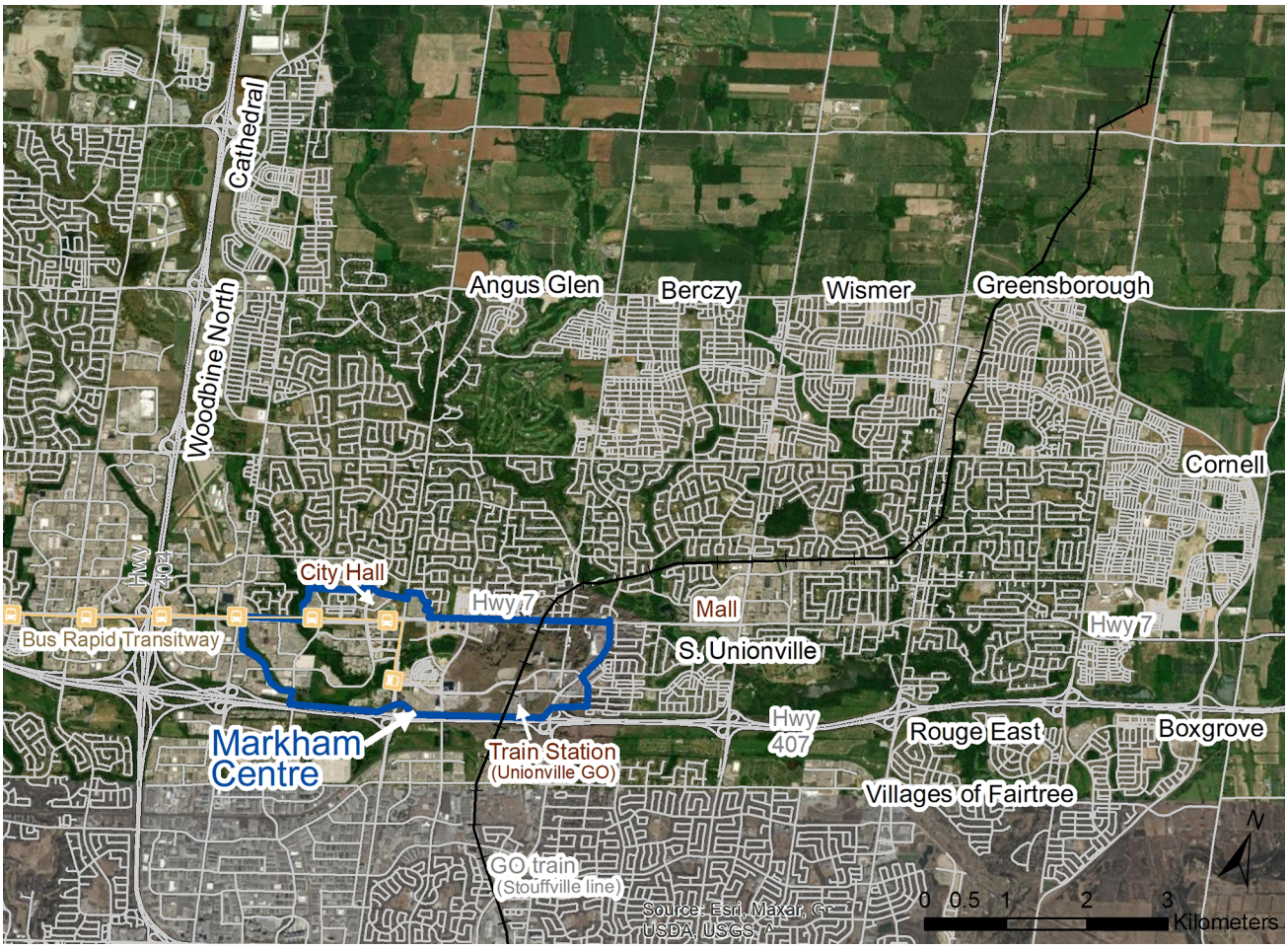

Figure 2. Markham's new urbanist development blocks. Source: Author, based on open source data from the Province of Ontario, York Region, and City of Markham.

late solutions (McArthur & Robin, 2019). The literature has drawn attention to new urbanism's use of evolutionary discourse and organic metaphors, such as 'transect planning' (Duany & Talen, 2002), which work to naturalize new urbanism's design prescriptions and to generate support for a vision that is framed as the natural evolution of the suburbs (Grant & Perrott, 2010; Thompson-Fawcett, 1998). Urban planning is a change management process and thus naturalizing change is a powerful discourse when interests vary and financial stakes are high. Discourse analysis de-naturalizes and draws attention to how new urbanism is constituted in and through narratives and images.

The problem with the rhetorical work of 'evolution' is that it obscures the actual work of deliberate political and professional actions that produce planning visions and guide their implementation. The naturalizing function of discourse, alongside the movement's widespread influence and appeal, reinforce new urbanism's taken-for-granted character, appearing as "no big deal" (Fulton, 2017, para. 4). I argue that counter-sprawl planning strategies, including new urbanism, have gone from the exceptional to the mainstream in Markham and the surrounding region; however, new urbanism far from "just shows up" as Fulton (2017, para. 4) claims. Despite the use of organic metaphors, practitioners credit a range of factors leading to the deliberate production of urbanism in Markham Centre: Professional buy-in, political champions, public transit funding, public-private partnerships, and a high price housing market that creates demand for condominium apartments in a suburban location. The discursive framing of long-range planning as an 'organic process' or 'evolution' indicates the importance that practitioners place on their ability to adapt a plan in response to economic and political change.

I further argue that the label is losing relevance in a discourse that eliminates the 'new' to emphasize authenticity through 'real' and 'true' urbanism. Over time, new urbanism in Markham has gone from fringe to centre, first with the neotraditional village character of Cornell on the built-up fringe of the Town of Markham to the production of Markham Centre, an intentionally urbane, transit-oriented central downtown for the renamed City of Markham. In the contemporary moment and rooted in the specificities of place, the planning approach for Markham Centre has become conceptually and discursively intertwined with competition and laying the groundwork for a built form that can attract

knowledge economy workers. Discursively, sprawl is the past, new urbanism is legacy, and competitive urbanism is the future.

2. New Urbanism's Heterogeneous History

New urbanism promotes built environments that are pedestrian-scaled, supportive of mass transit, diverse in land use, and shaped by well-defined, universally accessible public realms that celebrate local environments, histories, and building practices (Congress for the New Urbanism, 1996). From the outset of the movement 'new urbanism' has been an "umbrella term" (Bohl, 2000, p. 762) encompassing various planning and design approaches reacting to sprawl, and there have been multiple new urbanisms, or what Grant (2006, p. 3) calls "new urban approaches." Two of these predominant approaches in Canada and the United States are Traditional Neighbourhood Design and Transit Oriented Development (Grant, 2006; Lehrer & Milgrom, 1996). Traditional Neighbourhood Design valorizes the form and architectural aesthetic of the 'authentic' urbanity represented by pre-war built form as a response to the ugliness of suburban sprawl (Duany et al., 2000). Traditional Neighbourhood Design's proponents present the past as a solution for the future, influenced by Leon Krier who rejected the modernist city and called for a return to a pre-industrial, 'organic,' and authentic European 'quartiers' urbanism (Bohl, 2000; Grant, 2006; Thompson-Fawcett, 1998). Transit Oriented Development promotes the ideal of a mix of high-density uses and public spaces within pedestrian pockets around transit hubs (Calthorpe, 2002; Calthorpe & Poticha, 1993).

In 1993, the proponents of Traditional Neighbourhood Design (including Andres Duany and Leon Krier) and Transit Oriented Development (including Peter Calthorpe) convened for the first Congress for the New Urbanism and eventually merged their ideas into a Charter of the New Urbanism (1996) that articulates the principles of the movement. New urbanism reflects the grafting of the two predominant branches of Traditional Neighbourhood Design and Transit Oriented Development and has come to represent design for communities that are "compact, walkable, mixed-use, and transit-friendly and contain a diverse range of housing" (Knaap & Talen, 2005, p. 109). New urbanism draws on a lineage of normative planning ideals, including those promoted by Ebenezer Howard, Lewis Mumford and Jane Jacobs, and at its inception, the movement shared values with other popular concepts including sustainable development, smart growth, urban villages, and the urban renaissance (Grant, 2006, 2009; Knaap & Talen, 2005). Through implementation in planning practice, new urbanism has been blended with these other concepts, been packaged to emphasize certain principles over others, and has been adapted to the specific conditions of different places, producing the heterogeneous character of new urbanism.

3. Producing New Urbanism

Case study research has illustrated how variable new urban approaches emerge according to the specificities of place. One vein of case study research focuses on the built form, measuring how new urbanist developments measure up against the movement's own principles and conventional subdivisions. For example, the Cornell neighbourhood in Markham has been shown as distinctive for having narrower lots than the previous Markham norm, back lanes, houses with front porches, and a central plaza with shopping and offices. Research has found Cornell to have a close alignment in physical form with new urbanist ideals (Thompson-Fawcett & Bond, 2003). When compared with conventional suburban neighbourhoods, Cornell has higher densities (Gordon & Vipond, 2005), improved street connectivity (Xu, 2017), and more walking and cycling (Tomalty, Haider, & Fisher, 2011). Research on Cornell has also employed resident surveys to assess housing trajectories (Skaburskis, 2006), and perceptions of neighbourhood and community (Markovich & Hendler, 2006).

Other case study research attends to how new urbanism is "co-constituted by the practices of situated interpretative communities of development and planning actors" rooted in the local political, historical, regulatory and market contexts (Moore, 2010, p. 103). Methodologically, these studies often analyze discourse in interviews with key actors, policy, and/or development advertisements. This literature highlights how new urbanist principles can be variably selected with key actors citing a range of factors accounting for the successes and challenges of implementing new urbanism including: Values, norms, and priorities among professional planners and developers (Grant, 2006; Moore, 2013; Trudeau, 2018), political will, governance structures and regulatory regimes (Gordon & Tamminga, 2002; Grant, 2009; Moore, 2010), housing and retail markets (Grant & Perrott, 2009, 2010), location context of developments, such as infill or greenfield (Grant & Bohdanow, 2008), typological distinctions such as mainstream, dense, or hybrid (Trudeau, 2013), and municipal fiscal motivations (Sweeny & Hanlon, 2016). Studies of new urbanist housing advertisements have found representations of nostalgia for an imagined past, homogeneous representations of would-be residents, and places where people can live in harmony with nature (Till, 2001; Winstanley, Thorns, & Perkins, 2003). New urbanism's inconsistent implementation has led to criticisms that it merely produces prettier, denser sprawl, and faux urban developments (Fulton, 2017; Grant, 2006; Lehrer & Milgrom, 1996).

4. Method: Discourses of New Urbanism

This article examines the discourse of key actors (planners, politicians, developers) in the intersecting processes of planning and development. Discourse is defined as "a group of statements which provide a language for talk-

ing about—a way of representing the knowledge about—a particular topic at a particular historical moment" (Hall, 2001, p. 72). My approach attends to how discourse frames problems and solutions, constitutes agendas for action, and sustains preferred narratives (Harvey, 1996; Lees, 2004). This approach aligns with Moore's (2013) direction that research on new urbanism usefully focuses on constitutive social practices, alliances, collaborations, contestations, and development pathways rather than fixating on the extent to which case studies have imported new urbanism's universalized charter principles.

The findings presented in this article are drawn from a larger study on reinventing the suburbs in the Toronto metropolitan region, where I conducted semi-structured, approximately one-hour interviews with 60 participants in 2015 and 2016. Of this broader sample, 10 planners worked within the City of Markham, York Region wherein Markham is located, the York Region Transit agency, or the Provincial government. Three politicians sat on Markham's City Council. One interview participant represents the primary landholder and developer in Markham Centre. Where quoted in this article, participants are represented by an anonymous alphanumeric code, (e.g., P01 for planner, C01 for councillor, and D01 for developer). The Markham Official Plan, and the regional Growth Plan form the primary planning policy documents analyzed for this article. Of the broader sample of website and homebuilding magazine advertisements run between 2012 and 2016, 36 developments were within Markham, including five within Markham Centre.

This article reports findings from a text-based discourse analysis of the policies, transcribed interviews, and advertisement rhetoric. I thematically and iteratively coded texts starting with a base codebook informed by the literature and developed additional themes as they emerged across a preliminary sample of sources (Saldana, 2009). Interview questions included asking about planning vision, change in development patterns over time, and the successes and challenges of implementing key planning goals. I was interested in how key actors described both the place of Markham Centre, and its planning process. Through a close reading of policies and advertisements I coded for descriptions of place and location, transit, mobility options, lifestyle, and aspirations. In this article I compare discourse across different actors and sources of discourse, and consider how Cornell and Markham Centre are differently envisioned in policy and sold in advertisements. Together, the interview, policy, and advertising analyses present intertextual evidence of the discursive strategies employed in the place image production and development of Markham Centre as a product of over 30 years of new urbanism-influenced planning.

5. New Urbanism Mainstreamed in Canadian Planning Principles and Policy

Markham is located in Canada's largest metropolitan region around the City of Toronto, where growth management is a central feature in land use planning policy. The wider Greater Golden Horseshoe planning region has been growing by roughly 100,000 people per year since the 1990s, has a population of over 6.5 million, and is projected to reach 13.5 million by 2041 (Advisory Panel, 2015). The City of Markham had a population of 328,966 in 2016, the latest census year, representing a 90% increase since the mid-1990s when new urbanism came to influence the municipality's planning (Statistics Canada, 2002; Statistics Canada, 2017). The average price of a detached house in Markham is over $1.5 million and more than doubled over the past decade (Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, 2020). In 2005 the Province established an 800,000 hectare greenbelt and adopted the Growth Plan for the Greater Golden Horseshoe in 2006. The Growth Plan intended to curb sprawl, and built on smart growth and new urbanism policies already adopted in many of the local municipalities, like Markham (Hess & Sorensen, 2015). The Growth Plan mainstreamed new urbanist principles as 'best practice' across the region (Moore, 2013). Mandating principles and plans, however, has not necessarily guaranteed successful implementation in the region where entrenched infrastructures of car dependence, weak political commitment, and market pressures have limited their success (Filion, 2018; Grant, 2009).

The Growth Plan repackages the principles of new urbanism, and the related concepts of smart growth and sustainability, in the language of 'compact built form' that makes efficient use of infrastructure, and 'complete communities,' which are mixed-use neighbourhoods with convenient access to necessities for daily living and a full range of housing, transportation, public services, and recreation options (Government of Ontario, 2019). The provincial government plays a top-down role in establishing the legal basis for planning and providing a detailed framework for growth management in the Greater Golden Horseshoe, with which municipalities in the region are required to conform, and thus the language of 'compact' and 'complete communities' is reproduced in the local plans. Beyond the Toronto region, 'compact' and 'complete communities' have become shorthand for urbanism throughout Canada (Grant & Scott, 2012). The influence of these concepts is evident in The Charter for Canadian Urbanism established by the Council for Canadian Urbanism, a group of planning and urban design professionals from across the country. The Charter calls for the urgent implementation of progressive, creative, by-design solutions for "complete, compact, mixed-use, interconnected and vibrant neighbourhoods that prioritize sustainable and healthy mobility choices—walking, biking and transit" to "replace the unsustainable, use-separated, low-density, car-oriented model of the past" (Council for Canadian Urbanism, 2013, para 10). While there are imprints of the American New Urbanism movement established by the Congress for the New Urbanism, the Council for Canadian Urbanism

Charter specifies "a new Canadian urban model" (2013, para. 10).

A key feature of growth management planning in the Toronto region is the identification of 25 Urban Growth Centres, including Markham Centre, which are planned to hit density targets based on number of residents and jobs. The Urban Growth Centre concept established in the 2006 Growth Plan bears the hallmarks of Transit Oriented Development, emphasizing dense clusters of mixed use within walking distance of regional transit service, while also located close to key highway intersections. Clustering high density buildings into the Urban Growth Centres preserves historically lower density areas and historic village main streets. The Urban Growth Centre policy builds on a legacy of suburban downtown planning in the region since the early 1960s (Carver, 1962). Suburban downtowns help create new core identities for amalgamated large municipalities including Markham, Vaughan, and Mississauga. Other suburban downtowns represent the hubs of older boroughs of pre-amalgamation Toronto, like Scarborough, and North York. High-rise apartments and offices clustered around city halls, regional shopping malls and their parking lots characterized the development of suburban downtowns through the 1970s and 1980s. Relph (1991) concluded that these downtowns were more suburban than urban, retained relatively low densities due to large parking lots, and were defined by wide arterial roads that continued the dependence on automobiles. Since those observations, there have been continued developments in these nodes, improvements in their connections to local and regional transit systems, and a lifting of height restrictions in Mississauga City Centre. Filion's (2018) study of Toronto-area suburban downtowns built out through the 1970s and 1980s (not including Markham Centre) finds that car-oriented design and shopping malls with large lots for free parking and minimal transit service has prevented a transformation in suburban transportation patterns and ways of life. The more successful of the older Urban Growth Centres concentrate high density mixed land uses, have streets conducive to walking, and are served by high-order transit that connects dense clusters to many destinations in the region (Filion, 2018; Filion, McSpurren, & Appleby, 2006).

6. Markham Centre's 'Evolution': Discourses of Origin and Change

In the late 1980s Markham planned for a new 'Town Centre' that would be linear in form along the spine of Highway 7, bookended by a new city hall and the existing regional shopping mall built in the early 1980s (Town of Markham, 2004, p. 7). Relph (1991) critiqued this plan as a car-oriented and 'disaggregated' vision that would see the suburban downtown "strung out along several kilometres of a provincial highway" (p. 423). Town hall was constructed in 1989, followed by a scattering of high and low density apartments, a hotel, and commercial plazas along Highway 7 towards the mall. Other properties in the Town Centre area were planned for conventional subdivisions of detached houses; however, servicing, market, and other constraints left large areas undeveloped. Cornell's new urbanist plan inspired Council and the public to consider a similar approach for the new downtown and move "away from traditional cul-de-sac-y, loopy suburban stuff, to something that's more real" (P04). In 1992, the municipality initiated a visioning process for the 581 hectares of land around Town Hall, which became designated as Markham Centre (Gordon & Vipond, 2005). Markham re-hired Andres Duany and Toronto architecture firm NORR Group to lead several public design charettes and produce a new urbanist, neotraditional plan (Figure 3). Duany's plan featured ground level retail and services, a wide central boulevard, and no large surface parking lots (Filion, 2009). A planner described it as "a midrise, 8-storey midtown, kind of a downtown" (P04). The Duany Plan was endorsed by Council in 1994, the year that Mayor Donald Cousens was elected, whom one of the current developers describes as a "forward-thinking" champion for the new downtown concept: "He envisioned his community moving from a bedroom community into a true town" (D02). Politicians and planners embraced the DPZ plan: "It had density, it had pedestrian-scale development. It had all these different aspects that we'd never seen in the 905 [suburban phone area code]" (D02).

The developers, however, struggled to make the financial aspects of the DPZ plan work, and over the course of a decade revised the plan to include a business park, a commercial area, and residential quadrants. The primary developers decided that it was still "pretty traditional in land use layout…it just wasn't working. I didn't see it as truly mixed use, so we changed it up" (D02). This time the developers reached out to the other main branch of new urbanism and hired well-known Transit Oriented Development proponent, Peter Calthorpe to run design charettes and produce images of a downtown that would be "truly mixed" (D02). The plan was refined over time with the largest section of Markham Centre branded as Downtown Markham for the renamed 'City' of Markham. The current vision is a Toronto-inspired urbanism, that incorporates transit, eliminates the business park concept, further integrates the land use mix, and more than doubles the vision for the density of residents and jobs (Figure 4). Construction of offices and apartment buildings took off in the mid-2000s following a district energy plant, and development has steadily increased over time. Markham Centre is currently planned to house 41,000 people, educate 10,000 students at a university campus, and provide employment for 41,000 (Remington Group, 2020a). In 2019, the City initiated a process to review and update the secondary (detailed area) plan for Markham Centre, which at the time of writing is still in the public engagement phase. Figure 5 compares streetscape renderings from the DPZ plan in 1994 and the developer's contemporary plan.

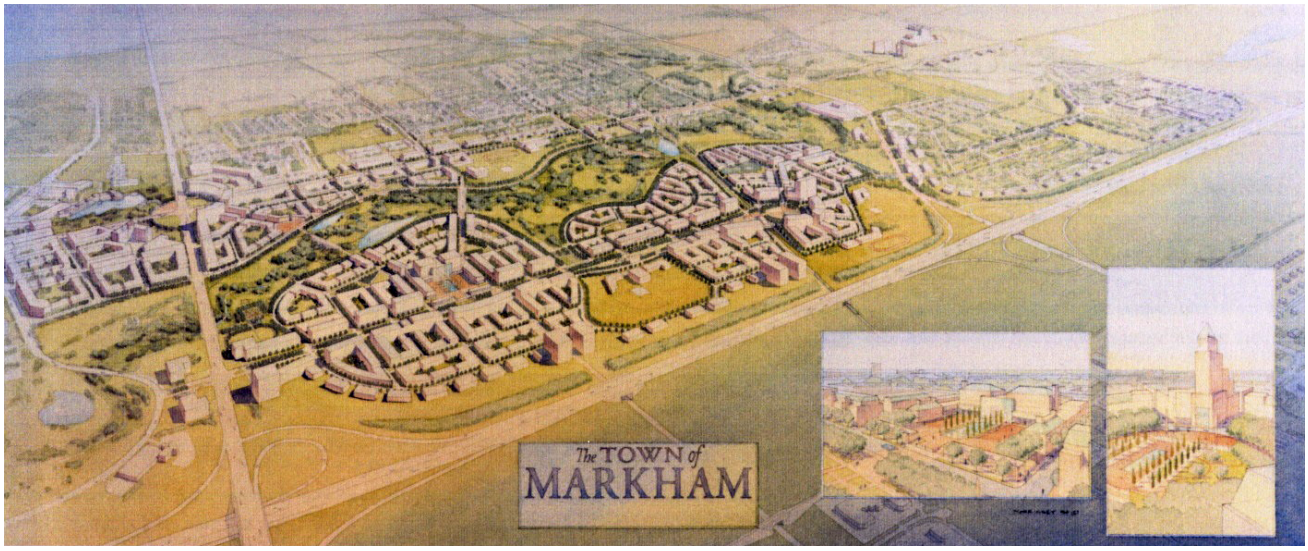

Figure 3. New urbanist vision for Markham Centre produced by DPZ and NORR Group. Source: Courtesy of City of Markham.

Transit has become a central part of the vision for Markham Centre. An existing station part of the Government of Ontario's commuter rail (GO Train) network was upgraded in 2005 and is becoming the anchor of a multimodal mobility hub. In the mid-2000s, York Region Transit announced that a 6-kilometre bus rapid transitway would be constructed along Highway 7 between car lanes, and has been designed for an eventual upgrade to light rail (Figure 6). Construction began in 2010 and it was operational in 2015. The Viva transitway in Markham Centre is one of several bus rapid transitway segments constructed in York Region that are connected through the wider bus network (P27; P28; York Region Rapid Transit Corporation, 2020). The bus rapid transitway was constructed through a public-private partnership, where York Region Transit sought out a consortium with international experience to build and operate the system using $1.7 billion in funding from provincial, federal and regional governments. Collaboration across the public and private sectors, and professional disciplines (especially planning and engineering) was a repeated theme in the story of establishing Transit Oriented Development in Markham Centre.

"A transformation project," not a "transportation or transit project" is how a planner described the interrelationship between the land use plan for Markham Centre and the bus rapid transitway system: "The transformation is an integral story of land use planning

Figure 4. Contemporary Vision for Markham Centre. Source: Remington Group (2020b).

Figure 5. Left: New urbanist streetscape rendering. Source: Courtesy of City of Markham. Right: Contemporary streetscape rendering for Gallery Square Project in Downtown Markham. Source: Remington Group (2020c).

and infrastructure development coming together" (P27). Highway 7 typifies the transportation structure perpetuating car dependence in the suburbs identified by Filion (2018) as limiting efforts to urbanize the suburbs. Interview participants acknowledge the challenges posed by the existing suburban transportation structure, but see the bus rapid transitway as transformational, as was promoted during its construction through the slogan: 'Markham Now; Markham Next' (Figure 7). Disrupting Highway 7 to construct the bus rapid transitway and the resultant dual-function transit and automobile corridor signifies the hybridity and compromise between urbanism and suburbanism that are emerging in the Markham Centre case, and will be inevitable in other suburban locations.

Practitioners characterize Markham Centre's story of origin and change over time as an 'evolution' and an 'organic process,' where time is required to achieve the vision for a 'real' urban place, for example:

> I have watched Markham evolve from a very typical suburban community of the 1980s—large lots, 50' singles, cul-de-sacs—that sort of stuff and it's evolved over time to become what it is now, which is, it's trying to become a real place, a real city. (P04)

> Five years from now, there might be something better. Somebody else might look at it and have much better ideas. Allow the plan to evolve. It should be organic. That's what's happening here. It's becoming much more organic. (D02)

> I would love to see no cars. I'd love to see people walking and taking transit, but we're not there yet. Eventually we will….It is an evolution. (D02)

> The problem is that the whole system is not in place yet. Then it really becomes about time…..Again, it's one of those things that will come with the maturity of the rapid transit system. (P27)

What work does the mobilization of this rhetoric do? The repeated references to 'evolving' and 'evolution' in Markham Centre continues new urbanist discourse that naturalizes a normative vision for the built form (Grant, 2006; Grant & Perrott, 2010; Thompson-Fawcett, 1998).

Figure 6. Left: York Region Transit bus at the GO train station. Right: Bus rapid transitway station on Highway 7. Source: Author.

Figure 7. Bus rapid transitway public awareness campaign 'Markham Now; Markham Next.' Source: Author.

In the case of Markham Centre, however, there is more at work in the discourse of evolution. Rather than an easily, naturally evolving process, key actors have worked for decades to forge connections across planning and engineering, land use and transportation, public and private spheres to establish a shared vision and collaborate on its implementation. As an interview participant described: "This isn't casual what's happening here. There are foundational pieces that you put in place…across many different structural elements of what it takes to transform a community….It's very deliberate" (P27). How can a process be both deliberate and organic as described by key actors? An 'organic' and 'evolving' vision is one that can adapt to survive and take advantage of changes to housing markets, political interests and funding opportunities, lifestyles, and policies over time: "You can create the right ingredients to encourage certain forms of development to occur in certain places, but ultimately you have to have the flexibility of view…we need to evolve, right?" (P27). The developer's website characterizes the plan as a "nimble policy framework and forward thinking master plan that would enable Downtown Markham to evolve into York Region's premier hub of culture, education, commerce and entertainment" (Remington Group, 2020b, para. 3). Flexibility and openness to new ideas are framed as a necessity in the long-range planning required for sites at this scale. Developing a shared preferred narrative and aligning the goals of actors across city departments and sectors has required a planning context that enables plans to be amended and periodically reviewed and changed. The planning and implementation processes have been deliberate, collaborative, and 'evolutionary' insofar as they have adapted in response to change over time.

7. Is the Label 'New Urbanism' Still Relevant?

7.1. Mixing Uses, Mixing Concepts: Discourses of Attraction

The discursive and conceptual connections between new urbanism, smart growth, and sustainability have been demonstrated in the region's growth management policy and literature (Grant, 2009). The Markham Centre story shows further entwining of anti-sprawl planning approaches with the popular idea that cities should be attracting knowledge economy workers, or the so-called 'creative class' (Florida, 2003). Markham's knowledge economy predates the hype about creative cities as IBM's Canadian head offices have been in Markham since the early 1980s and a software lab was built in 2001 just beyond Markham Centre, but has now been included in the secondary plan boundary. The history of information technology corporations locating in the area is expected to catalyze a cluster in Markham Centre.

Attracting knowledge economy employers and workers as residents is embedded in the discourse about Markham Centre's successful future. Whereas in the past, developers focused on getting employers into office parks, now new players from Human Resources departments are at the negotiating table seeking desirable amenities for employees. A new secondary campus of York University is planned to open in 2023 bringing university students enrolled in digital media, engineering and technology, entrepreneurship, new media and communications programs. The new campus has spurred the development of entertainment options, including a movie theatre, food service, and retailers to appeal to students. The anticipation of university students has fuelled investment in condominium developments

intended for rental. Amenities are framed as part of the area's attractiveness and thus far include a pool and community centre built as part of the PanAm games, a high school with adjacent sports fields, a YMCA fitness centre, trails and parks. Families were not the originally anticipated residents of Markham Centre's condos, but as more children move into the area, the developers have added a skating rink and carousel that doubles as a public art nod to Canadian symbolism.

Discourse frames the relationship between economic competition and place as inextricably linked and reinforcing: Planning policy states that compact and complete communities rely on a vibrant, competitive economy, whereas practitioners and development advertisements say it the other way around and frame the knowledge economy as reliant on an attractive compact and complete community (Table 1). Interview participants describe a scenario where there is a limited demand for Class A office space, university campuses, and high-density suburban housing, thus Markham Centre has to compete for these with the other suburban downtown Urban Growth Centres and the City of Toronto. Producing a vibrant urban centre with a mix of land uses and amenities that can attract knowledge economy employers and residents is a discourse of survival and competitive advantage.

The planning vision for Markham Centre has come to mix new urbanism with the creative cities concept. Both approaches have been criticized in the literature for producing elitist, exclusionary places (Catungal, Leslie, & Hii, 2009; Lehrer & Milgrom, 1996). The challenge for Markham Centre will be to address these concerns and enable the conditions for diversity and inclusion. The developer explained that their strategy of attracting higher end retailers and restaurants is to distinguish themselves from the surrounding offerings in the suburban plazas, mall and big box power centres as Markham Centre becomes established. The intent is for more diversity and inclusion to 'evolve' in long-run: "Once we get the bigger users in there, and they start seeing that there are all these people it will all evolve and then you'll have everything there" (D02). Housing affordability and a mix of dwelling types are planning goals in Markham and the wider region, but affordability has proven difficult to achieve through the primarily condominium markets in the Urban Growth Centres (Filion, Leanage, & Harun, 2020). Achieving a diverse urbanity beyond the 'creative class' may require more than planning goals and time. Akin to the efforts that secured transit options in Markham Centre, partnerships, political will, and new policy tools to capture private and public funding may be required to produce rental and affordable housing options, and enable a diverse commercial economy.

7.2. Sprawl as Past, New Urbanism as Legacy, Urbanism as Future: Discourses on Cornell and Markham Centre

The Official Plan tells the story of how several villages rapidly expanded into the automobile dependent Town of Markham with "unchecked and poorly managed"

Table 1. Discourses of mixed use and attraction in policy, interviews, and advertisements.

Policy	The vision for compact, complete communities also relies on a vibrant, competitive economy that meets the financial needs of residents and the municipality (City of Markham, 2014, pp. 2–8)
Interviews	That's part of what Markham Centre is all about—it's creating a desirable location for employees of choice. We want a complete community that offers the amenities that will attract talent…so it's not just the standard suburban office park. Which is of course deadly boring. It's not a place that you're going to attract a 25-year-old techie to (P04).
	You can't force people to come. They have to want to come…you can sprinkle in things that will attract people to come because you need people there (D02).
	The younger generation are up-and-coming in their careers and want a more vibrant living area (P28).
	We don't want younger people to go downtown [Toronto] any more for entertainment…..We want to have a hub. Especially with the university coming there, so that when the students are going out: 'Hey everything is in the neighbourhood' (C15).
Advertisements	York University is opening a new, 21st century campus in the heart of vibrant and growing Downtown Markham. The addition of higher education with more than 4,000 new students to Downtown Markham's existing mix of transit, residential, office, retail and cultural amenities, will make it a complete live-work-play-shop-learn community. Because in Downtown Markham, you have all the right connections (Remington Group, n.d.).
	Living at The Hub: Surrounding Riverside is a wealth of amenities, from retail and restaurants to parks and schools, including the new York University campus which should be completed around the same time as Riverside. Viva Transit stops right outside your door, running along the Highway 7 corridor and throughout the region, offer convenient GO Transit connections to Downtown Toronto (Times Group, 2017).

growth resulting in "sprawl" and traffic gridlock (City of Markham, 2014, pp. 2–3). The Plan notes a shift towards a "more sustainable model of development" in the 1990s with the development of new urbanist Cornell and creating a plan for a Markham Centre (Figures 8 and 9). Table 2 juxtaposes the discourse about Cornell and Markham Centre in the planning policy discourse. Both areas are planned for compact urban form, mixed housing, and employment opportunities as per the regional planning directives for new development. Cornell is planned to have "convenient access to transit" by bus, whereas for Markham Centre seeks out high density "transit-supportive development" to generate users for the bus rapid transitway. Distinct keywords to describe Cornell include: new urbanism, historic village, well designed, and compatible building types. Contrasting keywords to describe Markham Centre include: distinctly urban, higher density, central location, and entertainment centre.

Advertisements for housing developments in Cornell and Markham Centre employ similarly contrasting terms, presented in Table 3. Cornell is new urbanist with walkable, quaint streets in a heritage-like village atmosphere. Markham Centre is the future, boasting urban condos, entertainment, and world-class businesses at a landmark destination. New urbanism is considered a saleable feature for Cornell, but Markham Centre is distinguished by its urbanity.

Is Markham Centre still 'new urbanism'? Cornell is nearly fully built-out whereas Markham Centre still has more than a decade of buildable parcels remaining. In the Official Plan and advertisement discourse Cornell represents the legacy of New Urbanism and Markham Centre is the distinctly urban future. Interview participants involved with implementing and (re)shaping the plan over time recognize the role that new urbanism has played in Markham Centre's history, while also gesturing towards the waning importance of it as a label that signifies the vision. New urbanism's role in launching Markham Centre is acknowledged as part of "the evolution of Markham Centre" on the public engagement website for the updated secondary plan (City of Markham, 2020, para. 5), but otherwise, the story of Markham Centre is moving on. For one long-time Markham planner:

Figure 8. Cornell. Source: Author.

Figure 9. Markham Centre. Source: Author.

> New urbanism is still sort of there. I mean new urbanism isn't rocket science. It's building real cities, as they were always built: Street-related buildings, grid pattern streets, a very strong sense of the public realm. And really whether the buildings are low-rise buildings or mid-rise buildings or taller buildings, the principles are all the same….Our focus clearly is on public transit. (P04)

Transit Oriented Development is becoming interwoven with the discourse about attracting the amenities and workers of a knowledge economy. With transit as a bigger focus than traditional design and aesthetics, contemporary planning for Markham Centre demonstrates the ascendance of Transit Oriented Development over Traditional Neighbourhood Design in the contemporary articulation of new urbanism in Markham.

Table 2. Cornell and Markham Centre policy discourse examples.

Cornell	Markham Centre
Going back to [Markham's] historic village roots (City of Markham, 2014, pp. 1–3).	A new transit-based urban core (City of Markham, 2014, pp. 1–3).
The land use objective for the Cornell district is to develop a complete and integrated community based on the principles of new urbanism with a range and mix of employment and housing, varied and high quality open space, and convenient access to public transportation, and public and private services. The uses and activities shall be distributed within a well designed community comprising compact urban development defined by streets and public open spaces as places of shared use, and compatible building types, achieved through their scale, massing and relationship to each other, to support public life and year round activity in the public realm (City of Markham, 2014, pp. 9–59).	Markham Centre is being planned and developed as Markham's downtown, based on the principles of balanced live-work opportunities, compact urban form, natural heritage protection, and transit-supportive development. With a distinctly urban character, in the form of higher density, mixed-use built form, and high-quality parks and public amenities, it will provide a central location for arts, cultural, sports and entertainment and social activities on a year-round basis (City of Markham, 2014, pp. 2–14).

Table 3. Cornell and Markham Centre housing advertisement discourse examples.

Cornell	Markham Centre
Based on the 'new urban' planning design, Cornell Rouge community has an open-concept feel with walkable neighbourhoods containing a range of housing types (Madison Homes & Forest Hill Homes, 2014).	Sophisticated urban condos in a spectacular, master-planned community. Steps from, Viva, YRT, shops, cafes and more. This is the future. Make it yours (Remington Group, 2016).
The semis and singles are situated on architecturally controlled streetscapes that enhance the village atmosphere of this New Urbanism neighbourhood. Take a drive through Upper Cornell, and you will appreciate how the rear-lane garages, tree-lined streets, quaint boulevards, authentic heritage town square, and the landscaped neighbourhood parks and nature preserve areas create a unique sense of belonging (Aspen Ridge Homes, 2012).	Downtown Markham is at the centre of the area's growth. With distinctive condominium options at an affordable price, a mix of employment and entertainment options, unsurpassed transit access, and now the addition of a world class hotel brand, when you're in Downtown Markham, there really is no reason to go anywhere else (Remington Group, 2013a).
Nestled into the greater Cornell community, the Grand Cornell Brownstones follow the pedestrian-friendly principles of New Urbanism (Lindvest, 2015).	Be among the visionaries who already call Downtown Markham home, and be a part of a landmark destination complete with retail and entertainment, as well as thriving small businesses and global corporations (Remington Group, 2013b).
Our planners call the community design 'new urbanism.' We simply call it wonderful (Aspen Ridge Homes, 2016).	Modern urban condos in one of North America's most environmentally conscious master-planned communities, surrounded by art, culture, commerce, nature, education and more (Remington Group, 2020c).

8. Conclusions: The Ongoing Pursuit of (New) Urbanism in the Suburbs

The Markham Centre case study provides an opportunity to examine how new urbanism has influenced planning policy and changed the built form within a single region and municipality over time, and how the new urbanist approach itself has adapted to shifting planning goals, market dynamics, and directions of key actors. The case study demonstrates how new urbanist principles have been mainstreamed, but repackaged in the language of compact and complete communities. Key actors describe the plan for Markham Centre as an 'evolution,' but illustrate the opposite. Contrary to Fulton's (2017) assertion that contemporary new urbanism is "no big deal," and that it "just shows up" (para. 4), the Markham Centre case study reveals decades of planning, public funding, "patient money" (P27) invested by developers, and public-private partnerships. To those involved, launching Markham Centre alongside a new rapid transitway is a big deal indeed.

Has the label new urbanism' lost its relevance? Declaring a movement 'new' does not age well. In Markham new urbanism has become strongly associated with Cornell and 1990s aesthetics, densities, and functions. In the Markham Centre case, participants strive for 'real' urbanism as 'new' urbanism is becoming passé and relegated to an origin story. The discursive shift demonstrates that practitioners are aware of the critiques of new urbanism as 'faux,' and thus key actors strive for authenticity. When asked about the successes and challenges of implementing the planning vision, key actors did not show performance measures for how well a new urbanist checklist was being implemented, but rather described the process, partnerships, and politics required to build a new downtown. The discourse about the adaptable 'organic' process, 'nimble policy framework' and need to 'evolve' highlights that for key actors (new) urbanism is a process, not a thing. Urbanizing the suburbs faces substantial challenges. 'New, 'real,' or 'faux,' urbanism are all limited for representing Markham Centre's made-in-the-suburbs hybrid urbanism. The bus rapid transitway public awareness slogan 'Markham Now; Markham Next' captures the notion that pursuing urbanism in the suburbs is an ever-moving process towards what comes next, even while functioning within, and adapting the infrastructures laid down in the past.

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Conflict of Interests

The author declares no conflict of interests.

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Article

New Urbanism and Contextual Relativity: Insights from Sweden

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Abstract
Contextual relativities in the diversifying expression of New Urbanism are increasingly important. In this article, we explore the significance of context using a Scandinavian setting as example. We examine two embodiments of the Swedish realisation of New Urban neighbourhoods. Important in our exploration are the relationalities with contemporary contexts and belief systems, since every effort to create space becomes "an elaboration of the beliefs and values of some collection of people, expressed and fostered in their promotion of a preferred reality" (Stokowski, 2002, p. 374). The findings from the study demonstrate that the Swedish New Urban neighbourhood—no matter how meaningful as a communicative form mediating between agents and structures—cannot effect social cohesion or isolation. Rather, form communicates or evokes meaning in a variety of complex ways, suggesting the importance of "look[ing] to multiply…our readings of the city" (Leach, 1997, p. 158), particularly high-level readings that echo notions of the common good. Those concerned with New Urbanism's embodiments should deliberate on relational fluidities and thereby strike a balance between conceptualising such urban design as either deterministically exceeding its power (Lawhon, 2009) or as side-lined to the whimsical relativity of particular consumers (Latham, 2003; Smith, 2002).

Keywords
compact neighbourhoods; good community; neighbourhood planning; New Urbanism; Sweden

Issue
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1. Introduction

In this article we examine how the New Urban neighbourhood is conceptualised and experienced in Sweden, so as to contribute to wider deliberations about the relevance of a historically-derived form in relation to emergent—and sometimes divergent—notions of contemporary sociality and meaningful coexistence. Two case studies—Sankt Erik and Hammarby Sjöstad—were chosen because they exemplify the formal goals of New Urbanism's neighbourhood planning efforts, yet exist within a social context quite different from those that New Urban protagonists are used to operating within: Sweden. Stockholm presented a unique opportunity for an investigation with some distance from where the popular New Urbanism discourses and processes are being most prominently experienced in Britain and North America (Marcus, Balfors, & Haas, 2013).

A particular objective of the article is to challenge dominant notions of the good community as a necessary but elusive target for achieving the common good urban life in both New Urbanism discourse and critique. Current conceptions and critiques tend to overlook the power of both practitioners and residents in relation to dominant discourses and structures. Therefore, we argue the need for a relationally nuanced investigation that recognises the mediative role of urban architecture—particularly that which is formally cohesive—between human agents and larger contexts.

The neighbourhood has been conceptualised in dominant New Urbanism discourse as an architectural body intertwined with certain notions of an idealised social body. It can be understood as a communicative form that prompts the individual inhabitant to enter into a certain kind of relationship both with those designers who conceptualised or are conceptualising it, and with all those who, simultaneously, previously, or subsequently, experience life in relation to the same form.

Furthermore, New Urban neighbourhood form can be typologically identified by four essential characteristics: (1) standardised and (2) walkable, featuring (3) a central public space and (4) cohesive architecture. The neighbourhood is of interest in this study because, as a formal typology comprised of these four characteristics espoused by New Urbanists, it can be understood as a widely-adopted building block of contemporary cities (Lawhon, 2009).

From the 1990s onward, protagonists of The Congress for New Urbanism in America and Urban Villages Forum in Britain have led a resurgence of the use of this formal type as an idealised alternative to Modernist planning efforts. The "extensive multidirectional exchange" of New Urbanism discourse across the Atlantic (Thompson-Fawcett, 2003a, p. 253) and, later, to other parts of the globe has led to widespread variations of the form being adopted in a multitude of cultural contexts—more recently through bolstered exchange networks and derivative groups—such as The Smart Growth Network, The Original Green, The International Network for Traditional Building, Architecture and Urbanism, Council for European Urbanism, and The Prince's Foundation for Building Community. The New Urban neighbourhood type has been adopted broadly as an ideal form of good urban development (Ancell & Thompson-Fawcett, 2008; Keyes, 2015).

Any reevaluation of the New Urban neighbourhood should consider the ability of urban form to communicate with "us by intensifying and densifying the world" (Knausgaard, 2015), but do so in a way that allows developments, their designers and inhabitants to stand—at least somewhat—independent of dominant New Urbanism discourse and its critique. Such independent inquiry allows for new and emerging communicative capacities of the urban neighbourhood to be unveiled and shared. Recent impulses within human geography, urban planning and landscape architecture, as well as a cultural context under-examined in relation to New Urbanist efforts emanating from Britain and North America, offer the possibility of such inquiry. The primary investigative aim is to challenge how and why urban neighbourhoods are conceptualised in both theory and practice—particularly in relation to the geographically-bound community—and thereby advance notions of the common good life in relation to urban form. By re-evaluating neighbourhood conceptions and experiences in this way, fresh questions can be posited about how human beings best live together, particularly within the rapidly expanding and increasingly plural metropolitan landscapes of this century.

Our investigation emphasises professional practitioner conceptions and residential lived experiences within the Swedish context so as to inform and influence dominant New Urbanism discourse and related efforts to achieve formal-social relationships that approximate notions of the good urban life.

The discourse of New Urbanism is multifarious and evolving, so our general understanding of its core foundations is built on the works of key protagonists and expounders, including the Congress for the New Urbanism (particularly the *Charter of the New Urbanism* [1996] and *The 25 Great Ideas of the New Urbanism* [2018]), Andres Duany, Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, Leon Krier, Robert Steuteville, Peter Katz, Stefanos Polyzoides, Jeff Speck, Hank Dittmar, Emily Talen, and others. In early and recent works by such authors, we recognise an enduring thread linking form and sociality: It is a movement that seeks "reinvestment in design, community, and place," believing that well-designed places "help create community" (Congress for the New Urbanism, n.d.). It pursues "reconfiguration of sprawling suburbs into communities"; "community stability" sustained by a "coherent and supportive physical framework"; neighbourhoods that "form identifiable areas that encourage citizens to take responsibility for their maintenance and evolution"; neighbourhoods that strengthen "the personal and civic bonds essential to an authentic community"; streets and squares that "enable neighbors to know each other and protect their communities"; places that "reinforce community identity and the culture of democracy"; all combined with specific delineations of urban design that will contribute to the achievement of such sociality (Congress for the New Urbanism, 1996).

Choosing Swedish case studies to contextualise an examination of New Urbanism in terms of form and sociality is beneficial from the perspective of iluminating heterogeneous, partial translations of the movement. Stockholm is home to some of the world's most quintessential realisations of compact neighbourhood form from the early 20th century, particularly that credited to Per Olof Hallman, a student of Camillo Sitte (Elmlund & Martelius, 2015). Sitte had a great deal of influence over his Garden City contemporaries (Collins & Collins, 1986; Porfyriou, 1992; Sonne, 2009), and their collective efforts have in turn influenced the New Urbanism movement, in terms of both its formal and social goals. Nevertheless, the compact neighbourhood form they espoused was "regarded as a building pattern rather than a social concept" in early-20th-century Sweden (Hall, 1994, p. 165). Similarly and despite Krier's frequent presence at Stockholm's stad (Stockholm Municipality) during the 1990s (Wolodarski, personal communication), "New Urbanism's neighbourhood planning…has neither been accepted nor transferred to Sweden, at least not in its entirety" (Marcus

et al., 2013, p. 75). In Sweden, people have a strong collective memory of enduring "contradictions and unintended consequences" of a welfare state (Trägårdh, 1990, p. 570) and religious severity (Demerath, 2000), and thus are wary of social dogmas. In other words, Sankt Erik and Hammarby Sjöstad exemplify formal characteristics of New Urbanism, while their situatedness in Stockholm reinforces the possibility of revealing new understandings of the social parameters around its deployment.

2. Framework: Relationalities between Formal and Social Order

Neighbourhoods built in the wake of New Urbanist efforts over the last 30 years are beginning to mature around the world. As they do, discontent with the extent of their effectiveness toward generating various notions of the common good life—and, especially, contestations about their entanglement with the good community—have fuelled debate between practitioners and theorists on what the next phase of urban development ought to entail (Talen, Menozzi, & Schaefer, 2015). In many ways, such debate within and surrounding New Urbanism is not new. From the earliest conceptions and implementation of New Urbanism, there has been both internal debate as to what New Urbanism is committed to and external debate as to its merits (Thompson-Fawcett, 2003a).

Those operating from an advocacy platform—New Urban protagonists and practitioners—postulate that the best cities have been composed of something akin to the New Urban neighbourhood type, but that modern culture and/or modern development—to varying degrees—have exacerbated a growing rift between alienated individuals and the common good (Duany, Plater-Zyberk, & Alminana, 2003; H. R. H. Prince of Wales, Juniper, & Skelly, 2010). Most of these actors consider the compact neighbourhood to be an essential framework that enables good social order to follow, but show increasing propensity for social engineering or trying to 'build' intentional communities—sometimes through 'community-led' design processes—as evidence emerges that the anticipated social order does not tend to follow (Taylor & Levine, 2011; Thompson-Fawcett & Bond, 2004).

Some research has shown that New Urbanist efforts tend not to result in the encouragement of citizens who are more inclined to go out of their way for neighbours, and that their capitalisation can, in fact, exacerbate the individualism and exclusivity they were meant to combat (Macleod & Johnstone, 2012; Thompson-Fawcett, 2003b). In other words, the "spatial rhetoric" of New Urbanism "fails to correct the material consequences" of modern development (St. Antoine, 2007, p. 142) and social evolutions of contemporary life.

Many of those operating from a cautionary platform—social scientists and theorists—critique New Urbanist discourse as nostalgic or deterministic and, therefore, questionable when it comes to proposing ways in which human beings might live meaningfully in relation to one another (Bond & Thompson-Fawcett, 2007; Jarvis & Bonnett, 2013). Consciously employing urban form to help reinforce the earlier stated goals of community identity, responsibility and protection can produce a conformity that eliminates diversity and blocks social change (Harvey, 1997). Yet such discourse underpins the processes and outcomes associated with much of contemporary neighbourhood development; and prominent examples tend to be those—such as Poundbury in Britain—through which designers have been able to showcase 'participatory' processes, yet nonetheless keep a "tight rein" over the "physical structure" (Thompson-Fawcett, 1998, p. 191). Thompson-Fawcett has challenged place-makers to "be aware of [social] implications" associated with this "tight rein" of Krier and other New Urban protagonists (Thompson-Fawcett, 1998, p. 191). Although a handful of researchers have since challenged cohesive architectural ensembles as "maintain[ing] a visual homogeneity through a strict aesthetic regime in which social differences are either contained or simply excluded" (Pow, 2009, p. 382), the architecture of New Urban neighbourhoods remains curiously under-examined, particularly in relation to professional practitioner conceptions or residential lived experiences. In other words, not enough research has examined how and why individuals conceptualise or live in relation to the 'tightly reined' formal aesthetics associated with such neighbourhoods, and how this form relates to the communication of social processes and meanings.

Despite the realisation of New Urbanism's shortfalls, and important contributions made toward unveiling authoritarian undertones of New Urbanist discourse and problematising 'participatory' planning processes (Bond & Thompson-Fawcett, 2007; Grant, 2009), debates surrounding the New Urban neighbourhood type have tended to settle into a kind of holding pattern. Social scientists unveil the shortcomings within academic circles, but largely fail to impact its popularity as a practical type used widely in placemaking efforts (Fainstein, 2010; Næss, 2015). Likewise practitioners, confident in their approach, largely fail to engage with pertinent research or heed research-based precautions (Grant, 2006).

A more-than-relational approach that recognises the agency or causal capacity of both human persons and built form in relation to each other and to larger discourses or structures (Næss, 2015) can help re-evaluate the situation. We propose a fresh evaluation of the subtle, complex and sometimes contradictory interweavings of individuals with each other and with their neighbourhoods, starting with Stockholm. Doing so with particular attention given to the New Urban neighbourhood as a material entity, with its own causal and communicative capacity in relation to the social lives of its inhabitants, can help practitioners and social scientists move beyond the

elusive 'good community' and unveil alternative notions of meaningful coexistence. In other words, complex relationalities between formal and social order may be more easily revealed when individuals and built form are recognised for their agential capacity and allowed some distance from associations more commonly espoused in dominant discourse and, thus, critique (Riemer, 1951). In this inquiry, particular attention is given to the role of cohesive architecture—as a defining characteristic of New Urban neighbourhood form—in person–person relationalities, so as to reveal its role in the communication and co-creation of social meanings with design conceptions and lived experiences.

In busy, networked mongrel metropolises (Sandercock, 2003)—where derivations of the New Urban neighbourhood are growing in popularity as a practical strategy for good urban development—the role of built form is likely to stray from idealistic or narrow conceptions of community espoused in New Urbanist discourse and, thus, critiqued by social scientists. Building on the communitarian debate between practitioner and theorist spheres is valuable if placemakers are to unveil latent roles that neighbourhood types might play in the communication and co-creation of social meaning with individually-motivated interpersonal actions of busy, networked individuals.

Farias (2010, p. 1) asks geographers and other social scientists to develop "new insights into the city" by engaging with new "theoretical tools" that can better probe the ever-perplexing relational space between people and between people and the built environment. Such tools enable a city and the neighbourhoods that comprise it to be understood as sites of intersection between "network topologies"—such as the interweavings of New Urbanism's advocates and cautionaries—and "territorial legacies"—the physical, political or other boundaries that delineate one place from another (Amin, 2007, p. 103). The result is "a subtle folding together of the distant and the proximate, the virtual and the material, presence and absence, flow and stasis, into a single ontological plane" (Amin, 2007, p. 103). The benefit of focusing on such intersections is that relationships take priority over differences and new insights into city-making can emerge above and beyond discursive or procedural debates.

Hence, we ask what is the urban neighbourhood as an architectural body, a material entity with communicative and causal capacity intertwined with—yet also distinct from—the relations, such as dominant New Urbanist discourse, of which it is a part? Who are the people with whom urban neighbourhood form becomes relationally reticulated, either through design actions or through residential opportunity? Whether architectural or human, each of these bodies is positioned within an assemblage of relations. The important distinction is that these relations are not themselves agents and therefore cannot "claim prior knowledge of what the powers of a particular object or entity can necessarily do" (Allen, 2012, p. 191). Their effects on a given body may be benign or malign (Sayer, 2000). There is an "emergent 'thingness' beyond relational effects" of neighbourhood form and the people associated with it. They have "capacities or powers which are not exhausted by the relations of which they are a part" (Allen, 2012, p. 191). Human beings navigate interpersonal and environmental relationships with unique internal compasses. Our investigation examines critical relationalities—specifically in New Urbanist discourse and Sweden as a unique cultural context—of which participants and the neighbourhoods they inhabit are a part. Yet throughout the examination, human and architectural bodies are ontologically re-vindicated as entities with agency and the capacity to resist or even transcend relational influences. In this article, each case study is considered to be an architectural body with causal capacity (Næss, 2015), not the mere sum of its associated relations with larger discourses or structures. What this means is that New Urban neighbourhoods "are made up of powers that have the potential to be actualised differently depending upon the relations of which they are a part and such arrangements may even throw up new capacities" (Allen, 2012, p. 191). We also challenge critiques that overlook the unique conceptions of individual designers in relation to larger discourses or that dismiss residents as mere consumers only interested in purchasing a 'safe' or 'nostalgic' citizenship (Jarvis & Bonnett, 2013). Not just neighbourhood form, but also those individuals who design or experience that form ought to be recognised as being "made up of powers that have the potential to be actualised differently" (Allen, 2012, p. 191). Each designer ought to be recognised as having their own internal agency and, thus, the power to choose how to engage—if at all—with widespread discourses. Similarly, if it is true that architecture and the "numerous flows of cultural events, contexts, desires and feelings" within which it is enmeshed "are erratically mutually informative, with loose and porous borders," then each neighbourhood resident might be considered more than just a "consumer…of mediated [architectural] messages" (Crouch, Jackson, & Thomas, 2005, p. 12). Each individual's agency and unique imagination plays a significant role in the acting, ignoring, rejecting, reacting or negotiating of larger discourses or structures surrounding them on a daily basis. Moreover, various depths of meaning are possible in relation to the built environment and range from the 'explanatory' to the 'revelatory' (Thoren, 2010), suggesting the capacity of architectural bodies to stir an individual—or not—and thereby play some causal or communicative role in their person–person and person–environment relationalities.

3. Approach and Methods

In this study, we took a multimethodological approach that relied most heavily on semi-structured and conversational interviews (five with designers and 54 with resi-

dents/visitors), but also interweaved observation, solicited diaries and self-directed photography (six participants), as per Table 1. The designer interviewees were key informants chosen for their role in developing the two case neighbourhoods. The residential interviewees were a convenience sample based on willing participants, covering a mix of ages, gender, ethnicity, education and occupation. The conceptual approach underpinning the multimethodology was critical realist in its ontology and more-than-relational in its epistemology. The research was undertaken in Stockholm with the stance that both the material (e.g., built form) and the immaterial (e.g., conceptions and lived experiences) are equally real and have significant capacities in relation to each other and larger structures or discourses (Næss, 2015). These real entities and the relationalities within which they are situated are knowable (albeit indirectly) and worth knowing (to a realistic extent and recognising important limitations). Reception theory provides a framework useful in the development of such more-than-relational understanding (Thoren, 2010). This multidisciplinary conceptual approach encourages less typical examinations of the way in which individual designers conceptualise and individual citizens experience neighbourhood form in relation to—yet variously removed from—the influence of dominant discourse and structures. The intention is that such examinations might unveil new meanings, especially those which are deeply moving or meaningful (Thoren, 2010) and somehow intertwined with evolving notions of sociality and everyday coexistence (Cloke, 2002).

The research study is case-based, and examines the conceptions and lived experiences of two urban developments in Stockholm, Sweden, that exemplify formal characteristics of the New Urban neighbourhood type. Alongside the United States and Britain, Sweden has played a leading role in the New Urbanist movement. Many New Urban developments are maturing across the Swedish landscape, yet it is an under-researched and potentially illuminating context. In addition, Sweden has a strong reputation of leadership in matters of social and environmental sustainability; for example, in developing the Passive House standard (with Germany), striving to create model green communities, and even aiming to be the world's first oil-free nation (Edwards, 2010). It makes sense, then, to examine New Urban developments striving toward a notion of the common good life encompassing social and environmental sustainability in Sweden, for the benefit of international urban design and architectural praxis. Thus, two developments that had both been internationally recognised as embodying New Urbanist principles (Cramer & Yankopolus, 2005; Gaffney, Huang, Maravilla, & Soubotin, 2007) were identified for investigation: Sankt Erik and Hammarby Sjöstad in Stockholm. These developments are paradigmatic in their common goal of supporting good urban life, yet divergent in their strategies for achieving this goal, as evidenced in contrasting (classical and modern) architectural approaches. The classical language employed at Sankt Erik is inspired by the ideology of Leon Krier, who has been instrumental in propagating the organic metaphor (Thompson-Fawcett, 1998) and conservative

Table 1. Research activities with participants.

Research activities with participants	number
Design participants (architects and urban planners)	
Interview/s 1–1.5 hour	5
The interview (in one case a series of two interviews) involved a semi-structured approach covering histories, design intentions, architectural language, urban form, processes, built reality, feedback, etc.	2 (SE) 2 (HS)
Residential participants (residents of/visitors to SE/HS)	
Primary interview 0.25–1 hour	49
The primary interview was based on a semi-structured approach covering reason for living in SE/HS, experience of living here, opinions on architecture/daily life/community, comparison with other places, etc. Participants were invited to participate in keeping a diary/photography.	24 (SE) 25 (HS)
Solicited diary/photography 0.5 hours/day × 10 days	6
The diary was semi-structured with simple daily prompts. Participants had a choice of keeping an analogue (paper) diary or digital (online) diary. Participants were prompted to write about their neighbourhood, buildings, spaces, lifestyle, connections, attachment, nature, spirituality, sustainability, future, etc. A disposable camera was also provided (unless residents preferred to use their own camera or phone) to record relevant imagery related to each diary prompt. At the end of the diary-keeping process, participants were invited to participate in a final interview.	3 (SE) 3 (HS)
Post-diary interview 0.5–1 hour	5
The post-diary interview involved an inquiry/discussion about the participant's diary responses.	3 (SE) 2 (HS)

notions of human and environmental flourishing (H.R.H. Prince of Wales et al., 2010). In contrast, Hammarby Sjöstad is articulated through clean lines and modern green technologies, which might be characterised as a more liberal and progressive approach. By examining the narratives of expected transformation that architectural and urban designers have embedded in the built form of Sankt Erik and Hammarby Sjöstad, how these stories (or the symbols that are meant to represent and communicate them) are interpreted by individual citizens as they go about their everyday lives, we may begin to better understand what role neighbourhood form plays in nurturing future stories of human and environmental flourishing. The two developments (Figure 1) not only exemplify the realisation of New Urban typological characteristics in built form, but also control for stylistic variation in the consideration of architectural cohesiveness. In other words, both developments are composed of formal variations derived from the typological standards popularised by Krier (2009) and his contemporaries (Congress for the New Urbanism, n.d.; Duany et al., 2003).

Both developments are distinctive, yet take divergent approaches in their cohesive display of architecture: Sankt Erik buildings are designed from a common vocabulary derived from 'Swedish Grace' or 1920s classicism (Elmlund & Martelius, 2015), whereas Hammarby Sjöstad buildings feature common elements—large windows, clean lines, generously-scaled openings—for a more modern aesthetic. This difference between the two developments has helped concentrate findings on the tension between visual and social conformity, rather than get lost in aesthetic debates (Talen & Ellis, 2004). Any number of case studies could have been selected. By selecting two examples already identified as best practice on many levels such as design and sustainability, we did not seek 'representative' analysis, rather we were able to undertake an in-depth analysis of values, intent, perspectives and lived experiences. And by selecting disparate cases, we had the opportunity to interpret contrasts in the contemporary expression and evolution of New Urbanism. Furthermore, and so as to unveil new insight, these case studies were chosen because of the wider context in which they are embedded: Stockholm, which (as previously noted) is home to some of the world's most quintessential realisations of urban neighbourhood form from the early 20th century. Sankt Erik

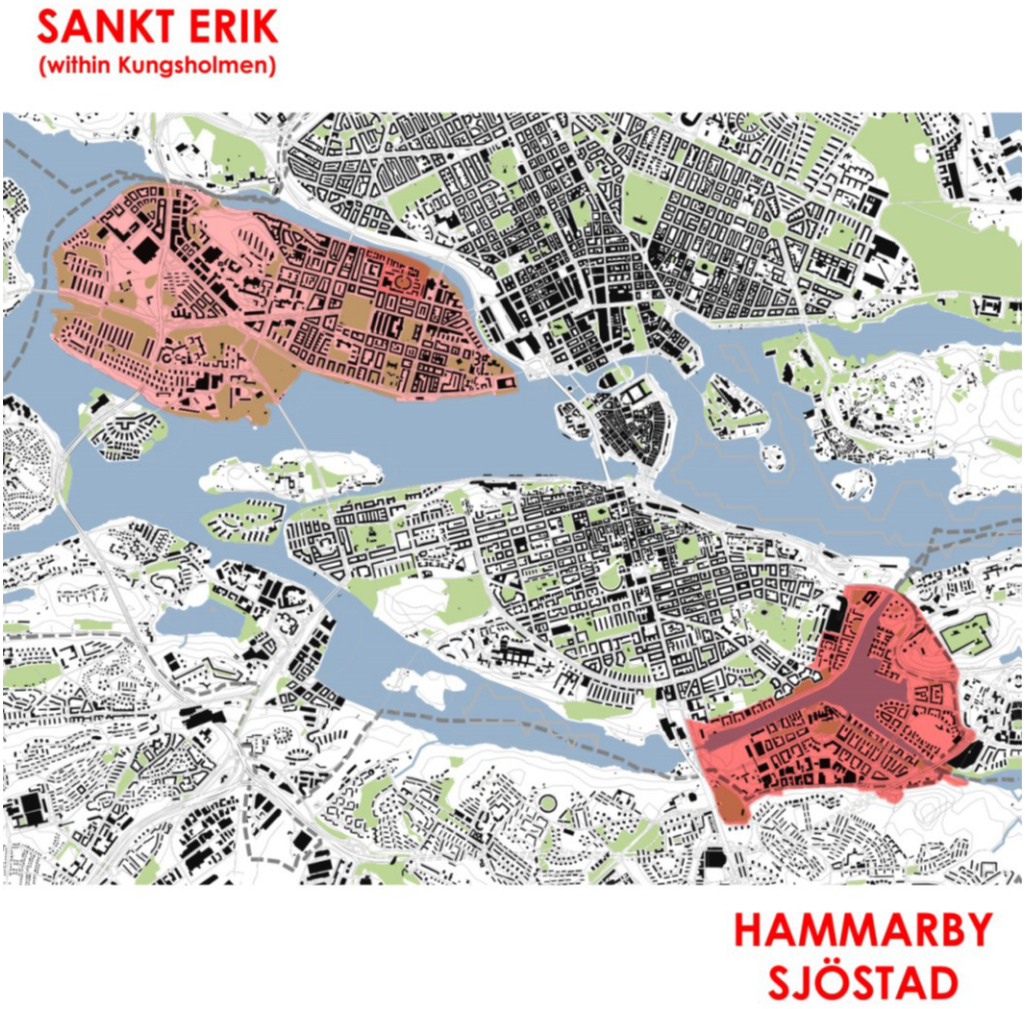

Figure 1. Case study locations in Stockholm.

and Hammarby Sjöstad exemplify formal characteristics derived from 20th century ideals and typified in the New Urban neighbourhood under consideration, while their situatedness in Stockholm reinforces the possibility of this study revealing new understandings of urban sociality. Such understandings are derived from a development context that also enthusiastically encapsulates the Swedish concepts of *mysig* (being cosy and content at home) and *lagom* (a place with just the right balance) in the design. The investigative aim is not to unveil or validate any objectively 'right' way to build neighbourhoods or achieve 'good,' sustainable communities, nor is it to emphasise the irreconcilability of individual conceptions and experiences of New Urban neighbourhood form. It is to examine how the formal type is conceptualised and experienced in Sweden, so as to contribute to wider deliberations about the relevance of a historically-derived form in relation to emergent—and sometimes divergent—notions of contemporary sociality or meaningful coexistence.

The analysis of designer and residential interviews, diaries and photographs was based on a grounded theory approach to coding anchoring points and categorising key concepts and themes as they emerged from the data. Minichiello, Aroni, Timewell, and Alexander's (1990) procedures were particularly well-suited to dealing with such breadth of manifest and latent content. To begin we reflexively evaluated the data to the degree that was possible in the field by observing and keeping notes. Such evaluation allowed for the generation of "insightful propositions" that may not have been "readily apparent" in specific interactions (Minichiello et al., 1990, p. 277), but that clarified linkages between responses and significantly underpinned the thematic structure of the analysis. In other words, through field notes recording observations and initial linkages between participant accounts, we began to unveil themes encircling architecture's role in urban environments as a communicative mediator of that which is connected and separate. The development of themes began with the first interview and was refined throughout the process until after the last interview. In this way, the findings presented below have generated the key concepts that explain the way that queried designers and residents have resolved the meaning attached to the two case study neighbourhoods.

4. Findings: Sankt Erik and Hammarby Sjöstad

4.1. As Conceived

Echoing prevalent critiques within social science, our interviews with designers in Stockholm confirm cautionary tales of New Urbanism's failure to resolve the economic and social hegemony plaguing urban development. Aleksander Wolodarski and Jan Inghe-Hagström—the urban planners of Sankt Erik and Hammarby Sjöstad, respectively—were influenced by the work of New Urbanists (Hall, 2009). However, for example, there is something about the formal composition—the rawness of form detached from any sort of agenda or purpose other than that to inspire in the way that music inspires—that captures Wolodarski's imagination. Wolodarski indicated during our interview that early in his career he read a lot of publications by Leon Krier and his predecessors, which led him to believe that he "must plan in different ways" to what he saw being built around him at the time. Yet, despite his excitement that Sankt Erik has subsequently been formally recognised by the Congress for New Urbanism (Cramer & Yankopolus, 2005) and its main protagonist, Andres Duany, as well as by the Prince's Foundation for Building Community and its main protagonist, HRH The Prince of Wales (The Prince's Foundation, 2012), Wolodarski is hesitant to attach the formal design of Sankt Erik definitively to such a 'movement.' For example, Wolodarski has made a formal gesture to distinguish 'public' from 'private' in his design of the central urban space within Sankt Erik, very much in the manner of New Urbanists, who value landscapes that are typologically legible, yet without the expressed intention of 'promoting' community. He seeks to maintain a social fluidity between human bodies and built form, rather than assume a particular social outcome.

In the case of Hammarby Sjöstad, notwithstanding Krier's influence in particular, Inghe-Hagström deviates from certain norms within New Urbanist rhetoric that emphasise notions of 'street life' (Talen, 1999) or 'vitality' (Tunström, 2007) as indicators of achieving a common good life. In response to local critiques of Hammarby Sjöstad as not being adequately 'vital' or 'city-like,' Inghe-Hagström, counters by indicating that life can unfold in a variety of nuanced ways outside of public display. He values the tactility of spaces that people occupy, particularly those which are "green and quiet, peaceful and beautiful" (Hultin, Pontvik, & Söderlind, 1992, p. 26). Vibrant social life may occur, but likewise there may be other experiential outcomes, such as tranquil reprieve from inner-city pressure. So, although influenced by, and in dialogue with, Krier, Inghe-Hagström's recorded accounts suggest his hesitance to promote an idealised view of community life through built form. Again, like Wolodarski, his design cues social fluidity rather than prescribed social effect.

Designer descriptions of the neighbourhoods they shaped as environments in which individuals might seek reprieve from the chaos and complexity of modern metropolitan life differ from oft-stated goals of principal New Urban protagonists. While inspired by New Urbanist design in a formal capacity, the designers in Stockholm do not share the enthusiasm for engendering community in the same way. Wolodarski and Inghe-Hagström are hesitant to attach any particular social order to the architecturally cohesive formal order they espouse. A certain level of organisation between people is understood as necessary, but only so far as practicality requires. In both their interactions with with New Urban protagonists and their discourse, and in their expectations

about the social life of Sankt Erik and Hammarby Sjöstad, the designers prefer the interpersonal in moderation. This kind of moderate approach to compact neighbourhood design in Sweden is unique in that it contrasts with approaches more common in Britain or North America (Grant, 2007). The preference for a level of formal and social interaction that is not uninhibited, yet equally not unsociable, may help illuminate the possibility of more-than-relational approaches to understanding urban development. Similar to the way "the 'garden city' came to be regarded as a building pattern rather than a social concept" in early-20th-century Sweden (Hall, 1994, pp. 164–165), so too are building—rather than social—patterns the concern of Stockholm designers today. Figures 2 and 3 reflect this formal pattern, showing a stylistic variation between the developments, but the architectural cohesiveness within each.

The New Urban neighbourhood is "a phenomenon anchored in the mind" whose spatial delineations and relationships "are subject to different interpretations" (Riemer, 1951, p. 35). Or, as Westin (2014, p. 52) phrases it, planners' "statements reflect [their] perspective" in relation to the design conception. Lefebvre (1991) and those following in his footsteps have posited, "every society creates its own space" (Madanipour, 2003, p. 81). Such spaces may be understood as having symbolic significances linked with human perception (Gesler, 2005). There is a certain way in which the people of each

Figure 2. Sankt Erik. Source: Authors.

Figure 3. Hammarby Sjöstad. Source: Authors.

society think of and organise themselves—formally and socially—that is distinct from other societies. This distinction is sometimes subtle and, in such cases, easily overlooked, particularly when overarching commonalities are given more weight than individual agency. The formal and social motivations behind Sankt Erik and Hammarby Sjöstad have, in the past, been overlooked in their subtlety. Although plainly influenced by Leon Krier and the New Urbanist movement, New Urbanism has not been translated in a prescriptive manner into the Swedish context (Marcus et al., 2013). The unique motivations and agency of individual designers navigate and influence the discourses with which they are associated.

4.2. As Experienced

In this section, we present findings from the analysis of interview, diary and photographic data gathered from individuals who experience Sankt Erik and Hammarby Sjöstad. We pay particular attention to their human agency in relation to both local and wider-Stockholm contexts.

Our resident and visitor informants in the two developments prioritise a kind of fluidity between social isolation and connectedness. Their simultaneous comfort with and resistance to collectivism emerges as a strong theme in verbal, written and photographic accounts of how they act in relation to the human and architectural bodies that surround them. Access to a quiet reprieve in proximity and contrast to the 'big city atmosphere'—with its cultural activities, nightlife, traffic—is more than just a motivating factor for choosing to live in Sankt Erik or Hammarby Sjöstad. It can have a significant impact on their daily rhythms and relational experiences (Pierce, Martin, & Murphy, 2011). In both developments, the lived experiences of formal connectedness and formal separateness overlap. The New Urban neighbourhood form plays a mediative role in dividing and connecting persons in the Stockholm context. This role, however, does not neatly align with the widespread expectations of New Urban practitioners. Those connected tend not to be connected within each particular neighbourhood, as New Urbanists might hope or advocate for; social bonds are highly networked and dependent on more than proximity alone (Meegan & Mitchell, 2001). Feelings of containment within that which is compactly arranged and visually cohesive illuminate the need for such urban spaces not necessarily for collective gatherings, but for individual moments of restoration—sometimes bordering on the spiritual—within larger contexts flooded with social expectation. As such, the social separateness that the New Urban neighbourhood type mediates in the two developments is temporary and fluid. This reprieve that such formal containment offers plays an important role in enabling individuals to cope or maintain a balance with their ongoing participation in larger or more dispersed social networks, structures and landscapes. The reprieve offered by formal containment is neither a full retreat from nor dismissal of larger Stockholm or social responsibilities; rather it speaks to a sensibility that many Swedes have toward participation in the whole, and contributes to the notion of 'porosity' in emerging ideas of 'good urbanism' (Ellin, 2013).

Residents' accounts of their lived experiences in relation to the social order of each development display an almost equal—and overlapping—emphasis on that which is connected or collective and that which is separate or individual. Accounts from Sankt Erik and Hammarby Sjöstad residents are strikingly similar—expressing concern for individual autonomy in proximity to others, see Figure 4. Our informants tend to keep to themselves and value being socially separate. Yet they simultaneously value the (buffered) presence of other human beings and the sensation that they are part of some larger 'whole.' This buffered way of being together is considered by some residents to be more authentic in that it encourages 'free relations' rather than sociality boxed in by pressures to conform (Booth, 2014). The notion of 'community'—particularly that which is geographically bounded—is off the radar for many of our informants. The ability to accommodate both that which we present to the world and that which we choose to keep quiet is a particular strength of built form that resonates with the Swedish psyche. Moreover, New Urban neighbourhood form is thriving as a typological paradigm for good development in Sweden (Tunström, 2007), despite a lack of interest in neighbourhood-engendered community.

This particular formal type has a long history of cross-cultural migration and adaptation that has most recently been articulated by New Urban protagonists. Yet despite global popularity for the cohesive formal order of such compact neighbourhoods (Grant, 2006; Thompson-Fawcett, 2003a), correlating social orders have yet to follow convincingly (Macleod & Johnstone, 2012). The 'successful' contemporary experiences of this type can be re-conceptualised. Although architectural bodies—such as the New Urban neighbourhood—cannot effect social cohesion or isolation, they do have some agential—causal or communicative—capacity (Næss, 2015) and can serve as mediators between the individual and metropolitan complexities of lived experience.

5. Discussion: Recognisable but Differentiated Urbanism

Our empirical findings challenge dominant New Urbanist conceptions about the anticipated correlation of formal and social order. The designers of the two case study developments do not attach community ideals to neighbourhood form in the same way as their British and North American counterparts. Rather, built form is expected to play a complex role in safeguarding the autonomy and "pure relationships" (Giddens, 1991, p. 90) of individuals within a collective. Accounts of

Figure 4. Resident's photo of their private space that views the public realm. Source: Authors.

lived experience in relation to Sankt Erik and Hammarby Sjöstad display a similar fluidity in the navigation of human and architectural bodies.

So what role does New Urban neighbourhood form play in regard to social order when our urban contexts are increasingly plural, variously meaningful, and citizens are confronted "with diversity on a daily basis," particularly "in large metropolitan areas" (Van Leeuwen, 2013, p. 2)? Built form—particularly that which is cohesive—has a tendency to fade into the background and become a neutral container of, or autonomous body in relation to, lived experiences. While no doubt disappointing to many architects, this notion may reveal something hopeful about human existence. Theorists have long acknowledged that a focus on the material—a direct longing for the aesthetic in-and-of itself—can exacerbate human dissatisfaction; whereas a focus on the experiential—with, for example, aesthetics serving as a backdrop—can contribute to high levels of human satisfaction or contentedness, which in turn contribute to various realisations of the 'good life' (Van Boven, 2005). Recognising the fragility of political culture that has developed in Sweden from the 1980s (Ruth, 1984) and correlating wariness of social conformity, Swedish designers have erred on the side of caution when it comes to imbuing their developments with preconceived social meaning. Thus despite formal ordering ambitions that parallel those in Britain and North America, Swedish designers have maintained a discursive distance from dominant New Urbanist conceptions of a resulting social order or good community.

Sankt Erik and Hammarby Sjöstad are well-loved by residents and visitors not for evoking a sense of community that harks back to bygone eras of solidarity; neither are they coveted materially as possessions that flaunt an individual's consumer status. Participant accounts reveal social meanings in-between more polarised notions of connectedness and separateness that New Urbanist discourse has been critiqued for in relation to other contexts (Thompson-Fawcett & Bond, 2003; Wissink, van Kempen, Fang, & Li, 2013). Residents experience New Urban neighbourhood form as a meaningful way of navigating and transitioning between public and private spheres; they value a relational balance communicated or mediated through cohesive—yet porous—architectural assemblages. One way to understand these relationalities is as contextually specific to Sweden, whose political structure is materially echoed at an architectural level.

The findings of our investigation, then, might be understood as prompts for wider deliberation about the complex processes of becoming human (Deleuze & Guattari, 1988) in relation to built form and contemporary notions of sociality. Despite global popularity for the cohesive formal order of New Urban neighbourhoods (Grant, 2006; Thompson-Fawcett, 2003a), correlating cohesive social orders have yet to follow in contemporary contexts (Macleod & Johnstone, 2012). Participant accounts of why and how people have conceptualised and/or experienced this formal type in Stockholm challenge both practitioners and theorists to re-conceptualise how the formal and social might be better understood in relation to one another in other urban contexts. What our Stockholm study has revealed is that neighbourhood form can participate in the com-

munication and co-construction of social meanings; it is not meaningless or arbitrary. Importantly, however, these meanings are co-constructed through professional conceptions and individual experiences, tend to be fluid and textural rather than fixed or textual (Leach, 1997), and may be limited to that which can buffer or mediate relationalities. We suggest it is important that practitioners and theorists alike challenge neighbourhood conceptions such that the agency of built form is acknowledged, but not over-stated.

6. Conclusions

Architects, designers and planners ought to remain open to how and what meanings their designs communicate and co-construct—figuratively, emotionally, spiritually or otherwise—with those who live in relation to them. Such openness makes sense practically, too, since there is a limit to "how far…ideas and theories [can] assert themselves," particularly given the complex processes associated with contemporary urban building (Hall, 1994, p. 165). Culturally varied experiences of built form that contribute to the co-construction of meanings, comparable to the Swedish-specific preferences articulated by our research participants, will occur in other urban contexts. Since form co-constructs meaning in relation to a variety of conceptions and experiences, it is important that placemakers "look to multiply…our readings of the city" (Leach, 1997, p. 158), particularly in their depth so as to unveil deep experiences involved in the co-creation of social meanings.

Finally, our research in Stockholm is an illustration of the heterogeneity associated with the New Urbanism movement. That heterogeneity, in part born of the specifics of locations and histories, challenges any notions that New Urbanism is a singular, univocal paradigm. There is a plurality of values and voices diversifying the language and implementation of New Urbanism in the contemporary city. The two Stockholm case studies demonstrate a partial and contextualised application of the formal principles of New Urbanism for neighbourhood development. And, despite the distinctive application and preference on the part of the designers to avoid being labelled as part of any movement, the resulting neighbourhoods embody an architectural lineage and built form that connects them directly with New Urbanism. The way in which our Stockholm case studies deliver a recognisable, albeit differentiated New Urban package suggests that the New Urbanism label retains relevance, especially in terms of disclosing the often veiled meanings behind the built environment as conceived, experienced and perceived. They are also an expression of the need to keep pace with the customised ways in which New Urbanism is having influence. The movement has evolved and diffused over time, and it has become diversified in the place-specific enactments of its tenets and mission.

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Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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Article

New Urbanism as Urban Political Development: Racial Geographies of 'Intercurrence' across Greater Seattle

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Abstract
While New Urbanism is now subject to a range of theorizations from different perspectives and disciplinary approaches, it is rarely framed as part of a society's overall political development. This article explores New Urbanism through recently 'cosmopolitanized' and 'urbanized' theories of American Political Development (APD). For many years, APD scholars like Skowronek and Orren have emphasized the conceptual importance of 'intercurrence,' which refers to the simultaneous operation of multiple political orders in specific places and thus to the tensions and abrasions between these orders as explanations for change. Urban scholars have engaged with these ideas for some time, particularly in studies of urban politics and policy regimes, but APD's influence on urban planning theory and practice remains underdeveloped. This article takes up this lacuna, applying select APD ideas, notably intercurrence, to understand how multi-scalar governments develop space though New Urbanist theories of place-making, with special attention paid to race. Examples from metropolitan Seattle are used to illustrate (if not fully elaborate) the article's overall arguments and themes.

Keywords
APD; intercurrence; New Urbanism; planning theory; race; Seattle; sustainability; urban political development

Issue
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1. Introduction

From the vantage point of the early 2020s, New Urbanism represents a shift in local planning practice and planning theory after its introduction into North American communities in the late 20th century (Talen, 2000). As the other articles in this thematic issue also make clear, the adoption of New Urbanism in societies outside of North America only amplifies this opening claim (see for example, MacLeod, 2013; Murray, 2013). By the turn of the millennium, Susan Fainstein (2000) had identified this movement as one of three leading frameworks for contemporary spatial planning practice, along with communicative rationality and what she called a more radical "just city" model. Arguably, New Urbanism has been the most influential of these three major planning theories thus far—rightly or wrongly, for good or for bad (Dierwechter & Coffey, 2017; Moore, 2010).

As a set of normative assertions, New Urbanism is less explicitly concerned with planning procedures—rational-comprehensive, advocacy, transactive, equity, radical, communicative, etc. Originating in the design arts rather than social sciences, law, neighborhood activism, large-scale data modeling, or community development, New Urbanism instead returns the 'city' to city planning. It celebrates urban form discourses largely eclipsed in planning studies after the strong social science turn in the 1960s. This assertive revival of form ideals captured and to a large extent captivated a North American audience increasingly repelled by form*less* urban sprawl and the ancillary dysfunction of automotive modernism as much as any urban discourse had managed to do for many decades (Dierwechter, 2017; Grant, 2006). Offering physical renderings of the future more than recommendations for improved process, New Urbanism soon traveled far and wide, includ-

ing high profile developments within major cities such as Garrison Woods in Calgary, Alberta, Canada (Figure 1).

Popular success attracted scholarly attention from all sides. The Marxist geographer David Harvey (1997) criticized New Urbanism as privileging spatial forms over social processes. The libertarian writer Randal O'Toole (2007) imagined New Urbanism as trying to engineer society through collectivist planning rather than free markets. Still others simply saw New Urbanism as overly nostalgic, insufficiently innovative, or especially prone to superficial imitation (for a useful review see Rees, 2017). Scholarly defenders nonetheless pushed back (Talen & Ellis, 2002) and New Urbanism trundled along, project-by-project, in everyday planning administration and practice. Decades later, New Urbanism is not 'new.' It is now a normal part of North America's landscapes of living, working, and moving—jostling with inherited configurations of Victorian era and modernist urbanisms no less than nascent developments in city-building like 'smart cities' that resist these categories (Herrschel & Dierwechter, 2018).

A vast literature on New Urbanism's impacts has documented its perceived successes and failures in pragmatic implementation in different regions and communities—much like earlier work had done for, *inter alia*, the City Beautiful Movement, garden suburbs, regionalism, comprehensive planning, modernism, advocacy, and equity planning (Crane, 1996; De Villiers, 1997; Deitrick & Ellis, 2004; Dierwechter, 2014; Dierwechter, 2017; Ellis, 2002; Garde, 2004; Grant, 2006, 2007; Harvey, 1997; Larsen, 2005; MacLeod, 2013; Mitchell, 2002; Murray, 2013; St. Antoine, 2007; Steuteville, 2008; Talen, 2000, 2005; Trudeau, 2013a, 2013b; Trudeau & Molloy, 2011).

New Urbanism, particularly when coupled with the closely associated concept of Smart Growth (Knaap & Talen, 2005), is now subject to a range of theorizations from different perspectives and disciplinary approaches. However, it is rarely interpreted as part of a society's political development and institutional maturation (though see Dierwechter, 2017). This raises a number of key questions of special interest here: How and why do governing institutions engage, promote, and/or resist New Urbanist rationalities and policy agendas and, therefore, what are the socio-spatial consequences of these diverse engagements? Taken together, in other words, do diverse governing institutions committed to New Urbanism produce spaces of what I shall call below 'reinforcement' or 'transformation'?

To address these questions, I deploy 'cosmopolitanized' and 'urbanized' theories of American Political Development (APD), a neo-Weberian branch of historical institutionalism associated with scholars of politics like Steve Skowronek and Karen Orren (2004). APD researchers have emphasized the overarching concept of 'intercurrence,' which refers in broad terms to how the simultaneous operation of multiple political orders in specific places (or sites) generates tensions and abrasions that occasion change. Skowronek and Orren (2004) see these changes as durable shifts in governing authority. Urban scholars have engaged with these ideas for some time, particularly in studies of urban politics and policy regimes, and have thus developed a more cosmopolitan urban political development (UPD) variant for cities in the US, Canada, Australia, and the UK (see e.g., Hodos, 2009, for a key British application). APD/UPD's influence on urban planning theory and prac-

Figure 1. New Urbanism as neo-traditional vertical mixed use: Garrison Woods in Calgary, Alberta, Canada, in April 2019. Source: Author.

tice remains embryonic, although Dilworth and Weaver (2020) provide a recent review of how ideas in general shape UPD in comparative perspective, including its effects on urban planning inside and beyond the US.

This article takes up the APD challenge for planning studies. I apply select theoretical concepts—notably intercurrence—to understand how multi-scalar and multi-departmental governments develop metropolitan space though New Urbanist practices of place-making. After an initial examination of New Urbanism as A/UPD in the next section, I present examples from Greater Seattle to illustrate the article's arguments and themes, focusing especially on how race and institutions shape these changes. Methodologically, the article reflects several site visits in recent years by the author; an analysis of census data on social and economic dynamics; and a review of relevant planning documents and reports both by municipalities and consultants. Drawing on these data, mini-case studies aim to illustrate the diverse territorial outcomes associated with New Urbanism in practice. A concluding section recapitulates the article's main themes and considers ongoing research question for further exploration by planning scholars.

2. New Urbanism as Urban Political Development

A now well-known normative theory of urban design and 'neo-traditional' place-making, various researchers have also considered New Urbanism as a "counter-project to post-industrialization" (Durham-Jones, 2000); "new modernist movement" (Vanderbeek & Irazábal, 2007); solution to "distressed inner-city neighborhoods" (Larsen, 2005); "factor in the mobility of the elderly" (Hoyland, 2003); "gated community" (Grant, 2007); "quandary of post-public space" (Murray, 2013); and "sustainable development" (Trudeau, 2013a).

Solution, factor, place, community, space, culture, movement. And perhaps not least, an emerging urban form for the pragmatic implementation of sustainable development—albeit contingently and with disparate implications from place to place, for different groups of people, at different times. 'Neo-traditional' forms refer to pre-automotive place-making principles that include *inter alia*: mixed land uses; a clear 'center' with both private and iconic public amenities (schools, libraries, court houses); diverse mobility options; compact, walkable, tree-lined streets; and houses with minimal setbacks (Hooper, Foster, Knuiman, & Giles-Corti, 2018). When these principles support regional transit investments, such as light rail lines, they also merge with concepts like Transit-Oriented Development (TOD). "New Urbanism *is* associated with sustainable behaviors, such as walking and social interaction[,]" Trudeau (2013a, p. 443, emphasis added) carefully concludes, "[h]owever, the contexts in which these associations operate are clearly more limited than what proponents of the movement expect." One major *context* is class composition; another is race, which is of particular interest in what follows (Dierwechter, 2014). The conscious design of places through planning processes and techniques therefore matters for marginally improving many reasonable urban metrics for social and environmental sustainability, but only as one of several urban conditions that reflect more complex, *deeper* spatialities and temporalities of urban development and societal change.

These different perspectives suggest that theories *for* New Urbanism are, therefore, not that same thing as *theorizing* the spaces that New Urbanism 'makes' or 'unmakes.' Put more productively, New Urbanism—like Smart Growth—does not *aim* to explain itself. Smart Growth focuses mostly on laws and policies that attack low-density residential subdivisions and concomitantly encourage more compact, contiguous, and coordinated development patterns; more detailed and architecturally prescriptive, New Urbanism instead focuses on the design intricacies of "pedestrian-oriented…urban life" (Kushner, 2003, p. 45). Both give practitioners a framework for normative action and long-term guidance, which I take to be one of the important purposes of planning theory. Theories *for* planning action, however, are not the same as theories *of* planning *in* action. Planning confronts a world of prior construction, even in greenfield sites, which is what I am mainly interested in here. In the US, and elsewhere too of course, race is always one of the most important 'prior' factors to consider.

A generation ago, Oren Yiftachel (1989, p. 23) noted that "technical-neutral orientations" *for* planning theory—whether focused on 'urban form' (like New Urbanism and *La Ville Radieuse*) or indeed "procedural debates" (like comprehensive rationality and bounded incrementalism)—would increasingly compete for scholarly attention with "openly politicised approaches." For Yiftachel (1989), and for me in this article, such competition need not generate sectarian camps poised for zero-sum intellectual warfare, despite obvious and important differences. It might instead help to facilitate wider-reaching interrogations of different approaches to understanding what planning is actually about—and thus what planning does *in* and *to* cities and metropolitan regions. How might we understand the geographical impacts *of* theories such as New Urbanism *for* planning in key city-regions like Greater Seattle?

Examples of more politicised approaches, which Yiftachel (1989) also calls "analytical," include Marxian and Foucauldian treatments of city planning as a component of industrial and post-industrial urbanization strategies in differently ordered political economies. Richard Foglesong (1986), for instance, explained the relative absence of social housing in US planning visions in terms of the comparatively weak political influence of America's labor movement on the multi-scaled state; this reflected the even deeper impact of racial tensions and social heterogeneity in the US than in, say, Sweden, Holland, or even neighboring Canada (and see Marks & Lipset [2000]). Bent Flyvbjerg (1998), in turn, used Foucauldian social theory to remap city plan-

ning's self-stated search for comprehensive rationality in social-democratic, civic-minded Aalborg, Denmark as, in his view, the rationalization of power, memorably arguing that power concerns itself with defining reality rather than with discovering what reality 'really' is. Applied to New Urbanism, neotraditional developments are, following Foglesong (1986) and other scholars (Harvey, 1997) , a spatial form to facilitate the circulation of capital, and/or, with Flyvbjerg (1998), how post-metropolitan communities shape urban space in order to rationalize relationships of uneven power, whether class-dominated or organized around other social axes like race, gender, and sexuality that are typically prominant themes in much post-structuralist work.

From the 1970s on, Marxian/structural and then Foucauldian/post-structural frameworks largely sidelined a third type of 'analytical' planning theory associated with 'Weberian' approaches that had interrogated the state's relatively autonomous role in urban development. Gurr and King (1987), for instance, noted that community power games or regime-building coalitions do not really dent the local state's interest in autonomy from national governments. The seminal work in planning studies remains Ray Pahl's (1970) collection of essays on post-war British planning, *Whose City?* Pahl (1970) explored how urban "gatekeepers," notably planners, shaped the allocation of housing and other amenities. Though dated by the tsunamis of globalization, privatization, and financialization in recent decades, Pahl's (1970) empirical concerns remain relevant: residential sprawl, designed containment, and *in situ* class tensions between locals and newcomers on the metropolitan fringe. Moreover, as Forrest and Wissink (2017, p. 163) have suggested, his neo-Weberian focus on the "urban managerial agenda" of gatekeepers is actually more important than ever "if we want to expose issues of power and inequality."

Pahl's original work merged with radical critiques in the 1970s. Neo-Weberian scholarship from the 1980s continually sought to "bring the state back in" (Evans, Rueschemeyer, & Skocpol, 1985). One strain of historical institutionalism became known as the APD approach (Valelly et al., 2016). Central to APD are three key concepts of relevance here, at least when suitably cosmopolitanized and urbanized: 'political time,' 'multiple orders,' and 'intercurrence.' In APD, time does not simply 'pass' or act uniformily to frame events. Time matters for how political institutions develop through the sequencing of ideas and reforms. Rather than a singular time—an abstract chronological 'history'—APD treats political time as temporally uneven. Some political institutions are 'ancient' and remarkably durable (such as British common law); others are much more recent in development (like digital sharing protocols). Yet they typically interact at sites in ways that shape society as much as as society shapes them (the 'Weberian' effect). Through path-dependencies, particular 'orders,' or constellations of rules, practices, institutions, and ideas that hold together over time, project themselves forward and insinuate themselves into new controversies.

Change occurs, APD theorists claim, "to alleviate tensions that are routinely introduced by the simultaneous operation, or intercurrence, of different political orders" (Skowronek & Orren, 2004, p. 17). 'Intercurrence'—defined more simply here as multiple orders-in-action—leads to durable shifts in governing regimes, albeit not always smoothly nor completely, and often in ways that suggest a syncretic admixture of ideas and practices. Accordingly, intercurrence is easily the most important concept in APD studies because it describes the circumstances under which political development happens. Here is an example of 'politics in time' and 'multiple orders' within the US, again also highlighting the importance of race as an central challege:

> In the 1830s the coexistence of southern slavery with an expanding democracy for white male citizens [is] evidence that any realistic depiction of politics in time will include multiple orders, as well as *the conflict and irresolution built into their reciprocal interactions*. At every point in antebellum America, politics was framed by the competing entailments and mutually threatening movements of these two orders along their different paths. (Skowronek & Orren, 2004, p. 17, emphasis added)

In recent years, a few scholars of urban politics have grown interested in urbanizing and/or de-Americanizing APD (Dilworth, 2009; Rast, 2015; Stone, 2015). This work builds on arguments by Ira Katznelson, Amy Bridges, and Steven Erie. Jack Lucas (2017), for example, has explored the application of concepts like intercurrence to understand the development and maturation of political authority in different urban policy domains of Canadian cities. He discusses 'multiple orders' over political space and political time and links these to questions of change in urban Canada. Also using the core concept of intercurrence, Richardson Dilworth (2016) has argued that the "uneasy fit" of cities within the American political system makes them significant in understanding APD more generally. Dilworth's coedited book with Timothy Weaver attempts to consolidate the urbanization *and* cosmopolitanizaton of APD's approaches, focusing on how "ideas" shape "urban political development" choices not only within the US but in many other countries. Chapters on India, Chile, and South Africa suggest APD's cosmopolitan promise (Dilworth & Weaver, 2020).

So far, though, little APD work has spilled into wider urban planning scholarship (though see Dierwechter, 2013). Inspired by authors like Smith (1993), Skowronek and Orren (2004), and especially King and Smith (2005) as well as Lucas (2017), Rast (2015), and Dilworth (2009), my own extended treatment of Smart Growth across Greater Seattle attempted to explain new geographies of contemporary urban planning for urban sustainability as the 'competing entailments' or 'intercurence' of *three*

political orders built at different times in the region's political and policy history: namely, a market-liberal order; a state-progressive order; and a radical-society order (Dierwechter, 2017). Smart Growth, I argued, was not simply about the spatialized march of neoliberalism, nor, as others suggest, a state-progressive project to curb costly sprawl, nor even the institutionalization of a single racial order, but a set of uneven geographies of intercurrence, wherein all three interacted at specific sites to shape the actually-existing, highly variegated, metropolitan space-economy of Greater Seattle.

New Urbanist *geographies* similarly require us to embed its effects within wider theories of urban change and societal transition. While the Marxian and Foucault approaches to planning scholarship just discussed are available, in what follows here I develop an urbanized APD (or UPD) approach that highlights how geographies of intercurrence—'multiple orders-in-action' that shape new planning spaces—might advance our understanding of Trudeau's concerns with the limitations imposed on New Urbanism by the 'contexts' in which they operate. Put more generally, I argue through a case study of spatial planning systems across Greater Seattle for seeing New Urbanism as a specific form of UPD. The resulting landscapes reflect inherited and new geographies of reinforcement and transformation, respectively, rather than a monocausal spatialization of capital accumulation, for instance, or the territorialization of a specific kind of subject formation and identity. In particular, I focus on contextualizing the profound influence of race in the American context, using Desmond King and Rogers Smith's (2005) specific concept of "racial institutional orders" to do so.

3. Greater Seattle's New Urban(ist) Spaces of Intercurrence

The Seattle city-region—Greater Seattle—is a major metropolitan area in the American Pacific Northwest made up of four million people and 80 major political entities, including King, Pierce, Snohomish and Kitsap counties, as well as cities, towns, ports, state and local transportation agencies, and tribal governments (Figure 2). Only about 750,000 people live in the city of Seattle; most of the region's population resides in a diverse array of suburbs, some more compact and job-rich than others (Dierwechter, 2020). Much like neighboring Portland, both the city of Seattle and the wider region are disproportionately white, especially when compared with cities like Los Angeles, Chicago, New York, or Miami. About 68% of Seattle is "white alone," according to the US Census Bureau (2018). The suburban municipality of Snoqualmie, in King County near Seattle and the New Urbanist home of Snoqualmie Ridge discussed below, is well over 80% white alone. In contrast, the suburban city of Dupont, located in Pierce County near the port city of Tacoma, and the home of a second major New Urbanist development, Northwest Landing, also discussed below, is actually home to a larger African American population. Long shaped by the once-dominate Boeing hub-and-spoke industrial cluster (Gray, Golob, & Markusen, 1996), globalized economic restructuring around the Microsoft-led IT boom of the 1980s and then the Amazon Corporation in the 1990s vastly accelerated low-density growth pressures across the entire city-region. This forced ongoing conversations about spatial planning and development control to the top of the state's political agenda.

3.1. Toward New Ways of Managing New Urban Growth

In 1989, the Washington City Planners Director Association (WCPDA)—frustrated and fatigued—issued a searing condemnation of the state's chaotic spatial planning institutions and growth management system. This condemnation perfectly illustrates how intercurrence works in practice:

> Washington state's present system for planning is ad hoc, disjointed, and lacks a central vision. The laws governing land use and development are a patchwork enacted over the past century—a [state] constitution written to address the problems of the 1880s, planning enabling statutes adopted in the 1930s and environmental always passed in the 1970s….At the state level, agencies send uncoordinated, and even conflicting messages to local governments, the private sector, and the public. Each pursues a narrow and exclusive mandate on an independent schedule. (WCPDA, 1989, p. 4)

Ideally, planning provides communities at various scales with a range of complementary tools to (re)shape the material geographies of daily life. Planning promises consciously deliberated public oversight of the built and natural environments over long periods of regulatory time. In 1989, the WCPDA in essence called for a new system of comprehensive and coordinated planning to overcome the *ad hoc*, disjointed, narrow, fragmented system then governing the spaces of urban and rural change in Washington state. Put another way, the WCPDA called for the political development of spatial planning. In 1990/91, the state of Washington passed the landmark Growth Management Act (GMA). In 2020/21, three decades later, the GMA remains one of the few state-level spatial planning statutes in the US that appreciably reforms and actively directs local planning activities, particularly around strategic, long-term efforts to contain discontinuous sprawl through regionally-coordinated urban growth boundaries, concurrency provisions, critical areas protection, and mandatory comprehensive planning with required local policy elements like land-use, transportation, housing, and utilities (Dierwechter, 2008). That said, the GMA reflects its own 'multiple orders' of development, its own problems of intercurrence, its own 'competing entailments and mutually threatening movements.'

Similar to how Widestrom (2011) interprets the US Federal government's Community Reinvestment Act (CRA), which dealt with redlining practices in the mortgage industry, Washington's GMA system undoubtedly also represents a durable shift in governing authority, i.e., the political development of city planning in this part of the US. Yet like the CRA, Washington's GMA projects upon local urban space the ongoing intercurrence of state-level institutions and ideas, which themselves reflect the awkward and uneven political geography of the state legislature. Like the CRA, in other words, the GMA specifically shows how "ordering mechanisms and pathways of development coexist, creating multiple ordering mechanisms and highly contingent politics…[and therefore…] how multiple ideas and ordering mechanisms matter for understanding policy creation and evolution" (Widestrom, 2011, p. 7). The GMA emerged in a world of prior construction and contended with institutional and ideational forces that worked against its full realization.

Not all counties in the state, for one thing, had to adopt GMA provisions, suggesting the state's "spatial selectivity" around growth (Jones, 1997). Euclidean zoning patterns based on the maligned development and design codes originally established the 1930s barely budged in many communities, even in the Seattle region, where growth pressures offered major opportunities for a considerable remaking of such codes (Robinson, Newell, & Marzluff, 2005). Efforts to open up long-range planning discussions to more active participation and citizen inclusion after the tumultuous 1960s abutted and grated with the remarkable durability of comprehensive planning rationalities and, even deeper and older than that, ideological demands, thinly veiled or outwardly racist, that local planning's main 'job' was to defend single family homes from the presumed threats to property devaluation associated with mixed-class housing or non-residential uses. Despite years of scholarly attacks on the modernist "comprehensive model" of planning (Whittemore, 2015), it nonetheless formed in practice the core strategy for the GMA system (Puget Sound Regional Council, 2008). Still, the state-legislative mandate in Washington meant that local communities—general purpose municipalities and urbanized counties which service non-incorporated areas outside legal municipalities—now had to 'manage growth' with their adjacent neighbors in mind; moreover, state-organized goals like sprawl reduction, sustainable development, and affordable housing provided a normative framework or 'vision' that created a new intellectual space into which then ascendant 'form' theories like New Urbanism could receive public attention.

3.2. Form Theories Face Contending Racial Orders

From its inception, the GMA articulated broad development goals—or visions—that emphasized planning themes also prominent in the fast-emerging New Urbanism movement, notably concentrated urban growth, sprawl reduction and historic preservation. New Urbanism furthermore offered local communities (and real estate developers) detailed ideas for *how* to concentrate urban growth, reduce sprawl, and preserve historic buildings and neighborhoods. As parallel discourses of Smart Growth took off in the-1990s, new spatial planning theories focused on form seemed to match up with other practices and goals, including regional transportation and environmental protection (for a detailed discussion of the GMA's goals and major legal strategies see Chapter 36.70a.020 of the Regulatory Code of Washington at https://app.leg.wa.gov/rcw/default.aspx?cite=36.70a.020). This partially explains their popularity with a local planning profession looking urgently for extra-local ideas to advance coordination issues within and between communities.

As new spaces of New Urbanism emerged in and around Seattle, however, they were embedded within *extant* geographies of what Desmond King and Rogers Smith (2005, p. 75) have called contending "racial orders in American political development." Central to King and Smith's argument is that American politics has been long constituted by two evolving but linked racial institutional orders: a set of white supremacist orders and a competing set of transformative egalitarian orders. While they may involve contending coalitions of actors and institutions inside and outside the state, at different times individuals can occupy both at the same time, as Franklin Roosevelt did, and shifts from one to another are not linear but wax and wane as cycles of regression and progression. Racial orders are, of course, spatial formations, an underdeveloped theme in APD scholarship, although Ira Katznelson's (1981) early APD tome, *City Trenches*, broadly explained what he called the "politics of community" (rather than the politics of work) around race, ethnicity, and territory (as opposed to class conflicts in labor markets).

Greenfield sites, where New Urbanism is most completely imagined and pragmatically implemented, were not open spaces at all, free from these deeper and wider orders. Neither, of course, were core areas of concentrated poverty in cities like Seattle or Tacoma, where HOPE VI public housing programs associated strongly with New Urbanist design theories have remade key residential landscapes (Deitrick & Ellis, 2004). New Urbanism's impacts on select greenfield developments in suburban areas of the Seattle city-region, which again includes the nearby city of Tacoma and Pierce County, provide opportunities to consider its intersections with these two contending racial orders. Two major New Urbanist applications, Snoqualmie Ridge, in King County near Seattle, and Northwest Landing, in Pierce County near Tacoma, illustrate the diversity of territorial outcomes, and how, I argue, these outcomes might be better understood in relation to racial institutional orders (Figure 2).

Comparative densities in the Greater Seattle region include 7,250 people/mile in the city of Seattle; 3,990 in

the city of Tacoma, the region's second city; and 3,827 in Bellevue, the region's leading edge city. In 2019, the densities in Dupont and Snoqualmie were 1,399 and 1,666, respectively, which are consistent with suburban patterns seen elsewhere in the region. That said, Snoqualmie Ridge and Northwest Landing are large-scale New Urbanist extensions of older villages 'pulled into' post-metropolitan development pressures. Both communities date to the early 1990s.

3.3. Suburban New Urbanism: Comparing Snoqualmie Ridge with Northwest Landing

Snoqualmie Ridge, a 526-hectare master planned community in the small municipality of Snoqualmie, is located in the majestic and highly desirable foothills of the Cascade Mountains about 40 kilometers due east of Seattle. The municipality of Snoqualmie was founded in the 1890s, and thus has developed from a small, rural hamlet into a high-tech commuter suburb. Along with 'Issaquah Highlands' and 'Redmond Ridge' (near the campus home of Microsoft), 'Snoqualmie Ridge' was (and is) one of three major New Urbanist projects in fast-growing King County, the home of Seattle, that has been shaped strongly by the 'high-tech' property boom of the late 20th century (Dierwechter, 2017). Within easy commuting range of high-tech edge cities like Redmond and Bellevue, Snoqualmie Ridge quickly attracted wealthy families who wanted "to be out of city life, but close to city attractions" (McKenzie, 2012). Like Howard's garden city promises flouted more than a century ago, melding urban and rural amenities and imaginaries remains a powerful discourse.

Northwest Landing, in contrast, is the most prominent New Urbanist-inspired greenfield development in Pierce County, where growth pressures are less associated with high-tech restructuring but instead the impact of the nearby army and air force military bases (Figure 2). While Snoqualmie Ridge's population is 00.08% African American, Northwest Landing's African-American population is 14.10%, which is not only much higher than most suburbs in the Seattle metropolitan region, but also

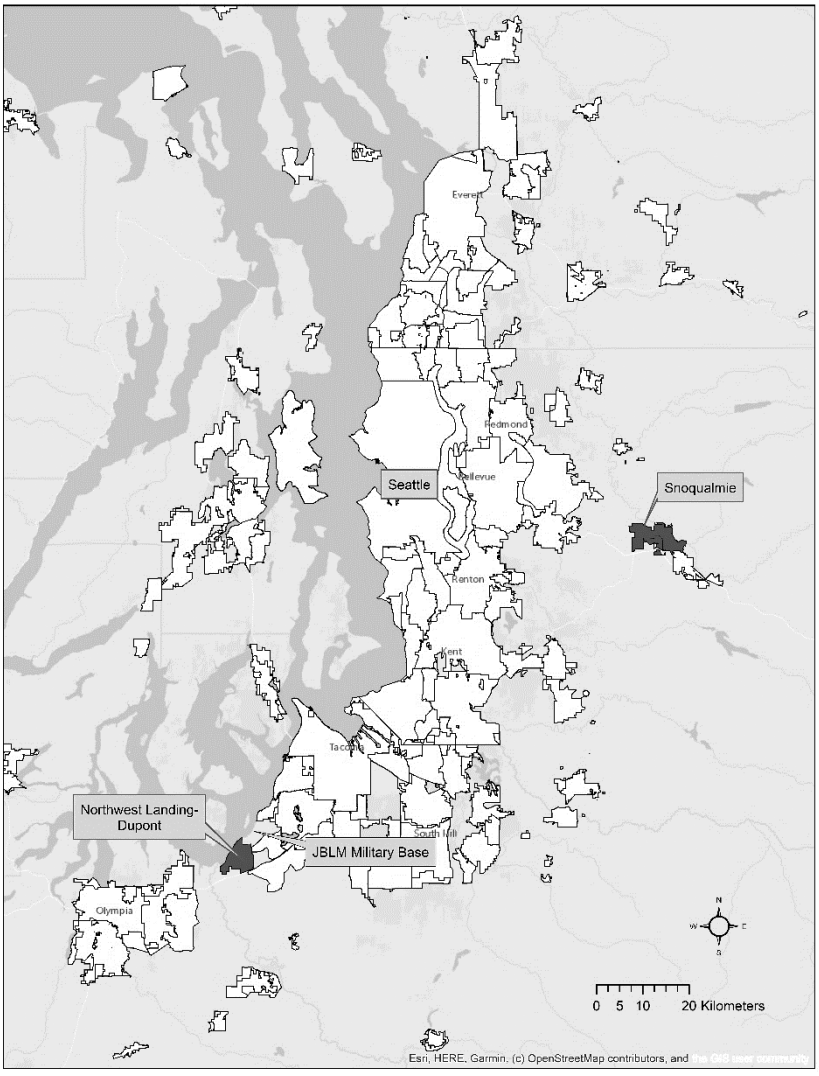

Figure 2. New Urbanist case studies in city-regional context. Source: Author.

much higher than found in the city of Seattle, where recent processes of urban inversion and gentrification have extruded much of the city's black population (Balk, 2014; Gibson, 2004). Superficially, Northwest Landing is just a bigger version of Snoqualmie Ridge. Conceived originally by Peter Calthorpe, Northwest Landing is 1,200-hectare master planned community with similarly tree-lined streets shaped aesthetically by "housing types [that] reflect the distinct [N]orthwest cottage style and complement contextual urbanism such as Dupont's charming tree-lined streets or its distinctive Craftsman-style architecture" (Calthorpe, 2020). Like Snoqualmie Ridge, moreover, Northwest Landing is a massive 'extension' of this older village—Dupont—which, like Snoqualmie, was founded much earlier than its adjacent suburbs.

Yet significant differences are important. Northwest Landing has greater residential diversity; 54% of homes are owner-occupied whereas the figure is 85% for Snoqualmie Ridge, where median home values are about 85% higher than in Northwest Landing. In addition, more than 25% of Dupont's firms are minority-owned; the figure for Snoqualmie remains well under 1%. Marking places as highly educated, super expensive, overwhelming white residential and business space redesigned around neo-traditional forms of the urban village is another way of talking about the urban geographies of metropolitan America that help to reproduce ongoing institutions of white privilege; this links "spatial forms" with Harvey's (1997) aforementioned concerns around "social processes" that involve race and class as they interact with post-Fordist economic restructuring in the Seattle city-region.

Northwest Landing's better social performance can be attributed, in contrast, to the 'transformative egalitarian' racial order associated with minority mobility experienced in the military, in general, and the racial composition of Joint-Base Lewis-McCord (JBLM) located just north of Dupont, in particular. According to the US Census Bureau (2019), JBLM was about 60% white and over 20% African American in 2019. A detailed analysis of racial dynamics, experiences, incomes, and career opportunities within the US military—the say nothing of the 'militarized state' more generally—falls well beyond this article; yet JBLM's current racial composition, particularly with respect to African Americans, reflects the early role of the armed forces in advancing the politics of desegregation starting with the Truman administration. Active duty and retired military personnel at JBLM shape the social and economic geographies of adjacent Northwest Landing in rather different ways than found in the New Urbanist spaces of high-tech King County, Snoqualmie Ridge included. Essentializing New Urbanist greenfields as "suburbs in disguise" therefore requires us, following Trudeau and Molloy (2011), to explore not only the metropolitan spaces of this aspatial critique, but the ways in which New Urbanist geographies relate to *intercurrence with other orders*, including contending racial institutional orders that have long shaped American society and its spatial problems.

3.4. New Urbanism within Seattle

Contending "racial institutional orders" are even clearer when we scale down from the wider city-region to the core municipality of Seattle. In addition to the overall growth and economic restructuring briefly discussed above, Seattle's class structures have significantly shifted in recent years. Seattle exemplifies the divergence of household wages between and within places, worsening the effects of what Dreier, Mollenkopf, and Swanstrom (2014) call the "economic segregation" of the US. The tech-driven industrial clustering around Microsoft and Amazon also discussed earlier has benefitted high-skilled workers. More of Seattle's overall population is made up of well-educated households earning $100,000 year or more—and especially households earning 150–$200,000 or more. At the same time, middle-class households make up less and less of Seattle's overall social structure.

Drawing on design and urban form principles associated with both New Urbanism and Smart Growth, since the early 1990s Seattle has pursued a high-profile strategy of urban sustainability constantly focused on building urban centers and 'villages' through mixed-use densification and new connections forged across the city and region by light rail alternatives to automobile-dependence (City of Seattle, 1994). What are the results? How do these planning dynamics intersect especially with contending racial institutional orders?

Examples of Seattle's *long-running* efforts to build an transformative egalitarian racial order are easy enough to mobilize. In 1941, the Seattle Housing Authority built Yestler Terrace, the first racially integrated public housing development in the US. In 1990, Norm Rice was elected Seattle's first black mayor. More recently, the city's Equitable Justice Delivery System has sought to embed race and social justice and service equity across Seattle's public utility services, placing 'environmental justice' at the core of the city's wider equity goals; thus, Seattle's staff use an "Equity Planning Toolkit" to engage in outreach activities (Seattle Public Utilities, 2019).

Yet once again, African American communities are shrinking as a proportion of the city's overall population (down to less than 7%, compared with, for example, 24% in high-tech Boston). The historic Central District in Seattle was about 80% African American in the 1970s. By 2010, it was a majority white neighborhood; racial transformation has only accelerated since then. Seattle has become even richer as high-tech capital flows into local and regional labour markets, but the city's remaining black households are getting relatively poorer (Balk, 2014). Like its West Coast rival, San Francisco, Seattle is less an emerald city than an elite emerald. New urban efforts to build smarter, connected, more sustainable, urban centers and villages are engines of *in situ* social

displacement and even a certain measure of racial purification, all of which deeply concerns a city long associated with egalitarian environmental and racial policy commitments.

At the same time, the City of Seattle (2016) has developed an "Equitable Development Implementation Plan" as a detailed and focused compliment to New Urbanist planning and smart growth development policies. The Puget Sound Regional Council, the region's metropolitan planning organization, and Sound Transit, Seattle's regional transit agency, have additionally focused on equitable transit-oriented development strategies, in part as a response to state legislation enacted in 2015 to address social displacement and growing inequality (Sound Transit, 2018). New projects include partnerships with non-profit groups like Puget Sound Sage, which has worked with Sound Transit in recent years to alleviate better the growing displacement effects of traditional TOD investments, arguing that "in-movers own cars at high rates" while "low-earning residents use transit more frequently to get to work" (Puget Sound Sage, 2012, p. iv). In contrast to recent strategies in places like Minneapolis that have upzoned nearly everywhere to try to promote greater racial inclusion through residential density, Seattle elected originally—and still elects—to channel new growth into a targeted geography of select spaces that mix residential and commercial activities. Locally, this strategy has aimed from the start to protect 70% of the city from development through the legal shield of single-family zoning, a decision bemoaned by many activists (Beekman, 2019).

4. Conclusions

The geographical diffusion of New Urbanism in the Seattle city-region was aided by the political development of spatial planning under the GMA of 1991/92, when the State of Washington confronted fiscal, environmental, and social inadequacies in how local communities (mis)managed urban growth. Seeing New Urbanism as UPD, however, draws theoretical attention to what APD scholars call 'intercurrence,' or multiple-orders-in-action, including, I have argued here, contending racial orders. Like Smart Growth and sustainable development, New Urbanism seemed to "square the circle" (Herrschel, 2013, p. 2332), offering city transformation through reinforcing, even restoring, older forms of urban development and imagined social life. Yet it also encountered a 'thickly' institutionalized world of prior construction shaped by race and class.

The GMA system in Washington mixed long-standing theories of planning, notably the rationality of the mandated comprehensive plan and 'ancient' Constitutional discourses around property rights through state power, with newer ecological concerns around regulating critical areas and the pragmatic design ideals of New Urbanism. Within Seattle, comprehensive planning has selectively spatialized New Urbanism, applying it outside the larger swaths of modernism where mixed-use and transit urbanism confront the durable legacies of Euclidean zoning regimes largely in place since the 1930s, legacies that insinuate themselves in new controversies. These new controversies implicate ongoing political tensions associated with the intercurrence of wider racial institutional orders in the US. While New Urbanism in the Snoqualmie case study subtly (if not explicitly) reinforces metropolitan geographies of white privilege, I have also argued, it has helped to challenge these same geographies in Northwest Landing, interacting with the nearby military's transformative egalitarian order in ways that add new readings of New Urbanist forms of spatial development.

Other analytical readings of New Urbanism which emphasize, with Marxians for instance, the role of planning theories and practices in facilitating capital accumulation or, with post-structuralists, rationalizing the territorial exercise of power offer alternatives to urban APD scholarship. Seeing New Urbanism with neo-Weberian institutionalists as a state-led form of UPD, however, draws needed attention to the concomitant operation of multiple orders of variegated political times. I think there is value in that for planning scholars that seek to better understand how leading theories 'land' across diverse communities in particular places, including the Seattle city-region. At the same time, importing APD concepts like intercurrence into spatial disciplines like planning, urban design, and geography offers new opportunities for APD. Like many fields, as Ed Soja (1989) repeatedly argued, APD scholars are more interested in time than space, in institutions than spatialities. Intercurrence, though, is hardly aspatial; how it works is partly a function of its spatial formations. Mapping the uneven geographies of New Urbanism tells us something about the spatialities of political development itself that are, frankly, under-explored in most political science literature.

Much more comparative work is needed, however, at the *metropolitan* scale of analysis, where the heterogeneous spatialities of New Urbanism, and other planning movements, are brought into different conversations with wider theories of social and political development. While New Urbanism might help to reinforce racialized geographies of white privilege and supremacy in some communities, it may well advance racial egalitarian orders in still others. Understanding *where* these dynamics occur is an important part of understanding *why* they occur—and thus *what* we can reasonably expect of New Urbanism as a normative theory of placemaking. At a tumultuous time when the political development of the US is struggling (once again) with core questions of race—with Black Lives Matter vs. white ethnic nationalism—it seems patently obvious that new ways of thinking about racial orders are imperative in *American* planning studies. At the same time, problems of race are, of course, global challenges, as are problems of sprawl, auto-dependency, and ecological decay. As APD

and New Urbanism steadily leave the parochial shores of (North) America, far more cosmopolitan insights await both fields, particularly if they can be brought into sustained dialogue with one another.

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Conflict of Interests

The author declares no conflict of interests.

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Article

Disparate Projects, Coherent Practices: Constructing New Urbanism through the *Charter Awards*

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Abstract
The Congress for the New Urbanism's (CNU) annual *Charter Awards* offers a rich set of documents with which to understand the discursive construction of the New Urbanism movement in the world. Every year, since 2001, developers and designers submit work representing their plans and projects to CNU for consideration of an award. In each case, a collection of urban design practitioners with expertise in New Urbanism comes together as jurors to evaluate the submissions. A handful of projects are recognized with an award and profiled in the *Charter Awards* booklet. This booklet offers a snapshot of what the movement's awards program jurors in a given year see as its exemplary work and most innovative accomplishments. Using a framework for understanding the discursive labor that design award programs perform, I examine two decades worth of *Charter Awards* and analyze narratives and messages presented therein concerning how New Urbanism exists in the world. I advance three claims through this analysis. First, the *Charter Awards* as a text discursively constructs disparate projects and plans as part of a singular movement. Second, the *Charter Awards* narrate New Urbanism as a worldwide movement that transcends particularities of place, culture, and history. Finally, CNU uses the *Charter Awards* to effectively claim universal relevance to urban development despite the particularities of places and the divergence of development contexts.

Keywords
awards; charrette; Congress for the New Urbanism; urban design; worlding practices

Issue
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1. Introduction

The principles articulated in the *Charter of the New Urbanism* (Talen, 2013) offer a set of norms for urban design and planning. Ratified in 1996, the *Charter of the New Urbanism* articulated 27 principles that reflect the New Urbanism movement's vision for designing and developing environmentally-sensitive, mixed-income, mixed land-use, and pedestrian- and transit-oriented human settlements (Congress for the New Urbanism [CNU], 1996). The principles are a set of normative statements that public policy makers, developers, and urban designers and planners ought to follow in their practice in order realize the vision of the New Urbanism (Talen, 2013) and have become influential in the broader field of urban planning and development (Garde & Kim, 2017; Haas, 2008; Tachieva, 2010; Talen, 2015). The principles are especially focused on influencing how development practice shapes the built environment and promotes urbanism (Hebbert, 2003). The *Charter of the New Urbanism* (Talen, 2013) outlines a comprehensive vision, yet this has been put into development practice in highly differentiated ways such that several observers argue there are multiple New Urbanisms in practice.

Grant (2006) introduced the notion that there are multiple New Urbanisms in her comprehensive discussion of the movement's spread across the world. Others have illustrated how different formations are evident within and across single metropolitan areas and countries (Dierwechter, 2014; Trudeau, 2013). Some of the early appraisals of how New Urbanism informed urban redevelopment in brownfield and greyfield contexts

understood that the principles were implemented differently in divergent contexts, and ultimately produced distinct products that, nevertheless, were identified as part of the same movement (Bohl, 2000; Deitrick & Ellis, 2004; González & Lejano, 2009; McCann, 2009). Other researchers have noted the propensity of developers to engage some, but not all, of the principles (Mayo & Ellis, 2009; Moore, 2010; Sohmer & Lang, 2000). Such selective or partial uptake of the movement's principles, particularly by differently situated development interests and ideologies, has yielded a highly differentiated movement in practice.

How is this diversity apprehended in the official narratives of the movement? I engage this question in this article by examining how CNU, the world's foremost organization promoting the New Urbanism movement, represents and frames the variegated ways that the principles are put into practice. I focus specifically on the discourse about the movement in practice as it is constructed through the award citations that the CNU has issued annually since 2001 in its *Charter Awards*. Following Foucauldian discourse analysis, I approach the *Charter Awards* as a dispositif, that is, a collection of materials that may be analyzed to understand an institution's attempt to produce authoritative knowledge. Focusing on the *Charter Awards* is admittedly incomplete as there are additional forms through which official narratives about the movement are disseminated. Nonetheless, this is a strategic choice for this article's inquiry. The awards program represents an ongoing effort to delineate the movement, describe its currency, and promulgate its core ideas. Moreover, the *Charter Awards* pursues this work by considering scores of submissions—descriptions of how individual projects engage the movement's principles—each year. The award citations are prepared by a jury of experts, who are aligned with New Urbanism, but not employees of CNU, that changes each year. Consequently, much can be learnt about the official narratives of the New Urbanism through a critical reading of the *Charter Awards.* I trace the narratives about New Urbanism in the *Charter Awards* in order to discern the ongoing construction of the movement, truth claims about its existence in the world, and its relevance to a variety of circumstances.

I argue that over the past twenty years, the increasing differentiation of the movement in practice has been subordinated or over overlooked in official narratives in order to project a view emphasizing New Urbanism's utility and versatility to address a variety of development around the world. In conjunction, the core principles of New Urbanism have been framed as a fundamental element that binds disparate projects into a coherent movement that is universally applicable and transcends the particularities of place. This article thus specifically responds to the call for examining the efforts to promote a singular New Urbanism over multiple new urbanisms and understand the attempt to promote the movement's widespread appeal and global reach. To this point, this article can be read as an exploration of how proponents position New Urbanism as globally relevant and conferring a premiere distinction to the places that puts its principles into practice.

2. How Multiple New Urbanisms are Overlooked

The notion that there are multiple New Urbanisms is significantly understated or even overlooked in the broader literature. This is supported in popular and academic writing. Proponents have labored to represent New Urbanism as a straightforward fix for sprawl. A variety of texts published in the movement's formative years cemented a view of New Urbanism as an antidote to the ills of unchecked growth and suburban sprawl. *Suburban Nation* (Duany, Plater-Zyberk, & Speck, 2000), *Home from Nowhere* (Kuntsler, 1996), and *The Regional City* (Calthorpe & Fulton, 2001), to name a few examples, construct sprawl as a singular problem and identify how the principles of New Urbanism offer a solution. The same view appears in later works proposing the use of New Urbanism's principles to correct problems associated with sprawl (e.g., Dunham-Jones & Williamson, 2009; Talen, 2015). Such efforts represent sprawl as the same phenomenon wherever it appears. The design principles of New Urbanism are, by association, framed as a set of tools that can be deployed anywhere in response with some customization. Hence, the CNU and its allies have advocated for seeing different approaches in the movement, such as Traditional Neighborhood Design and Transit-Oriented Development, as distinct tools useful for the goal of building cities that are "walkable, mixed in use, socially diverse, and transit-served" (Talen, 2019a, p. 1). This is evident especially in CNU's promotion of the Transect Model.

Duany and Talen (2002) first proposed the Transect Model, which offers a theoretical framework to guide how New Urbanism's principles may be applied in specific ways and in different combinations in order to fit with a particular development context. This model provides a way to explain how and why implementation of New Urbanism's principles will manifest differently in development that is located in a built-up city center context compared to a low-density suburban context. The Transect Model theorizes a development continuum. It identifies a series of distinct zones that transition from a dense urban center to dispersed rural landscape bordering wilderness. The Transect Model further prescribes development of specific built forms that enable and enhance a mix of land uses, housing types, and transportation options. This model thus frames how different combinations of principles and strategies described in the *Charter of the New Urbanism* (Talen, 2013) ought to come into play depending on the development context of a place. Under this rubric, Traditional Neighborhood Design may be most appropriate for suburban districts whereas Transit-Oriented Development may be more appropriate for development at nodes in a transporta-

tion networks. The Transect Model casts these distinct approaches as different facets of the same die. Moreover, the CNU promotes the model's use (CNU, n.d.), advocates have operationalized the model for use in urban planning through the Smartcode design tool (Duany & Sorlien, 2008), and the model is frequently referenced in the texts of CNU's *Charter Awards* in ways that present different projects as parts of a whole (e.g., CNU, 2004).

The representation of New Urbanism as a singular phenomenon is likewise reinforced in three threads of scholarly literature. One thread investigates how well specific projects associated with the movement succeed in achieving New Urbanism's goals, be it for walking, travel behavior, sociability, generating a social mix, or creating real alternatives to sprawl (e.g., du Toit, Cerin, Leslie, & Owen, 2007; Gordon & Vipond, 2005; Greenwald, 2003; Kim & Larsen, 2017; Nasar, 2003; Skaburskis, 2006; Song, Stevens, Gao, Berke, & Chen, 2017; Stevens, Berke, & Song, 2010; Talen, 2010; Trudeau & Malloy, 2011). This effectively imagines New Urbanism as a unified movement, a view that analysts promulgate when they generalize limited case studies to the entire movement (Ellis, 2002). This is reinforced in a second thread critiquing New Urbanism for failing to deliver on its claims, creating new problems through its application, or having run its course as an influential idea in urban planning (e.g., Clarke, 2005; Fulton, 2017; Harvey, 1997; Marcuse, 2000). Such work overlooks the variation that New Urbanism takes in practice and instead frames disparate projects as points in a larger pattern. This tendency is carried over in a third thread either calling for or providing appraisals of the movement's impact, historical origins, and relationship to other paradigms of urban planning (e.g., Hirt, 2009; Kelbaugh, 2007; Talen, 2019b). In sum, scholarly debates about the New Urbanism have likewise contributed to the representation of New Urbanism as singular, coherent, and universal, thus overlooking the movement's on-the-ground variation and contingency.

Why is the diverse implementation of New Urbanism overlooked in the literature? One potential contributing factor is the influence of advocacy organizations, like the CNU, to frame the New Urbanism movement in a particular manner and circulate language and frameworks that direct a specific way of seeing the movement's operations. I examine one instance of framing New Urbanism, tracing how different projects are conceptualized and related by examining the discursive work performed through the CNU's annual awards program, the *Charter Awards*. Accordingly, I draw on design awards literature to analyze the discursive construction of New Urbanism.

3. Understanding the Communicative Effects of Awards Programs

Design awards serve to promote the sponsor's agenda and regulate practice. Carmona (2017) emphasizes that awards programs are fundamentally part of a campaign to define and disseminate what counts as good design. Biddulph, Hooper, and Punter (2006) highlight the different ways awards regulate practice through a discussion of two award types: 'industry' and 'public sector/professional.' Industry awards identify state-of-the-art products in the marketplace and are sought after by firms aiming to increase their appeal to consumers or establish their credentials as a competitive player in the market. Public sector/professional awards are professionally judged and identify innovative and exemplary work and are sought out by designers looking to achieve distinction among their peers. Reflecting on the award-giving process for both types, Biddulph et al. (2006) note that awards competitions are not value-free; rather they reflect ongoing and evolving efforts to discursively construct the markers of design quality and identify how design relates to specific problems that it is called upon to confront.

Kim and Forester's (2012) remarks about design review provide insight about the associative aspects of award programs. They observe how such programs enable a ritualized convening of experts to administer judgment about the merits of an applicants' work. These convenings lend to the ongoing construction defining standards and venerating best practice as well as signaling encouragement to particular approaches. Lehrer (2011) explicates the communicative roles of award programs discussing how organized competition, through its announcement, definition of eligibility, jury selection, and promotion of winners among relevant audiences produces a public narrative about design, its standards, and application.

This work shows that awards programs are part of a campaign to advance a design agenda and associate it with exemplary work. Awards programs provide a narrative about the sponsor's values, goals, and principles. The cyclical nature of awards programs enables an evolving construction of the agenda as relevant to specific issues and enables sponsors' association with particular experts (e.g., jurors) and exemplars (i.e., award recipients). The intended audience for such programs may range from laypersons to experts, yet the effort to align a sponsor's agenda with particular moments and places is apparent in either case. Conceptualizing design awards programs as a campaign to advance an agenda and ensure its currency and continuation, I turn to consider the narratives regarding the connections among different projects associated with New Urbanism as they appear in the discourse of CNU's *Charter Awards*.

4. Analyzing CNU's *Charter Awards*

CNU's *Charter Awards* offers a rich set of documents with which to understand the discursive construction of the New Urbanism. This award program began in 2001 and has run annually since. CNU solicits applications for projects and plans that demonstrate work in accordance with the principles of New Urbanism, convenes a jury

of experts, and then offers a mix of industrial and professional awards. The results are published in a *Charter Awards* booklet, which features a description of each winning submission as well as a brief explanation justifying its particular award. The booklet also includes framing material about CNU, its mission, and the purpose of the awards program. Such framing also features a preamble from each jury chair that offers behind-the-scenes insight on the competition, summary of the results, and commentary on the movement's state of play.

Each individual *Charter Award* booklet documents what the proponents of the New Urbanism see as exemplary work, best practices, and innovative accomplishments. Each booklet contributes to the literal production of the movement. Taken together, the series of booklets offer a corpus of work to examine the discursive construction of New Urbanism and discern proponents' narratives about how the movement relates to the wider world. An honorable mention award citation for the Luhe City Center project in Jiangshu province, China, from the 2015 *Charter Awards* (CNU, 2015) is displayed in Figure 1 as an illustrative reference for how the awards read.

I treat two decades of *Charter Awards*, 2001–2020 as a dispositif that I examine to understand the production of knowledge about New Urbanisms that emerges in the discourse that these texts generate. Following Foucauldian discourse analysis, as described by Rose (2001), I read each *Charter Awards* booklet and flagged passages wherein statements were offered about values, goals and best practices, the status of the New Urbanism movement, and the relevance of its principles to different circumstances in the world. Using Atlas.ti, a software package for qualitative data analysis, I produced descriptive codes to organize the statements and then generated thematic codes to identify the ways in which projects were related to the movement and to each other. Following this, I analyzed the thematic codes to interpret the truth claims and knowledge production about New Urbanism vis-à-vis the content of the *Charter Awards*. Discourse analysis provides a way to understand the communicative effects of the CNU's awards program and examine closely the frames and narratives that are deployed in these texts to relate the 326 projects that have received awards through 2020. These projects reflect a diverse array of applications of New Urbanism and run the entire continuum of rural to urban development, as identified in the Transect Model. Similarly, awards were given to projects in a variety of contexts—greenfield, greyfield, and brownfield—and covered a range of scales, from singular buildings to regional plans.

It is important to recognize that I use discourse analysis to focus on the textual representation of what the projects mean to the New Urbanism movement and what they signify for its engagement with the wider world, not on the implementation of New Urbanism principles in specific projects. Through this approach, I found that the narratives deployed in the *Charter Awards*, in each booklet and across the corpus, emphasize coherence amidst a disparate set of projects. The thematic codes acknowledge the breadth of goals to which New Urbanism's principles have been directed: disaster recovery, economic stabilization, environmental sustainability, historic preservation, infrastructure modernization, correcting problems of rapid urbanization and sprawl, and the development of transit and walkable environments. The multiple aims are, I argue, constructed in the texts of the *Charter Awards* in ways that identify and promote relations of symmetry and equivalence between different projects and frame them as part of a unified whole.

The *Charter Awards* represent just one effort to narrate the New Urbanism. This awards program nevertheless represents a noteworthy medium and so it is important to acknowledge its underlying logic. Above all, the awards highlight the application of key ideas from the *Charter of the New Urbanism* (Talen, 2013) and relate fundamental values and specific agendas through the identification of exemplary work. For the most part, the awards draw from the *Charter of the New Urbanism's* statement of core principles. However, CNU's (2009) *Cannons of Sustainable Urbanism* and strategic plan (CNU, 2016a) also provide touchstones for the awards. Each year, the *Charter Awards* recognize a number of submissions, though the award categories change over time. Indeed, the awards consistently recognize achievement at the regional, neighborhood, and block scales as these are significant categories in the conceptualization of New Urbanism. In addition to these persistent award categories, juries have taken specific interest in recognizing emergent concerns in the movement in a given year. For example, in both 2013 and 2014 the *Charter Awards* recognized accomplishment for 'suburban retrofit' (CNU, 2013, 2014). Likewise, the *Charter Awards* for 2014 and 2015 celebrate best practices in 'tactical urbanism intervention' (CNU, 2014, 2015). These categories of interest have not continued beyond these dates. This mix of awards reveals that the program constructs New Urbanism as both a market product and a movement to achieve particular ends through urban design.

4.1. Worlding New Urbanism

A discourse analysis of *Charter Awards* provides a way to understand how CNU and its proponents apprehend and narrate the extant diversity of New Urbanism in practice. The following discussion aims to examine some of the ways in which the multiple New Urbanisms are packaged as a stable and coherent movement and also interrogate the agendas that such claims seek to advance. My interpretation proceeds by seeing the *Charter Awards* as a set of what Ong (2011, p. 13) calls 'worlding practices.' Such practices serve to identify and narrate a place as novel and being on the cutting edge of a movement to usher alternative visions into practical existence. Worlding practices thus help visualize and thereby constitute new worlds envisioned in progressive projects or movements. Seen through this lens, the *Charter Awards*

Luhe City Center

A MODEL FOR MORE SUSTAINABLE GROWTH IN CHINA

Firm: Thadani Architects + Urbanists
Location: Luhe, Jiangsu Province, China
Category: The Region: Metropolis, City, and Town

No place on Earth is urbanizing more rapidly than China. In Luhe, one of the country's new urban expansion areas, Nanjing Urban Planning Bureau proposed to expand the city by developing a 60-mile corridor for 4.5 million people. The plan would have consumed vital land along Luhe's stretch of the Chuhe River, wiping out agriculture and phasing out industry.

"We successfully argued against this linear proposal in favor of maintaining green corridors that made several polycentric cities," writes designer Dhiru Thadani. "Each new autonomous city would be developed around an existing village or town and could accommodate 600,000 to a million inhabitants."

After shifting the region to a more sustainable growth pattern in 2013, Thadani was retained to design the city center of Luhe, one of the polycentric cities. The resulting plan calls for 5,500 residential units, 8.5 million square feet of commercial development, and millions of square feet of schools and cultural facilities like an opera house, library, museums, and exhibition hall.

Luhe is designed using classic city-building principles. A large central square, strongly defined by surrounding buildings, will provide a strong place for community events. The core, containing the tallest buildings, is bounded by three primary thoroughfares. These streets, each enhanced with a greenway, lead to bridges designed for pedestrian, bicycle, and vehicular traffic crossing the Chuhe River and a canal.

A tree-lined boulevard encircles the entire central business district, connecting mixed-use neighborhoods adjacent to the downtown and residential neighborhoods beyond. The thoroughfare links a series of pocket parks and gardens that are planned within the development. The entire 875-acre city center is wrapped with a "ribbon drive" that links more parks.

Streets and a bridge are already under construction for this project, which includes affordable housing. In a part of the world where much of the current development is unsustainable, Luhe City Center provides a model for smarter growth.

P20

Figure 1. Merit Award Citation for Luhe City Center, from the 2015 *Charter Awards.* Source: CNU (2015).

literally brings to life the movement's vision for a different urbanism. Ong's framework of worlding practices helps me to situate the *Charter Awards*' discursive construction of New Urbanism as a singular movement that has worldwide relevance. Attending to three distinct types of worlding practices illustrates this point.

Above all, worlding practices are, for Ong (2005, 2011), a style of claiming global significance and relevance. She outlines three styles: modelling, inter-referencing, and claiming world class status. Each is applicable to understanding the discursive construction of the New Urbanism as a singular movement based on principles that are universally applicable. Modelling refers to framing something an exemplar worthy of replication. Vincent Graham, jury chair for the 2010 *Charter Awards* (CNU, 2010), notes that the competitions iden-

tifies "state of the art exemplars to learn from and build upon" (p. 3) in each interaction. This takes shape in making professional awards for particular categories, such as 'best city plan' and 'best suburban retrofit' (e.g., CNU, 2014) and also in giving a grand prize award each year. Moreover, in the descriptions for some award recipients, we see that part of the rationale in selecting a particular project for the award is because of a belief that it can serve as a model for others to emulate. Referring again to Figure 1, the citation celebrates Luhe City Center as providing a model for environmentally sustainable growth for a broader region of China. Elizabeth Moule, jury chair for the 2011 *Charter Awards* (CNU, 2011) explains how the work to frame award winners as models for the rest of the world is a part of the calculus in the awards selection process:

> This year, as jurors of the CNU Charter Awards, we decided unanimously to search for those paradigmatic projects which could serve as examples of good standards of practice for the future of the New Urbanism in America, and the rest of the world. (p. 2)

Inter-referencing refers to the practice of associating a project with a known and celebrated subject. While subtle and often supplementary to modeling, this entails a separate frame highlighting a project's legitimacy amidst the simultaneous construction of the project as novel and on the cutting edge. Referring again to the 2010 *Charter Awards* (CNU, 2010), Vincent Graham's reflections on the jury's process of selecting award recipients point to the significance of inter-referencing:

> Where would our imaginations be without the inspiration of the Acropolis, Trafalgar Square, or Piazza San Marco? Could we have advanced so rapidly if unable to experience the human scale of a Charleston, Santa Fe, or even the favorite main street of a small town? These questions came to mind when reflecting upon the process of selecting this year's Charter Award winners. (p. 20)

Through this passage, we see that Graham associates the 2010 *Charter Award* recipients with world-renowned places. Inter-referencing is not always explicit. However, Graham's disclosure shows how juries engage in this practice of inter-referencing when making decisions about awards.

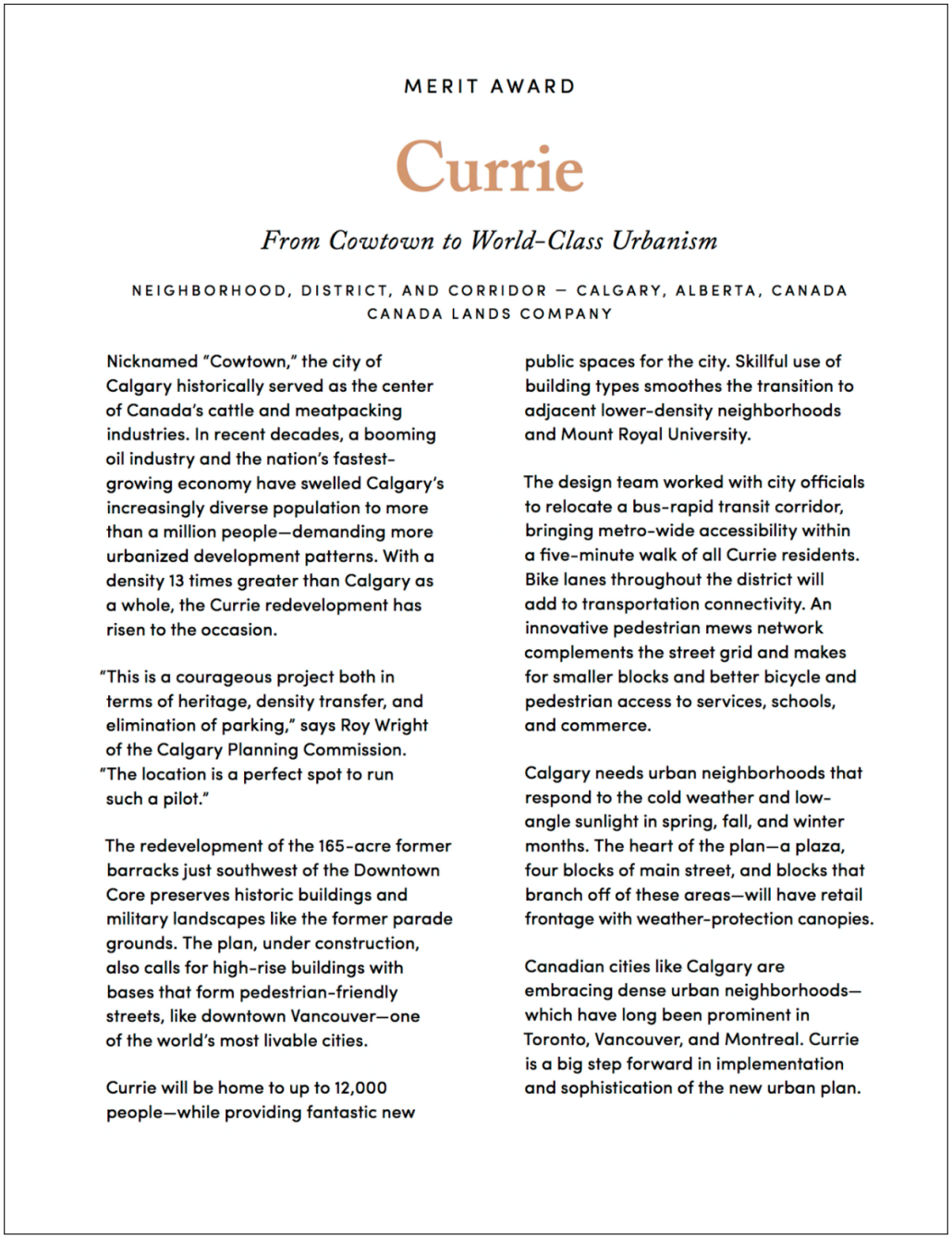
Framing projects as a world-class approach to a particular problem serves as a way to celebrate an achievement, despite its controversy. For projects that represent a significant break from the status quo or an innovation that seems to buck tradition, naming it as world-class is a discursive move to legitimate the departure from the norm and situate the project as being on the brink of revolution, potentially ushering forth a new world (Ong, 2011; Roy, 2011). In the *Charter Awards*, there is recurring motif describing winning plans that represent a radical break from local precedent as world class, as seen, for instance in the award citation for Currie, in Calgary, Canada, in Figure 2. In cases like these, appeals are made to see such projects as acting to catapult the host city into global importance and create urban forms that will register the place as a peer among other world cities. The 2016 *Charter Awards* citation for Currie, in Calgary, Canada in Figure 2, shows world class framing at work. Such a framing is explicit in the award citation's lede "from cowtown to world-class urbanism" (CNU, 2016b, p. 20). This citation goes on to construct Calgary's built environment as outdated for its burgeoning needs and underserving the city's potential. The citation further celebrates the plan for Currie as 'courageous,' signaling its break with local convention. The citation goes on to venerate Currie's approach for solving challenges associated with rapid urbanization in ways that make it comparable to other globally significant places; in this case, places like Toronto, Vancouver, and Montreal. Indeed, this particular example illustrates how constructing a world class frame can rely on other worlding practices of inter-referencing and modelling, which we see in the last paragraph of the award citation that frames Currie as a 'big step forward' to serving as a model of sophisticated urban development.

In sum, the *Charter Awards* uses worlding practices in the discursive work to frame the relevance and value of the New Urbanism. I discuss these narrative frames to delineate how the scores of projects that instantiate the movement are constructed as part of a coherent whole. Indeed, the *Charter Awards* can be read as an ontological story that is re-told and updated annually. This frame allows us to see that CNU, through the *Charter Awards*, makes claims about the worldwide relevance of the New Urbanism's principles.

4.2. The Worldwide Relevance of New Urbanism

As a matter of context, it is helpful to acknowledge how the *Charter Awards* narrate New Urbanism's relevance to the wider world. One of the most explicit ways this occurs is through a framing statement, included in each awards booklet, that ties the awards to CNU. The first framing statement appeared in 2002 and has been a part of each subsequent awards booklet, though the content has shifted over time. These framing statements initially pitched the *Charter Awards* and New Urbanism as predominantly focused on the US. This framing of the organization and awards program is evident in an excerpt from the 2004 *Charter Awards* (CNU, 2004) framing statement: "The Congress for The New Urbanism…[has] helped shape a national conversation about the consequences of growth and helped bring to life an alternative vision for community development and regional sustainability based on the Charter of the New Urbanism'' (p. 36).

By 2006, there is an effort to broaden the application of New Urbanism and show its global relevance. Dhiru Thadani (CNU, 2006), as jury chair, proclaims that:



MERIT AWARD

Currie

From Cowtown to World-Class Urbanism

NEIGHBORHOOD, DISTRICT, AND CORRIDOR – CALGARY, ALBERTA, CANADA
CANADA LANDS COMPANY

Nicknamed "Cowtown," the city of Calgary historically served as the center of Canada's cattle and meatpacking industries. In recent decades, a booming oil industry and the nation's fastest-growing economy have swelled Calgary's increasingly diverse population to more than a million people—demanding more urbanized development patterns. With a density 13 times greater than Calgary as a whole, the Currie redevelopment has risen to the occasion.

"This is a courageous project both in terms of heritage, density transfer, and elimination of parking," says Roy Wright of the Calgary Planning Commission. "The location is a perfect spot to run such a pilot."

The redevelopment of the 165-acre former barracks just southwest of the Downtown Core preserves historic buildings and military landscapes like the former parade grounds. The plan, under construction, also calls for high-rise buildings with bases that form pedestrian-friendly streets, like downtown Vancouver—one of the world's most livable cities.

Currie will be home to up to 12,000 people—while providing fantastic new public spaces for the city. Skillful use of building types smoothes the transition to adjacent lower-density neighborhoods and Mount Royal University.

The design team worked with city officials to relocate a bus-rapid transit corridor, bringing metro-wide accessibility within a five-minute walk of all Currie residents. Bike lanes throughout the district will add to transportation connectivity. An innovative pedestrian mews network complements the street grid and makes for smaller blocks and better bicycle and pedestrian access to services, schools, and commerce.

Calgary needs urban neighborhoods that respond to the cold weather and low-angle sunlight in spring, fall, and winter months. The heart of the plan—a plaza, four blocks of main street, and blocks that branch off of these areas—will have retail frontage with weather-protection canopies.

Canadian cities like Calgary are embracing dense urban neighborhoods—which have long been prominent in Toronto, Vancouver, and Montreal. Currie is a big step forward in implementation and sophistication of the new urban plan.

Figure 2. Merit Award Citation for Currie, from the 2016 *Charter Awards*. Source: CNU (2016b).

> I had two goals for this year's awards program. The first was to increase the number of international and student submissions, which I am happy to report we did. The second was to assemble a world-renowned group of jurors who would truly raise the level of discourse, the status, and the international recognition of the CNU Charter Awards. (p. 2)

This claim for worldwide relevance is certainly reflected in the narratives of the award citations located with the 2006 and later award booklets, but the claim framing CNU as helping to "shape a national conversation" (CNU, 2004, p. 36) persists in the descriptive statement of the *Charter Awards* until 2013 when there is a definitive shift to again re-frame the awards as a form of global recognition of world class accomplishments in urbanism. The booklet's framing statement in 2013 entirely rewrites that passage and provides one of the clearest illustrations of the *Charter Awards* (CNU, 2013) as a world class worlding practice:

> Administered by the Congress for the New Urbanism, the *Charter Awards* program rewards the best work of the new era of placemaking. Annually since 2001, CNU has convened a jury of the highest caliber to review submissions and select winning entries

> that best embody and advance the principles of the Charter of the New Urbanism….As the preeminent global award for excellence in urban design, CNU hopes the *Charter Awards* will set new benchmarks and new models for urbanism worldwide. (p. 3)

This claim of serving "as the preeminent global award for excellence in urban design" codifies the aspirations and work that Thadani described in 2006. At the same time, the 2013 framing statement represents a shift regarding the avowed significance of the awards. The 2013 framing statement describes CNU as the world's leading authority on urban design, rendering all of its awards as markers of world class distinction. The grand framing of CNU's *Charter Awards* has stuck in the years since 2013. But what do these awards say about the New Urbanism? I engage that question by focusing on the awards given to projects that are located outside of the movement's heartland in the US.

As of 2020, the *Charter Awards* have given 326 awards and 67 of these have been given to projects located outside of the US. Though these represent a fifth of all the awards given, they have an outsized impact supporting the claim that the *Charter Awards* are a preeminent global awards program. Indeed, the awards show that the application of New Urbanism is widespread, acknowledging projects and plans for development in 33 different countries distributed across six continents. Such widespread distribution calls into question how all the projects are related, given their differences in time and place. Thus, focusing on the ways in which the relationships among these disparate projects are narrated provides insight into the logic, style, and patterns of thought regarding the ontological status of New Urbanism. I turn to discuss several themes that emerged through such focused examination.

4.3. Unity amidst Diversity

A notion that the principles of New Urbanism are universally applicable and immutable for generating urbanism is a leitmotif of the *Charter Awards*. This is evident in the diverse array of contexts in which the awards recognize exemplary work. The *Charter Awards* celebrate projects associated with development across different zones of the urban-rural transect as well as at different scales throughout the world. Thus, when the same award is given to an addition to Beirut's historic center, in 2002, to plans for an agricultural town in South Africa, in 2012, and to a high-rise housing redevelopment in Manhattan, in 2019, these quite different projects are rendered equivalent. Beyond the award winners, jurors remark how the geographically widespread application of New Urbanism principles are evidence of their universal relevance. Making this point explicit in the 2011 *Charter Awards*, jury chair Elizabeth Moule (CNU, 2011), wrote that:

> Projects came from places quite far from the US and locales where one imagines the building atmosphere to be most challenging. Among these are Pakistan, Rwanda, Abu Dhabi, Haiti, and Iceland. It is heartening to think that in the face of political uncertainty, war, natural disaster, extreme climate, and financial meltdowns, that builders are turning to the New Urbanism for solutions to expansion and rebuilding alike. (p. 2)

Furthermore, the awards program's jurors remark that the New Urbanism can go anywhere. Jury members, in their discussion of specific awards, and jury chairs, in their preambles, frequently applaud projects for exemplary application of the movement's principles. For instance, as jury chair in the 2015 (CNU, 2015, p. 3) *Charter Awards*, Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk's proclaimed that "The Charter of the New Urbanism, signed 19 years ago, remains an inspiring blueprint for improving communities all over the world." Related to this point, references to 'Urban DNA' appear in a number of awards booklets, including the citation for the grand prize winner, Cincinnati's citywide code, in 2014 (CNU, 2014). This metaphor works to connect New Urbanism's principles as something fundamental to urbanism everywhere, just like DNA is indispensable to living organisms on earth. The *Charter Awards* thus recognize exemplary efforts in individual award-winning projects, but also produce a narrative about the universal applicability of New Urbanism's principles and their effects in the world. While the *Charter Awards* may construct New Urbanism as universal, it is not, however, described as uniform.

The *Charter of the New Urbanism* actually prescribes customization in order to relate the movement's principles to regional circumstances. This position echoes across the different iterations of the *Charter Awards* as jurors praise projects that use New Urbanism's principles to promote regionally specific traditions of building and living in cities. Doug Farr's statement is a noteworthy illustration of this point (CNU, 2013):

> For the second year in a row the top professional honoree is a project from Africa, specifically Kigali in Rwanda. This plan deployed the Charter principles to incrementally retro t public space and infrastructure into an informal hillside settlement. This proposal to transform an inhumane situation into a healthy and habitable urban place captured the jury's imagination. (p. 6)

Such commentary works to frame adaptation of New Urbanism's principles as an integral part of the movement's theoretical aspirations and on-the-ground practice. This is particularly apparent in the ways that the *Charter Awards* celebrates the charrette.

The charrette is a thread binding together the patchwork of diverse projects associated with New Urbanism. Although discussion of the charrette process is not a constant in the pages of the *Charter* Awards, it is nonetheless

framed as essential to relating New Urbanism's principles to on-the-ground practice. The citation for the Liveable Neighborhoods Community Design Code for Western Australia from the 2001 (CNU, 2001) awards booklet, for instance, describes how reliance on the charrette process helped to produce model projects:

> Based on New Urbanist principles and the UK's Responsive Environments practices and developed through an extensive public process that included design charrettes for the entire Perth region [an] 'inclusive and holistic process has made this plan one of the most thorough and ambitious new urbanist efforts anywhere in the world. (p. 6)

Furthermore, discussion of the Liveable Neighborhoods Community Design Code underscores a related motif in the *Charter Awards*: The charrette is the trunk supporting the disparate applications of New Urbanist places. Considering the importance of the adaptation enabled by the charrette, how is the application of the movement's principles in contexts beyond the US framed?

The *Charter Awards* showcase the transferability of New Urbanist ideas to fix problems that arise outside of the US, but that still bear a resemblance to auto-centered sprawl. Indeed, many of these projects appear in Australia, Canada, Sweden, and the UK, all places that present development contexts that are similar to the US. The frame of New Urbanism as a design solution to the problem of suburban sprawl does not include all projects, however. Beyond framing New Urbanism as a countermove to sprawl, we see that the *Charter Awards* constructs the principles of New Urbanism as helping to solve development challenges associated with a number of issues: environmental contamination in brownfields, recovery from natural disasters, overtaxed transportation infrastructure, and historic preservation. In addition, since 2009, the *Charter Awards* have also focused on recognizing projects that offer models for sustainable development, from rural agricultural villages, to cutting-edge developments in the historic urban core. These frames are applied to projects located within or outside of the US. This certainly aids the discursive framing of the New Urbanism as coherent even though it extends to many different places. At the same time, there are differences in the ways that the principles of New Urbanism are thought to affect development outside of the US.

The *Charter Awards* press the claim that application of New Urbanism in areas of the global south offers a way toward an alternative modernity. We see in this corpus ongoing discussion of the movement's principles as providing a way for development to incorporate the logics of urbanism that existed in a place prior to automobile-centered growth. For instance, the 2011 *Charter Awards* lauds Pakistan's Aga Khan University plan because it "draws from Muslim city-building traditions and uses the traditional 'Medina' model that organizes neighborhoods around courtyards for communal security" (CNU, 2011, p. 14). This is similar to an award citation from a decade earlier, when the 2001 *Charter Awards* highlighted a comparable process in Nicaragua (CNU, 2001):

> The new neighborhood of Managuita uses traditional planning and local architectural traditions to create an urban oasis true to its culture and people. "Many people think that New Urbanism is defined by traditional American building practices," says juror Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk. "This exploration of a plan based on the Law of the Indies is a viable alternative for countries whose development patterns are based on this tradition." (p. 16)

Conceptualizing the principles of New Urbanism as compatible with specific non-Western cultural traditions further suggests that the principles are as timeless and offering an authentic way to develop in locally specific ways. Moreover, statements to this effect in the *Charter Awards* also suggest that incorporating principles of New Urbanism can put development onto a more sustainable trajectory, as seen in the citation for Luhe City Center, in Figure 1.

Finally, jurors' discussion in the *Charter Awards* emphasizes that New Urbanism helps to ensure that these alternative development patterns serve as models for others to follow. This point is illustrated in Hank Dittmar's preamble as jury chair, when discussing the 2016 *Charter Awards* (CNU, 2016b):

> The jurors were also very taken with Nanhu New Country Village Master Plan, which sought to define a sustainable future for rural life and agriculture in China. The jury hoped that this excellent plan could be influential nationally, as there are signs that China's approach to urbanisation is changing for the better, under the influence of the New Urbanism. (p. 2)

The award citation for this project goes on to link New Urbanism with producing cutting edge approaches to sustainable development: "A large and growing emitter of greenhouse gas emissions, China desperately needs new and sustainable models like Nanhu New Country Village" (CNU, 2016b, p. 7). While the contexts vary and the processes shift from place to place, we see that the *Charter Awards* brings these otherwise divergent tendencies together into a unified movement that share a commitment to the creative application of the principles of New Urbanism.

5. Conclusion

In this article, I have examined discursive practices evident in the *Charter Awards* to help explain how narratives about the multiplicity and complexity of New Urbanism in practice are framed. This approach helps think through the work that institutions like CNU perform to argue for the movement's coherence amidst a

seemingly disparate collection of applications. Analysis of this awards program reveals a significant campaign to frame how many different projects throughout the world are part of a relatable whole. In this way, the *Charter Awards* narrates how individual projects are part of a broader constellation. At the same time, the awards program refracts a focus on the differences among individual projects to instead emphasize their underlying connections, highlighting the movement's principles, their transferability, and value for development. Furthermore, apparent differences among award winners are framed as reflecting the movement's sensitivity to local circumstances and showing the robustness of core techniques, such as the charrette, to translate the movement's principles in specific and meaningful ways. In this way, the *Charter Awards* constructs the disparate set of projects spread across the globe as part of a singular movement that has a range of applications that ultimately improve the divergent contexts where they are deployed. Accordingly, we see that the awards program conveys a bid for the continued and evolving relevance of the movement to addressing challenges of urban development or fixing problems in the urban condition. The cyclical rhythm of the awards program enables the movement's leading proponents to narrate how New Urbanism is responsive to emergent issues, like rapid urbanization and sustainable development. The use of modelling and inter-referencing practices as well as framing projects as a world-class approach to urban design problems in the communicative action of the *Charter Awards* further fortifies proponent's claims that principles are universal and create valuable solutions that are worthy of emulation by other communities both near and far away.

This reading of the *Charter Awards* helps understand one way that the New Urbanism continues to be framed as a singular movement despite the heterogeneity in practice that researchers have documented. Given the widely circulated and accepted view of New Urbanism's singularity, this article begins to show how this narrative is constructed and disseminated through CNU's awards program. This article supports a critical understanding of New Urbanism as heterogeneous and contingent, which many proponents omit or ignore. Researchers studying the movement should therefore look past the image of coherence projected by practitioners and see the contingent and specific assemblages in practice.

While this article focuses on how an image of coherence is presented, it has not considered the motivations and relationships that enable the discursive work of the awards program in the first place. On this matter, further research is needed to examine what motivates actors to seek recognition through the awards program, understand how award recipients value their recognition, the network of relationships among jurors and award recipients, and consider how each of these facets may evolve over time. Certainly, as New Urbanism is inextricably tied to processes of capital accumulation, inquiry ought to consider how the movement's awards campaign works to generate surplus financial and social capital and broaden access of New Urbanism's particular brand to even more markets around the world.

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Conflict of Interests

The author declares no conflict of interests.

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Article

New Urbanism in the New Urban Agenda: Threads of an Unfinished Reformation

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Abstract
We present evidence that New Urbanism, defined as a set of normative urban characteristics codified in the 1996 Charter of the New Urbanism, reached a seminal moment—in mission if not in name—with the 2016 New Urban Agenda, a landmark document adopted by acclamation by all 193 member states of the United Nations. We compare the two documents and find key parallels between them (including mix of uses, walkable multi-modal streets, buildings defining public space, mix of building ages and heritage patterns, co-production of the city by the citizens, and understanding of the city as an evolutionary self-organizing structure). Both documents also reveal striking contrasts with the highly influential 20th century Athens Charter, from 1933, developed by the Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne. Yet, both newer documents also still face formidable barriers to implementation, and, as we argue, each faces similar challenges in formulating effective alternatives to business as usual. We trace this history up to the present day, and the necessary requirements for what we conclude is an 'unfinished reformation' ahead.

Keywords
Athens Charter; Charter of the New Urbanism; New Urban Agenda; new urbanism; sustainable urbanism

Issue
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1. Introduction

The New Urban Agenda—the outcome document of the United Nations' (UN) 2016 Habitat III conference on housing and sustainable urban development—was subsequently adopted by acclamation by all 193 member countries of the UN (UN, 2016). As such, it stands as the de facto charter of a global movement to address the challenges and opportunities of urbanism in the present day and beyond.

Less well recognized is that many of the elements of the document incorporate concepts earlier advanced in the 1996 Charter of the New Urbanism. As we discuss herein, a number of these concepts had antecedents in earlier publications, but none previously brought them together into a single widely disseminated charter of an identifiable global (though US-originated) movement. As such, the adoption of the New Urban Agenda stands as testimony to the pervasive status of these New Urbanist concepts, by any other name, and further supports claims of the increasing mainstream status of New Urbanism in addressing the challenges of contemporary urban development.

Both documents also stand in telling contrast to an earlier seminal document, the 1933 Athens Charter, a landmark of modern urban planning published by the architect Le Corbusier in 1943 on behalf of the Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM; Sennett, Burdett, Sassen, & Clos, 2018). The Charter of the New Urbanism in particular aims to deliberately reverse key tenets of the Athens Charter, while at the same time building on its similar format (Moule, 2002).

Here we explore the substantive relationships between the three documents, their background contexts and theories of city form, and the implications for New Urbanism in particular as an increasingly mainstream global movement. We then turn our attention to the implementation issues faced by the two more recent documents, and what they reveal about the remaining and formidable challenges of implementation.

2. Historical Development of the Athens Charter, the Charter of the New Urbanism, and New Urban Agenda

What we today refer to as the '1933 Athens Charter' was in fact written by Le Corbusier and published in French ten years later (subsequently translated to English, see Le Corbusier, 1973). Harvard's Jose Luis Sert, a colleague of Le Corbusier in the CIAM, also published a similar text in English, *Can Our Cities Survive?* (Sert, 1942). Both documents reflected key ideas discussed at a seminal CIAM meeting that did in fact occur ten years earlier. This famous meeting was held on a cruise from Marseilles to Athens (hence 'Athens Charter'). Many key concepts of Le Corbusier's text (and Sert's) had already been developed in a previous series of CIAM conferences, culminating in this fourth plenary conference of 1933 (Gold, 1998).

In fact, as has been demonstrated by Gold (1998), the outcome in 1933 was merely a series of discussion points, drafts, and drawings, not an agreed-upon 'charter.' Le Corbusier later developed his own list of 95 points—perhaps as a nod to Martin Luther's *95 Theses*—covering his and his colleagues' exhaustive proposals for the planning of modern cities.

One of the most significant issues of divergence, according to Gold (1998), was Le Corbusier's more restrictive definition of 'functionalism,' in contrast to the more generous definition preferred by his colleagues. For them, the term included not only physical 'functions' but also intellectual, emotional, and spiritual ones as well. Le Corbusier was far more interested in responding to the dictates of that era's standardized production, and hence his idea of 'functionalism' was more mechanically focused (Gold, 1998, p. 228). This technical agenda also ran closely with a political agenda for Le Corbusier: to develop a consensus between disparate CIAM parties that included unionists, collectivists, Italian fascists, technical experts, and others (Holston, 1989). In the end, it was Le Corbusier's formulation of functionalism—and of the guiding ideas of urbanisation—that became the authoritative formulation known as the '1933 Athens Charter.' In turn, it was this document that exercised a profound effect upon the patterns of urbanisation for much of the century to come.

In this sense, Le Corbusier's goals were almost perfectly aligned with the dictates of early 20th century industrial technology, and almost perfectly poised to move into successful implementation. Indeed, that implementation happened most powerfully in the US, where Le Corbusier's CIAM colleague Walter Gropius became dean of Harvard's Graduate School of Design, their associate Mies van der Rohe became the head of the architecture programs at both the Art Institute of Chicago and Armour Institute of Technology, and they and others began to play an increasingly prominent role in shaping the emerging urbanisation policy of that generation. In fact, Le Corbusier's urban vision for the post-war future captivated a global audience at the 1939 World's Fair, in a design by his admirer Norman Bel Geddes for an exhibit by General Motors called Futurama.

Thus, the CIAM vision did in fact become the model for much of the post-war development in the US and increasingly around the world: the ubiquitous freeways, superblocks, and towers set back from streets. The model also features uses segregated by function, dominance of mechanical modes of travel, and replacement of 'obsolete' buildings and neighbourhoods with gleaming new structures designed to precise technical specifications by technical experts. This was a functionalism in Le Corbusier's definition of the term: The city would function like a precise machine, precisely combining separate mechanical elements.

That this scheme was effectively implemented is evidenced by the vast stretches of urban structure created profitably according to this model, and still being created in many places today (Figure 1). However, what was overlooked by the CIAM model was the web of human interactions and relationships that formed within the network of public and private spaces. The Athens Charter model fatefully separated the street from the building, as well as the home from work and school, disrupting the normal course and social mixing of everyday life. The consequences of this fateful segregation were evident as this experiment went forward in the 1950s and 1960s.

2.1. The Era of Reform Begins: The 1960s and beyond

As a result of the evident weaknesses of the Athens Charter and Le Corbusier's vision in particular, a number of reformers began to voice their criticisms beginning around 1960. In that year, the CIAM breakaway group known as Team 10 embraced a more 'structuralist' understanding of architecture as a setting for human life and culture. This was in strong contrast to Le Corbusier's more 'rationalist' approach to urban planning, which, they argued, ignored the patterns of life and the complex relationships of inhabitants (van Eyck, 1954). One of the most prominent structuralist advocates was (and is) the Dutch architect John Habraken, an early pioneer of the co-called 'participation movement' in which users were seen as active co-creators of the urban environment (Habraken, 2019).

Another highly influential critic around that time was the journalist and urbanist Jane Jacobs, whose landmark book *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961) became widely influential, notably for both the later New

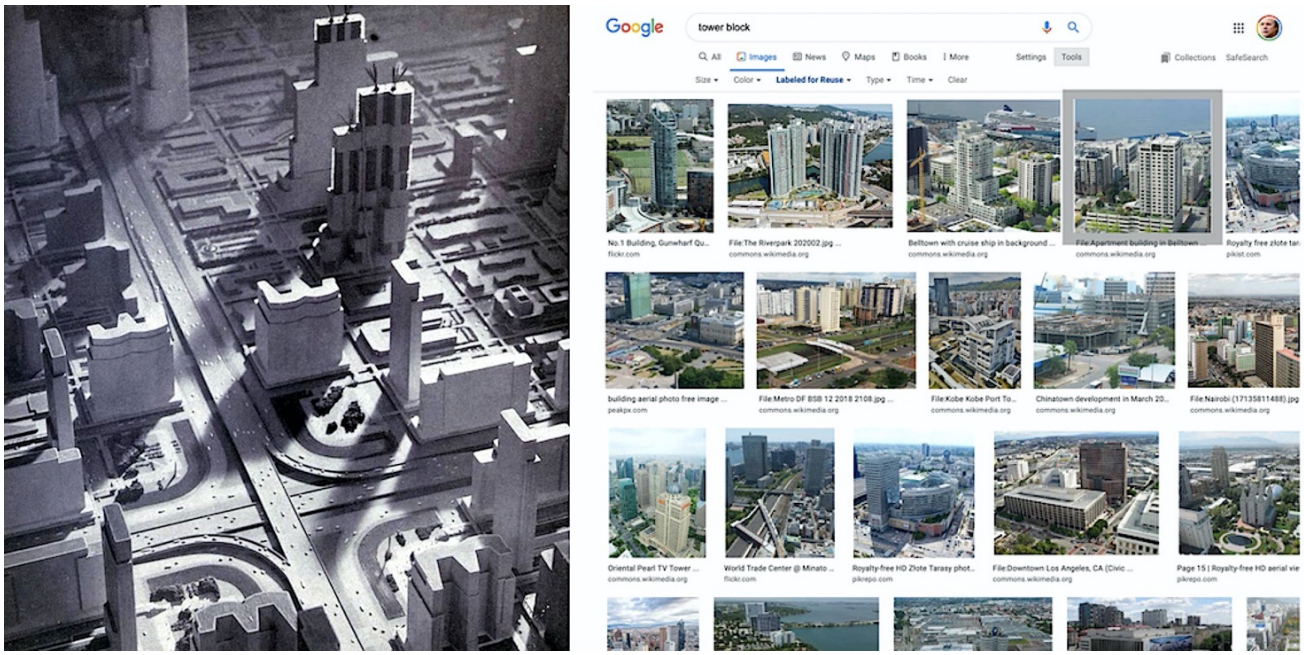

Figure 1. A model built by designer Norman Bel Geddes for a Shell Oil advertisement (left) shows many of the principles of the Athens Charter: zoning by use, segregation of automobiles onto functionally classified roadways, buildings floating loosely within superblock systems, replacement of historic patterns, and the city as technically determined creation. Barely a half-century later, this model of urbanism had become ubiquitous the world over and remains so—as this Google image search demonstrates (right). Source: Google Search ('labelled for reuse' filter on).

Urbanists and the framers of the New Urban Agenda (Mehaffy, 2017). Her book attacked the functional segregation of the Athens Charter as well as the Garden City movement before it. Her criticism of Le Corbusier's ideas in particular was withering:

> His conception, as an architectural work, had a dazzling clarity, simplicity, and harmony. It was so orderly, so visible, so easy to understand. It said everything in a flash, like a good advertisement….But as to how the city works, it tells, like the Garden City, nothing but lies. (Jacobs, 1961, p. 23)

More than a criticism, Jacobs' book was a passionate defence of the under-appreciated human connections and interactive processes occurring within the urban places she observed. She saw these as under great threat in the era of 'urban renewal,' wherein the older, messier parts of cities were to be replaced with rationally planned environments following the recipe of the Athens Charter. But instead of the Athens Charter's machine-like functional segregation, Jacobs advocated diversity and mixing. Instead of what she called "project land oozings" and "loose sprawls" around Le Corbusier's model of towers in a park (Jacobs, 1961), she argued for well-formed streetscapes and buildings forming coherent public space systems. Instead of 'projects' on superblocks, cut off from the wider city by dead zones that she termed "border vacuums" (Jacobs, 1961), she argued for a continuous evolving network of interconnected urbanism.

This network conception of cities came to be a major theme of Jacobs' work and the work of many others to follow—including, as we will see, the New Urbanists and the creators of the New Urban Agenda. In this new model, the city was no longer a static work of art and engineering created by rational methods, but instead was a dynamic place of social mixing, interaction, co-creation, and self-organization. Jacobs' later work on urban economics emphasised the economic processes that occurred through spatial network interactions and "knowledge spillovers" (Jacobs, 1969). Cities, by their structures and their processes, generate the capacity for creative interaction and human (including economic) development, she argued. They do this through the web-networks that form and transform between people and resources. All of these social, economic, and resource networks are rooted in a city's physical networks of public and private spaces, together with their connections. These may be physical connections or other kinds of connections (e.g., data), but all of them ultimately are grounded in the physical framework formed by a city's networks of public space. Get that wrong, Jacobs said, and your city will be in trouble.

A similar focus on networks in urban relationships and their spatial forms came from the architect Christopher Alexander, whose Cambridge training included mathematics (Mehaffy, 2017). His widely influential 1965 paper "A City is Not a Tree" argued that the elements of a city were not optimally connected through the rationally segregated, hierarchical (tree-like) conception of the Athens Charter. Rather, the best cities con-

tained 'semi-lattices,' web-network relationships that could not be neatly sorted into hierarchical schemes. This was not a defect of cities, or a form of disorder, but on the contrary, a deeper form of order:

> It must be emphasized, lest the orderly mind shrink in horror from anything that is not clearly articulated and categorized in tree form, that the idea of overlap, ambiguity, multiplicity of aspect and the semi-lattice are not less orderly than the rigid tree, but more so. They represent a thicker, tougher, more subtle and more complex view of structure. (Alexander, 1965/2015, p. 16)

Alexander later argued that these overlapping web-network relationships formed 'patterns' between people and their environments, which evolved and could be shared much like a language—hence they formed, as a later book proposed, a shareable 'pattern language' (Alexander et al., 1977). Among these important patterns were a number that defied the Athens Charter's neat scheme of functional segregation by use and mode: "Scattered Work," "Web of Shopping," "Street Cafe," "Building Fronts," "Private Terrace on the Street," and so on (Alexander et al., 1977). These and other patterns also described a more traditional urban fabric of mixed buildings framing the edges of mixed streets and other public spaces. The book also emphasized, through its very design and aim, the co-production of the city by users who might participate in applying these or other patterns, and the evolution of city form through these small and large acts of accretion. This was a city evolving and self-organizing over time, retaining many existing patterns and structures, while continuously adding to and transforming many of them.

2.2. The Emergence of 'the New Urbanism'

By the 1980s, a number of practitioners had begun to apply Jacobs' and Alexander's ideas in the field. Architects Andrés Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, two of the most energetic figures of what was to become known as the New Urbanism movement, designed and participated in the construction of Seaside, a 1980s Florida resort town that broke early from the Athens Charter logic. Duany later referred to Alexander as "one of the most influential people who has ever been in the design world. His influence on us, operationally, has been enormous" (Project for Public Spaces, 2008). At the same time, Jacobs' ideas on mixed use, walkable small blocks, diversity of buildings and compactness of urban form also greatly influenced the emerging New Urbanist practitioners and theorists, who frequently honoured her by name (Talen, 2005).

What we now know as New Urbanism was first developed as a set of principles created at a conference convened in 1991 by California's Local Government Commission, which had been set up by former Governor Jerry Brown. The reformist group of architects and planners (including Duany and Plater-Zyberk) produced the "Ahwahnee Principles for Resource-Efficient Communities," named for the lodge in California's Yosemite National Park where the meeting was held. Like Jacobs and Alexander, the group's document promoted mixed use, mixed transit, fine-grained streets, public spaces defined by buildings, and involvement of citizens in creating their environments, all in stark contrast with the Athens Charter.

Energized by the effort and by a companion book titled *The New Urbanism* by Peter Katz (1993), the group later formed a non-profit organization and developed its detailed 'Charter of the New Urbanism.' The document includes 27 principles sorted by scale (from the regional to the building) following a preamble describing its reformist intent:

> We advocate the restructuring of public policy and development practices to support the following principles: neighbourhoods should be diverse in use and population; communities should be designed for the pedestrian and transit as well as the car; cities and towns should be shaped by physically defined and universally accessible public spaces and community institutions; urban places should be framed by architecture and landscape design that celebrate local history, climate, ecology, and building practice. (Congress for the New Urbanism [CNU], 2020, Preamble)

2.3. The Development of the New Urban Agenda

In 1976, the UN began the first of a series of high-level conferences on urbanisation known as the Habitat conferences. Habitat I, held in Vancouver, Canada, established goals for improving the quality of urbanisation and its human outcomes, particularly for rural areas. Habitat II, in Istanbul, Turkey in 1996, aimed to address the environmental issues surrounding urbanisation. Habitat III, in Quito, Ecuador in 2016, focused upon trends of rapid urbanisation, quality of life, inclusion, 'cities for all,' and the goal of articulating a 'New Urban Agenda' for better quality urban development (UN-Habitat, 2020).

The New Urban Agenda text emerged from a number of conferences, regional and thematic meetings, policy papers and issue papers, and preparatory committee meetings, beginning in 2013. A number of prominent New Urbanists participated in these events, notably the 'Future of Places' conferences featuring the first UN-Habitat 'Urban Thinkers' Campus,' attended by Andrés Duany, Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, Doug Kelbaugh, Charles Bohl, and Victor Dover (Future of Places, 2020). A 'zero draft' of the New Urban Agenda was released in May 2016 and subsequently edited. The UN General Assembly agreed on the final draft in September 2016, and it was adopted by acclamation in December 2016 (UN-Habitat, 2020).

Like the Charter of the New Urbanism, the New Urban Agenda calls for deep reform of urban planning and design practices:

> We commit ourselves to working towards an urban paradigm shift for a New Urban Agenda that will: (a) Readdress the way we plan, finance, develop, govern and manage cities and human settlements, recognizing sustainable urban and territorial development as essential to the achievement of sustainable development and prosperity for all. (UN-Habitat, 2020)

As we will discuss below, the New Urban Agenda also reflects a number of the shifts in thinking about the nature of cities and the challenges of good-quality urbanisation that occurred form the time of the Athens Charter.

3. From the 1996 Charter of the New Urbanism to the 2016 New Urban Agenda: Maturation of a New Global Movement

When we search for parallels relating to urban form in the two more recent documents, we readily find significant correspondences. The New Urban Agenda calls for "urban spatial frameworks" that are "well-connected" and featuring "compactness and density" (UN, 2016, para. 51-52). The Charter of the New Urbanism likewise calls for "interconnected networks of streets" that offer "supportive physical frameworks" and urban patterns that are "compact" (CNU, 2020, Preamble). The New Urban Agenda calls for "polycentrism" (UN, 2016, para. 51, 98) while the Charter of the New Urbanism articulates "multiple centers that are cities, towns, and villages" (CNU, 1996, para. 1). Most notably, both documents stipulate 'mixed use' in contrast to the segregation of uses (residential, commercial, civic, etc.) that was common in earlier 20th century planning.

Another striking parallel is in the key role of open and accessible public space, which both documents highlight, with the CNU Charter arguing that "cities and towns should be shaped by physically defined and universally accessible public spaces" including "interconnected networks of streets" (CNU, 1996, Preamble) while the New Urban Agenda lists the goal of "well-connected and well-distributed networks of open, multipurpose, safe, inclusive, accessible, green and quality public spaces," "including streets" (UN, 2016, para. 67).

Common to both documents are provisions for multimodal streets for pedestrians, bicycles, transit, and cars. Communities in the CNU Charter will be "designed for the pedestrian and transit as well as the car" (CNU, 1996, Preamble) and "transit, pedestrian, and bicycle systems should maximize access and mobility throughout the region while reducing dependence upon the automobile" (CNU, 1996, para. 8). The New Urban Agenda sets the goal of "safe, inclusive, accessible, green and quality public spaces, including streets, sidewalks and cycling lanes" that are "multifunctional areas for social interaction and inclusion, human health and well-being, economic exchange and cultural expression" (UN, 2016, para. 37).

In both documents, buildings play a supportive role in defining and connecting to streets as key public spaces. The Charter of the New Urbanism declares that "a primary task of all urban architecture and landscape design is the physical definition of streets and public spaces as places of shared use" (CNU, 1996, para. 19). The New Urban Agenda calls for "measures that allow for the best possible commercial use of street-level floors, fostering both formal and informal local markets and commerce, as well as not-for-profit community initiatives, bringing people into public spaces and promoting walkability and cycling with the goal of improving health and well-being" (UN, 2016, para. 100).

Another notable parallel occurs with the topic of urban heritage. In both cases, heritage is seen not as a mere cultural relic but as an active resource providing patterns and solutions for modern challenges, including sustainable development. The New Urban Agenda calls for "prioritizing renewal, regeneration and retrofitting" (UN, 2016, para. 97) while the Charter of the New Urbanism places a priority on "reconfiguration" of existing neighbourhoods, and "preservation and renewal" (CNU, 1996, Preamble). The CNU Charter decries "the erosion of society's built heritage" (CNU, 1996, Preamble) while the New Urban Agenda calls for "leveraging of cultural heritage for sustainable urban development" (UN, 2016, para. 38, 125).

Both documents also place an emphasis on empowerment and capacity-building of excluded populations, with the New Urban Agenda advancing "equal rights and opportunities" (UN, 2016, para. 12) and "socioeconomic and cultural diversity" (UN, 2016, para. 14) while the Charter of the New Urbanism opposes "increasing separation by race and income" and argues instead that "neighbourhoods should be diverse in use and population" (CNU, 1996, Preamble). Both emphasize the importance of safety and security while also maintaining openness to all. The CNU Charter argues that "the design of streets and buildings should reinforce safe environments, but not at the expense of accessibility and openness" (CNU, 1996, para. 21) while the New Urban Agenda proposes "public spaces that…foster social cohesion, inclusion and safety" (UN, 2016, para. 25). Both also emphasize public involvement, with the CNU Charter committing to "citizen-based participatory planning and design" (CNU, 1996, Preamble) while the New Urban Agenda proposes "enabling the participation and engagement of communities and relevant stakeholders in the planning and implementation" and "supporting the social production of habitat" (UN, 2016, para. 31).

Lastly, both documents see design within the larger context of an evolving and self-organizing urban system. The CNU Charter argues that the role of design is to provide "a coherent and supportive physical frame-

work" for the sustained growth of "economic vitality, community stability and environmental health" (CNU, 1996, Preamble) and that "architecture and landscape design should grow from local climate, topography, history, and building practice" (CNU, 1996, para. 24). The New Urban Agenda speaks of "the evolving needs of persons and communities" and the role of "incremental housing and self-build schemes" among other evolving aspects of the city (UN, 2016, para. 107). Clearly, design has an important role, but one that is continuously engaged with the challenges of the city at many scales of space and time.

More broadly, both documents express an urgency in the unacceptable status quo and propose an aggressive reform agenda to counter it. The Charter of the New Urbanism starts out by proclaiming:

> 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. (CNU, 1996, Preamble)

It then lays out five reformist preamble paragraphs, followed by twenty-seven detailed principles of revitalized or 'new' urbanism, grouped at regional, neighbourhood, and building scales.

The Charter of the New Urbanism is careful to qualify the importance of urbanism in meeting the challenges of the future, but at the same time, it offers a vision of cities and towns as essential physical frameworks for human well-being: "We recognize that physical solutions by themselves will not solve social and economic problems, but neither can economic vitality, community stability, and environmental health be sustained without a coherent and supportive physical framework" (CNU, 1996, Preamble).

Taking a similarly reformist tone, the New Urban Agenda calls for "readdressing the way cities and human settlements are planned, designed, financed, developed, governed and managed" (UN, 2016, para. 5) to achieve the "sustainable urban development" (UN, 2016, para. 9) and "cities for all" (UN, 2016, para. 11). These reforms are necessary because:

> We are still far from adequately addressing…existing and emerging challenges, and there is a need to take advantage of the opportunities presented by urbanisation as an engine of sustained and inclusive economic growth, social and cultural development, and environmental protection, and of its potential contributions to the achievement of transformative and sustainable development. (UN, 2016, para. 4)

In both documents, then, urbanism offers powerful opportunities to humanity—but our current methods are inadequate, and in urgent need of the structural reforms specified by both.

4. Comparing All Three Documents: Tracing the Threads of a Century of Urban Thinking

Both the New Urban Agenda and the Charter of the New Urbanism stand in striking contrast to the Athens Charter, particularly on six seminal topics:

- Mix of uses (in place of functional segregation of uses);
- Walkable multi-modal streets (in place of functional segregation of streets and travel);
- Buildings defining public space (in place of open patterns of buildings and vegetation);
- Mix of building ages and heritage patterns (in place of demolition of most historic buildings);
- Co-production of the city by the citizens (in place of city creation solely by technical experts);
- The city as an evolutionary self-organizing structure (in place of the city as a static end state of design).

These specific points are part of a deeper century-long change in the model of urbanism and urbanisation, gradually embracing its open, incremental, and informal aspects, and the emergent characteristic that Jane Jacobs (1961) referred to as 'organised complexity.' Yet this transformation has not yet been fully made, according to Joan Clos, Secretary-General of Habitat III, writing with a group of co-authors including the sociologists Richard Sennett and Saskia Sassen:

> Many of the 94 recommendations of the 1933 Athens Charter still determine the generic forms and physical organisation of 21st century city. (Sennett et al., 2018, p. 3)

For Clos and his co-authors, this is a problem: "The patterns of urbanisation today require a re-framing of the discourse and practice of planning, one that questions the very tenets of the Athens Charter and challenges the value of anachronistic 'bottom-up vs top-down' models, so heavily rooted in western urbanism" (Sennett et al., 2018, p. 114). The New Urban Agenda begins this project, they say. However:

> More work is needed to complement the New Urban Agenda, helping to mark a paradigm shift away from the rigidity of the technocratic, generic modernist model we have inherited from the Athens Charter towards a more open, malleable and incremental urbanism that recognizes the role of space and place—and how they are shaped by planning and design—in making cities more equitable. (Sennett et al., 2018, p. 66)

It is also clear that the Charter of the New Urbanism is a rejection of the modernist approach to urban design embodied in the Athens Charter, as one of the founders, Andrés Duany, has stated: "Our ideology is different" (Duany, 1997, p. 48). At the same time, the New Urbanists acknowledge their debt to the modernists, at least in part: "In important ways the Congress for New Urbanism is modelled on CIAM [Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne, for whom the Athens Charter was written]….Our methodology is the same" (Duany, 1997, p. 48).

The magnitude of the 'paradigm shift' described by Clos and others can readily be observed by comparing the Athens Charter with both the New Urban Agenda and the Charter of the New Urbanism. In place of the 'mixed use' of the two later documents, the Athens Charter states that "zoning is an operation carried out on the city map with the object of assigning every function and every individual to its rightful place" and "by taking account of the key functions—housing, work, recreation—zoning will introduce a measure of order into the urban territory" (Le Corbusier, 1973, para. 15). In place of streets as multi-modal places of shared use, the Athens Charter proposes "a radical separation of pedestrians from mechanized vehicles" (Le Corbusier, 1973, para. 60). In place of buildings aligning to streets as public spaces, it commands that "the alignment of dwellings along transportation routes must be prohibited" (Le Corbusier, 1973, para. 27).

Similarly, heritage is not a candidate for 'renewal' in the Athens Charter, but on the contrary, for destruction, especially in the case of older buildings occupied by the poor: "An elementary knowledge of the principal notions of health and sanitation is sufficient to detect a slum building and to discriminate a clearly unsanitary city block. These blocks must be demolished" (Le Corbusier, 1973, para 36). While a few historic monuments are to be kept as relics, their surrounding historic fabric, characterised as 'slums,' is slated for wholesale demolition: "The destruction of the slums around historic monuments will provide an opportunity to create verdant areas" (Le Corbusier, 1973, para. 69).

The Athens Charter also does not elevate the goal of promoting diversity and social justice as the later documents do, but rather considers these topics in only the limited context of modernisation. While historic preservation is seen in the later documents as a shared public good and a tool of regeneration and opportunity, for the Athens Charter its obstruction of modernization is seen as inherently unjust: "By no means can any narrow-minded cult of the past bring about a disregard for the rules of social justice" (Le Corbusier, 1973, para. 67). A second reference comes from the alleged "injustice" of the "arbitrary constraint" of walking, to be liberated by the vehicles of the new machine age: "Arbitrary constraints gave rise to flagrant injustices. Then the age of machinism arose" (Le Corbusier, 1973, para. 6). References to 'diversity' are limited to technical requirements, like those for streets: "Confronted with mechanized speeds, the street network seems irrational, lacking in precision, in adaptability, in diversity, and in conformity" (Le Corbusier, 1973, para. 6) Elsewhere, the issue of cultural diversity is defined only as a "biological and psychological constraint" to be overcome with universalizing design solutions: "Finally, the races [sic] of mankind, with their varied religions and philosophies, multiply the diversity of human undertakings, each proposing its own mode of perception and its own reason for being" (Le Corbusier, 1973, para. 3). This is a diversity that is not to be sought and promoted, but rather regarded as a mere pre-existing condition that must inform "the rationale governing the development of cities" (Le Corbusier, 1973, para. 7).

While the later documents see the role of citizens as co-producers of the city with the right of public involvement at many scales, the Athens Charter focuses instead on the role of technocratic specialists: "The principles of modern urbanism, evolved through the labours of innumerable technicians—technicians in the art of building, technicians of health, technicians of social organization—…still must be acknowledged by the administrative agencies charged with watching over the destiny of cities" (Le Corbusier, 1973, para. 74). Furthermore, "the program must be based on rigorous analyses carried out by specialists" (Le Corbusier, 1973, para. 86). The public's role is not to co-produce, but on the contrary, to merely "understand, desire, and demand what the specialists have envisaged for it" (Le Corbusier, 1973, para. 91). A top-down agency is to deliver these results: "A political power such as one might wish—clear-sighted, with earnest conviction, and determined to achieve those improved living conditions that have been worked out and set down on paper" (Le Corbusier, 1973, para. 91).

The understanding of change over time within the city is also remarkably different in the Athens Charter. Whereas the newer documents describe the dynamic, evolutionary nature of the city, the Athens Charter has a clear focus on the city as a static work fixed in time by a static plan: "Plans will determine the structure of each of the sectors allocated to the four key functions and they will also determine their respective locations within the whole" (Le Corbusier, 1973, para. 78). These are rigid and not to be altered: "Inviolable rules will guarantee the inhabitants good homes, comfortable working conditions, and the enjoyment of leisure. The soul of the city will be brought to life by the clarity of the plan" (Le Corbusier, 1973, para. 86).

These six topics, then—the zoning of urban elements, the design of streets, the orientation of buildings, the treatment of historic structures and patterns, the role of specialists in relation to citizens, and the accommodation of change and process—are perhaps the most salient points of agreement between the New Urban Agenda and the Charter of the New Urbanism, and the most striking points of contrast of both with the earlier Athens Charter (Table 1). These differences are well illustrated in a 1948 drawing by Adolf Bayer (Figure 2).

Table 1. Comparison of the three documents (Athens Charter, Charter of the New Urbanism, and New Urban Agenda) on six normative topics of urbanism.

Topic	Athens Charter (1933)	Charter of the New Urbanism (1996)	New Urban Agenda (2016)
1. Zoning of urban elements	Uses are segregated according to function (residential, commercial, civic, etc.)	Mixed uses are encouraged while regulation focuses on form	Mixed uses are encouraged while regulation focuses on form
2. Design of streets	All streets are functionally segregated by vehicle speed, and pedestrians are prohibited	Urban streets are places of multi-modal transportation and public spaces, welcoming pedestrians	Urban streets are places of multi-modal transportation and public spaces, welcoming pedestrians
3. Orientation of buildings	Buildings are removed from edges of streets into 'superblocks'	Buildings align with and enclose streets and other public spaces	Buildings align with and enclose streets and other public spaces
4. Treatment of historic structures and patterns	Most historic structures are demolished, while only a few representative monuments are retained; most traditional patterns are rejected as not 'of our time'	Both tangible (buildings, monuments) and intangible (knowledge, patterns) heritage is conserved and re-used, often synthesized with new technologies and approaches	Both tangible (buildings, monuments) and intangible (knowledge, patterns) heritage is conserved and re-used, often synthesized with new technologies and approaches
5. Role of specialists in relation to citizens	The city is solely a creation of centralized specialists (economic, political, technical); citizens are passive beneficiaries	The city is socially produced by many actors at many levels, through the empowerment of many diverse citizens and institutions	The city is socially produced by many actors at many levels, through the empowerment of many diverse citizens and institutions
6. Accommodation of change	The city is a technically determined structure designed statically to meet fixed human needs	The city is a dynamic, evolutionary, partly self-organizing system whose design is continually adaptive	The city is a dynamic, evolutionary, partly self-organizing system whose design is continually adaptive

5. Conclusion: The Daunting Challenge of Implementation

Neither the Charter of the New Urbanism nor the New Urban Agenda have gone without substantial criticism, certainly, although a full discussion is beyond the scope of this article. However, it has been noted that many of the criticisms of New Urbanism in particular are based on "flawed arguments (with various strains of logical fallacies), unclear conceptual frameworks and inconsistent categories of theoretical thought" (Haas, 2005, p. 11). As Emily Talen (2000, p. 335) has argued, there is a need to disentangle the normative aspirations of New Urbanism from its failures of implementation, "redirecting their critique of implementation toward the underlying reasons for that failure (which largely lie outside of its normative ideals)." The same could be said for the New Urban Agenda, whose aspirations—sustainable and just cities and towns with healthy, prosperous populations—are not generally controversial, although the topic of implementation certainly deserves more critical examination (World Economic Forum, 2020). That critical topic will be the focus of our conclusion.

We start by noting that, by comparison, the Athens Charter devoted much more attention to the challenges of implementation than either of the more recent documents—and to date it has been far more successful in actual implementation (for better or worse) than the other two. A number of the Athens Charter' observations on implementation would apply equally to the two new documents, notably that "there are two opposing realities: the scale of the projects to be undertaken urgently for the reorganization of the cities, and the infinitely fragmented state of land ownership" (Le Corbusier, 1973,

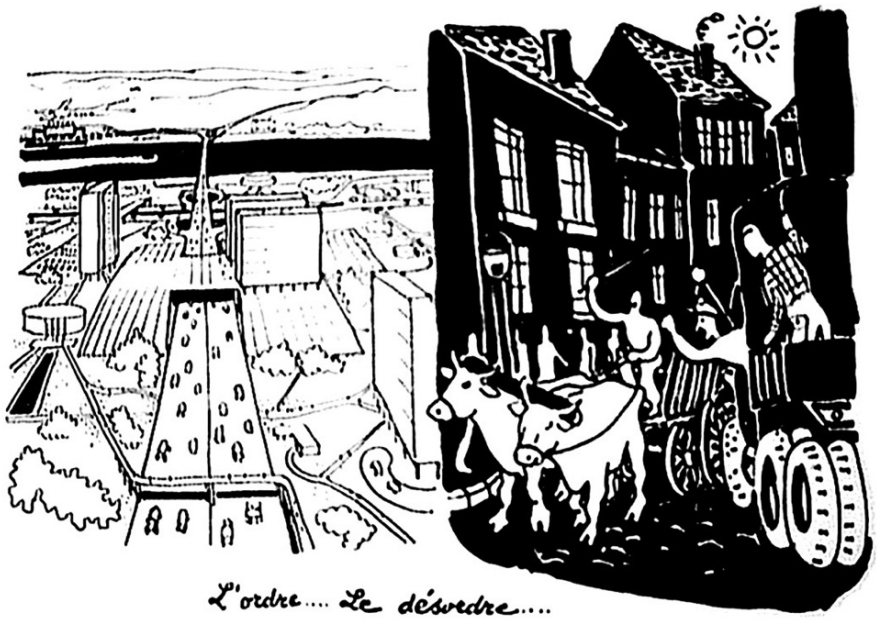

Figure 2. A 1948 drawing by Adolf Bayer shows the striking contrast between the modernist city—'order'—and the traditional city—'disorder.' The traditional city on the right features a mix of uses and modes on walkable streets, buildings defining the edges of public spaces including streets, a mix of buildings and heritage patterns, and an open, self-organizing pattern shaped by many actors, which only seems chaotic. The modernist city on the left, however, features segregated uses, pedestrians segregated from streets, a loose pattern of buildings floating in green space, pristine buildings, and a highly determined, static environment created by technical specialists. Source: Google Images ('labelled for reuse' filter on).

para. 93). The system of delivery gets careful consideration in the Athens Charter, as well as the call for scientific research to address so-called 'lock-in' from outmoded systems: "Sometimes a scientific discovery is enough to upset the equilibrium, to reveal the discord between the administrative system of yesterday and the pressing realities of today" (Le Corbusier, 1973, para. 93).

The Athens Charter also explicitly recognizes the importance of a realistic attitude in exploiting the technological and economic capabilities of the day—also no less true today: "Countless difficulties have harassed people who were unable to gauge accurately the extent of technical transformations and their tremendous repercussions on public and private life" (Le Corbusier, 1973, para. 94). Instead, we must recognize and facilitate "an economic situation that will make it possible to embark upon and pursue building projects which, in certain instances, will be considerable" (Le Corbusier, 1973, para. 91). That is, designers and planners must become active participants in directing technical and economic forces to deliver the results they seek. This is a point that has also been made by some of the founders of the New Urbanism, including Andrés Duany (2004).

The call by Clos and his colleagues for "a more open, malleable and incremental urbanism" must also address the potential conflict, or at least disconnect, between that open and malleable urbanism and "making cities more equitable" (Sennett et al., 2018, p. 66). How can 'open' economic processes be prevented from exacerbating inequality and exclusion? This might be done through mechanisms of connection, empowerment, and capacity-building, of the sort described by, say, Jane Jacobs (1961)—but clearly, more work is needed in this area.

Implementers of the Charter of the New Urbanism have arguably not done enough to address the informal aspects of urbanisation, at a time when, in many parts of the world today, informality is a dominant aspect of urbanisation, and urban inequality is also reaching runaway levels (Mehaffy & Haas, 2018). That omission was the subject a persistent criticism of New Urbanism by the iconoclastic architect Christopher Alexander, who has long argued instead for more incremental, process-based systems and technologies (Alexander, Schmidt, Hanson, Alexander, & Mehaffy, 2005). By contrast, the New Urban Agenda does pledge "support to incremental housing and self-build schemes, with special attention to programmes for upgrading slums and informal settlements" (UN-Habitat, 2020, para. 107). Yet in both cases, mechanisms of implementation seem incomplete at best.

Not surprisingly, the Charter of the New Urbanism, created for an organization based in the US, has often been criticised for its Americentric and Eurocentric perspective on urbanisation, at a time that the processes that shape cities are more global than ever before in history. On the other hand, models created in the US have had, and still have, an impact around the world. It follows that organisations that seek to reform those models, like the CNU, can play a particularly important role in working with other global partners to implement reforms.

More broadly, it must be recognised that the forces that shape cities are only partly affected by planning, policy, or other 'command functions' of government at the state or even the city scale. As Sassen (2010) has written, global inter-city networks of trade and capital flow are increasingly dominant forces. Urban real estate has become an important focus of international capital movement and extraction of surplus value, in some cases marginalizing the power of national governments. Without a global perspective on these dynamics and new global financial tools in response, the implementation of the goals of empowering citizens, promoting diversity, and reducing "separation by race and class" (CNU, 2020, Preamble) is likely to make little progress against the increasingly virulent global phenomena of gentrification, displacement, and segregation.

On the other hand, we are not powerless in the face of financial dynamics, for these are profoundly shaped by taxation policies, technological economies, regulatory structures, and other consciously chosen forms of economic and policy feedback. Jacobs (1961, p. 252), for her part, made a very telling remark: "In creating city success, we humans have created marvels, but we left out feedback." The global transition ahead will require much better feedback systems.

The runaway negative consequences of this lack of healthy regulatory feedback are certainly not absent from the landscape of the US: indeed, they are surging in many US cities. To the extent that New Urbanists helped to re-popularize the urban cores, from Brooklyn to Portland and many other US cities (and by extension, from London to Stockholm to Tokyo to Sydney), they seem to have exacerbated these runaway problems without doing enough to dampen them. In that sense, the 'new urbanisation' advocated by the New Urbanism has perhaps been too much of a good thing.

It is not that walkable mixed-use urbanism in itself is bad, of course—certainly not in relation to its sprawl alternative—or that there is not a real 'agglomeration benefit' to be had from the network effects of city cores, as we have learned from much recent research (see e.g., Batty, 2013; Bettencourt, 2013). The question is how the network effects are engaged (and managed and dampened when necessary) to produce these agglomeration benefits equitably and sustainably, and not as a poorly controlled, uneven, or runaway phenomenon. An important secondary question is how these goals can be achieved and sustained within a sustainable financial and technical system, on a par with the undeniable (if unsustainable) success in implementation of the Athens Charter model.

The first task is to recognise, like a doctor working on a complex medical problem, "the kind of problem a city is," in Jacobs' words (1961, p. 428). In particular, we must better understand (so as to better manage) the social and economic power of urban networks, including their economic dynamism and potential human opportunities (as well as remarkable resource efficiency and comparative emissions reductions per capita). This was the insight first recognised by Jacobs (1961) and Alexander (1965/2015). These agglomeration benefits include powerful 'knowledge spillover' potentials (Roche, 2019) that illustrate Jacobs' famous remark about 'lowly' sidewalk contacts which are the "small change from which a city's wealth of public life may grow"—and other more literal forms of wealth too, as it now appears (Jacobs, 1961, p. 72).

The problem, from the point of view of network theory, is that it is possible to over-concentrate these networks, and rely too much on what are known in the theory as 'rich club networks.' These clusters of nodes within a network are particularly well-connected to other adjacent nodes, conferring more powerful benefits to that part of the network (the term comes from social networks, and the advantage of 'who you know' within an often exclusive but well-connected sub-network). While there is certainly a benefit to concentrating clusters of talents and smarts—for individuals who are connected, and for the cluster as a whole—those benefits may not spill over to other parts of the network outside the cluster.

This lopsided distribution is not only unjust; it places a drag on the performance of the network as a whole. As Bettencourt (2013) and others have argued, a city without pervasive connectivity of all participants is likely to perform more poorly, other things equal. This is not only from the economic costs of crime, policing and incarceration, social services and the like, but a fundamental dynamic of social networks. According to what is known as Metcalfe's Law, it is not only the density of your 'rich club network,' but also the extent of the broader network that matters.

As Bettencourt (2013, p. 7) said:

> The view of cities in terms of social networks emphasizes the primary role of expanding connectivity per person and of social inclusion in order for cities to realize their full socioeconomic potential. In fact, cities that for a variety of reasons (violence, segregation, lack of adequate transportation) remain only incipiently connected will typically underperform economically compared to better mixing cities…what these results emphasize is the need for social integration in huge metropolitan areas over their largest scales, not only at the local level, such as neighbourhoods.

Put differently, urban equity and environmental justice are also good for everyone's bottom line.

The emerging work in urban network science offers promising avenues for further development of a new generation of more effective tools and strategies for managing the dynamics of cities, and achieving the goals of the Charter of the New Urbanism and the New Urban Agenda. They include new and revised codes, standards, laws, governance structures, professional models, financial mechanisms, tax policies, new network-based and

open data tools (like our own proposed 'new pattern language wiki'; Mehaffy et al., 2020) and more—in short, all of the elements of the 'operating system for growth' that generate the urban world we inhabit today, and will inhabit tomorrow.

It may be helpful to remember that the urban structures we see today, and the systems that generate them, are hardly immutable. Indeed, they have changed dramatically, and are still changing. As we once did, we have the capacity to transform them as we must again, so long as we recognize and act on that capacity. Just as we had the power to fragment and degrade cities, so now we have the power to regenerate them.

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Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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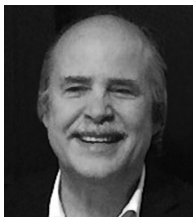

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Article

New Urbanism: Past, Present, and Future

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Abstract
The New Urbanism, initially conceived as an anti-sprawl reform movement, evolved into a new paradigm in urban design. Recently, however, some researchers have argued that the popular appeal of New Urbanism has eroded, the movement has lost its significance, and critical research on the broader theme has tapered off. In response, this article investigates whether the movement has lost its currency and explores the future of New Urbanism in the context of contemporary circumstances of development. The article begins with a brief description of the conceptualization of New Urbanism as an exception to the development trends of the time. Collaborative efforts of its protagonists that have contributed to the integration of New Urbanist concepts into other programs, policies, and development regulations are presented in the next section to describe its expansion, to clarify its mainstreaming, and to call attention to its broader impact. The concluding section presents contemporary circumstances of development and changes that are intensified by the COVID-19 pandemic, including those related to the nation's demographics, climate change, technological advances, rapid growth of the digital economy, and acceleration of e-commerce to explore the significance of New Urbanism for future development.

Keywords
COVID-19; New Urbanism; sustainable growth; urban and suburban development

Issue
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1. Introduction

The theme of New Urbanism, initially conceived as an anti-sprawl reform movement, evolved into a new paradigm in urban design. The promotion of the physical design concepts of New Urbanism started in the 1980s with the development of the Seaside residential lots in Walton County, Florida. In the 1990s, the planning and design principles established during the first three meetings of the Congress for the New Urbanism (CNU) became widely popular. These physical design principles, articulated for development at several scales from the region to the block and street, were formulated to address the problems and related urban experiences of the time and distinguished the New Urbanist movement and the types of projects it promoted as an exception to the norm. At the time, most conventional development projects produced low-density, use-segregated development that intensified automobile-dependency, and exacerbated sprawl. In contrast, New Urbanist projects were expected to promote mixed-use, mixed-income, compact developments that integrated a variety of housing types and supported alternative modes of transportation.

New Urbanist designers conceived these projects as a response to the social and spatial segregation of the population by race and income, the deteriorating environmental quality, a declining public realm, and the growth of non-place edge-city phenomena characterized as sprawl. Developers and sponsors promoted these projects to stimulate social and economic diversity and to engender an enhanced sense of community in urban and suburban developments. City planners and elected official endorsed these projects as sustainable growth. Starting in the 1990s, New Urbanist projects proliferated in several municipalities across the United States and

were supported by institutional and regulatory reforms, taking the form of suburban green-field developments, urban in-fill projects, and urban transit-oriented developments (Calthorpe & Fulton, 2001; CNU, 2004; Duany & Plater-Zyberk, 1991). In addition, planners and urban designers in Britain, Canada, France, India, Indonesia, Japan, Scotland, and Turkey were inspired by the physical design principles of New Urbanism and used these concepts to design the built environment (Steuteville, 1998).

Over time, the planning and design concepts of New Urbanism gained wider popularity, became diffused into development trends, and considerably influenced public policy (Steuteville, 1998; Talen, 2005). The movement also inspired a number of derivative planning and design concepts including smart growth, healthy cities, and transit-oriented communities that expanded the debate on compact development vis-à-vis sprawl. In addition, collaborative efforts of the CNU have contributed to the development of the Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design for Neighborhood Design, commonly known as the LEED-ND rating system (U.S. Green Building Council [USGBC], 2007). The LEED-ND rating system is considered an industry standard and is used for evaluating the sustainability of neighborhood-scale projects. Furthermore, New Urbanist designers have contributed to the formulation and promotion of form-based zoning codes that focus more on physical form and less on land use to regulate new development. Several cities and counties in the United States have already adopted, or are adopting, form-based codes to facilitate sustainable growth and to achieve a variety of objectives (Garde & Kim, 2017). Taken together, the diffusion of New Urbanist concepts into development projects, policies, and regulations signifies New Urbanism's evolution from an exception to the norm to an established paradigm in planning and urban design, which is referred to as its move from 'the fringe to the center' in this thematic issue.

There is substantial literature on New Urbanism. A significant proportion of the literature concerns the ideas and ideals of the New Urbanism (Duany & Plater-Zyberk, 1991; Ellis, 2002; Ewing et al., 2013a; Forsyth, 2015; Fulton, 1996; Passell, 2013). In addition, there is literature evaluating the social and spatial dimensions of New Urbanist projects vis-à-vis sprawl, social construction of New Urbanism, critiques of New Urbanism as a new paradigm in urban design, and on the expected benefits of New Urbanist projects (Day, 2003; Talen, 2005). Advocates of New Urbanism have emphasized the role of physical design in addressing a number of socio-spatial problems from the initial stage of its conceptualization and diffusion. In particular, they have emphasized that physical design can be used to address the segregation of population by race and income, to encourage a sense of community among its residents, as well to mitigate placelessness (CNU, n.d.; Talen, 1999).

Critics, however, have questioned the New Urbanist emphasis on physical design to achieve social objectives. Southworth (1997) argued that the development of walkable neighborhoods in sprawling regions may not reduce the dependence on automobile. Robbins (1998) pointed out that a sense of community can be encouraged through social programs and engagement with the residents; however, it cannot be designed. Grant (2006) stated that while the movement has succeeded in reviving the debate on how to design a good community, social justice issues are sometimes overlooked. Garde (2004) pointed out that while many New Urbanist projects include a variety of housing types, not all projects include affordable housing. Some researchers have questioned whether the theme of small village model, neo-traditional layout, and architectural style of New Urbanist projects is concocted as a postmodernist palliative to modern problems (Audirac & Shermyen, 1994). Others have argued that most of these projects cater to high-income households who self-select themselves into these neighborhoods (Grant, 2007; Harvey, 1997; Hirt, 2009).

A significant proportion of the literature on New Urbanism had initially focused narrowly on some very specific and idiosyncratic themes and practices of the paradigm marginalizing its larger impact and broader implications. Talen (2019) has observed that these critiques of New Urbanism do not offer practical alternatives to conventional suburban developments that lead to sprawl. The critiques of New Urbanism, and the rebuttals, have been reviewed in considerable detail by Ellis (2002). In addition, some researchers have pointed to potential benefits of New Urbanist type compact, mixed-use, urban infill, and transit-oriented developments that include a variety in types of housing and, in particular, affordable housing in neighborhood-scale projects. These benefits include reduced vehicle miles traveled (VMT); increased transportation choices, especially for a transit-dependent population; increased transit ridership; increased household disposable income from the use of public transit; increased local economic development; reduced air pollution and energy consumption; and reduced local infrastructure costs (Boarnet, 2011; Boarnet, Forsyth, Day, & Oaks, 2011; Cervero & Kockelman, 1997; Ellis, 2002; Garde, 2006; Moore, 2013; Schlossberg & Brown, 2004; Trudeau, 2016).

New urbanist type projects face considerable regulatory and non-regulatory barriers, however. Existing land development regulations restrict higher-density developments and non-regulatory barriers—such as the high cost and limited availability of land for development near transit stations, regulatory requirements for inclusion of affordable housing units into projects as well as lack of incentives for including affordable units into housing projects, local concerns for displacement and loss of sense of community that contributes to 'Not in My Back Yard' opposition to projects—remain as major barriers even when development regulations are modified to permit projects with higher densities (Garde, 2019).

In recent years, researchers also have evaluated the integration of New Urbanist design concepts in development regulations and into sustainability rating systems, and have identified the need to conduct research that goes beyond the debate on New Urbanist principles and focuses on the challenges to their implementation (Garde, 2009; Garde & Kim, 2017; Talen, 2019).

Some researchers, however, have suggested that the popular appeal of New Urbanism has eroded in recent years and that there seems to be a lack of interest in academic and professional circles in conducting critical research on the topic, which is also a premise explored further in this thematic issue of the journal. In particular, Fulton (2017, para. 4) argues that New Urbanism has become so mainstream that it has lost its appeal as a distinct movement and that it is no longer a "big deal." There is no doubt that New Urbanist-type projects are no longer perceived as *atypical* by most city planners and a significant proportion of neighborhood-scale housing projects in fast-growing regions across the United States are designed as compact, walkable, and mixed-use developments (Garde, 2008). In addition, it is clear that the circumstances of urban development have changed considerably since the conceptualization of New Urbanism in the 1990s when Baby Boomers were the largest living adult generation in the nation. But does this mean that the theme of New Urbanism has lost its currency? Furthermore, what is the future of New Urbanism in the context of the contemporary circumstances of urban development that are very different from when it was initially conceived, and the COVID-19 crisis, which has accelerated the changes that have been underway for some time? Talen (2019) explains that throughout the 1990s the advocates of the movement made a conscious effort to make the New Urbanism mainstream. She adds that some prominent researchers were initially skeptical of value of New Urbanism at the time; however, we have turned the corner and the debate on New Urbanism now focuses on barriers to implementing the normative ideals of the movement and not on its relevance to the field.

An exploration of the future of New Urbanism requires a retrospective view of the problems and circumstances of urban and suburban development that contributed to its innovation as an anti-sprawl movement. In addition, an investigation of New Urbanism would benefit from a discussion of its impact and how the collaborative efforts of its advocates have led to the integration of its design principles into sustainability rating systems, zoning regulations, and land development policies adopted at the local, regional, and state levels. Finally, a consideration of the future of New Urbanism necessitates a review of the present-day circumstances of urban development that are characterized by a number of interrelated trends that have been underway for some time. These trends include important and interrelated changes including those related to the nation's demographics; climate change; technological advances; remote work; restructuring of the global economy, including rapid growth of the digital economy; and acceleration of e-commerce and what is known as the 'Amazon effect,' some of which are intensified by the COVID-19 pandemic (Garde, 2019). Cities across the United States already face major challenges presented by these changes and will need to address them in the planning for the future of their jurisdictions. The future of New Urbanism is likely to be shaped by its strengths and weaknesses in addressing these challenges as discussed below.

It is important to note that while New Urbanism has influenced the design and development of new projects in several countries, it has had the greatest impact on the development of projects, policies, and regulations in the United States, as compared to other countries. With this in mind, the article describes the evolution of the movement and explores the future of New Urbanism in the United States. Consequently, the generalizability of the ideas and conclusions presented in this article is limited to the United States.

The remainder of the article is organized into four sections. In Section 2, I discuss the origins and the conceptualization of New Urbanism as a reform movement, emphasizing physical design as a tool for improving the quality of life in urban and suburban areas. In Section 3, I discuss the impact of New Urbanism on urban development trends as well as the collaborative efforts of its protagonists that have contributed to the integration of New Urbanist concepts into other programs, policies, and development regulations to describe its expansion, to clarify its mainstreaming, and to underscore its broader impact. In the same section, I discuss how the New Urbanist movement and the design ideas that it promotes have been supported by various forms of institutional endorsements and regulatory reforms. In Section 4, I discuss the changing circumstances of urban development in the context of COVID-19 pandemic and explain the challenges that cities are already facing to explore the future of New Urbanism. In Section 5, I present the conclusions.

2. The Past: Conceptualization of New Urbanism

In a 1999 personal interview with the author, Robert Davis, the developer of Seaside, stated that he asked Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, founding members of the New Urbanist movement based in Miami, Florida, to help him develop Seaside as a walkable small town similar in structure and architecture to older seaside towns in the Southern United States and in the Mediterranean that he had visited during his travels. Seaside is considered one of the earliest New Urbanist projects, and, although developed as a resort, some of the planning and design ideas used in the project and later promoted through the movement became widely popular and gained currency in academic and professional circles. It is noteworthy that the design of Seaside was based on a form-based code that relied on a typology of

buildings and a regulating plan that assigned each type of development to specific areas of the site.

Laguna West, another well-known New Urbanist project, designed by Peter Calthorpe, one of the founding members of the movement, became a reality for very different reasons. Delsohn (1994) noted that Calthorpe's opportunity to integrate his design concepts into a project came to him in 1989, when he met Phil Angelides during a symposium titled *Towards a New Suburbia* that he, Duany, and Solomon had organized at the University of California, Berkeley. Angelides was a candidate for state treasurer at the time and was developing Laguna West in Sacramento County. Laguna West was initially designed and approved as a standard subdivision with cul-de-sacs, but Angelides wanted to avoid a development record that could be seen as contributing to the traffic and environmental problems and that could weaken his candidacy. Angelides attended the Berkeley conference at the suggestion of the members of the Environmental Council of Sacramento, who had sued another large suburban subdivision in the region. When Calthorpe came on board, the design of Laguna West was significantly transformed from a conventional suburban subdivision to a modified version of 'pedestrian pockets.'

Several New Urbanist concepts were initially identified by specific terms used by individual architects and urban designers to refer to physical design principles that they had used in their projects (Fulton, 1996; Katz, 1994). For instance, 'traditional neighborhood development' and 'neo-traditionalism' are terms used by the office of Duany Plater-Zyberk & Associates. In a similar manner, terms such as 'transit-oriented development' and 'pedestrian pockets' are used by Calthorpe Associates. Later, these diverse but interrelated sets of ideas were integrated into a broader theme of New Urbanism. Passell (2013) explains that the term *New Urbanism* was coined in a discussion between Stefanos Polyzoides and Peter Katz in 1991 while they were trying to identify an appealing title for Katz's book that would also be apropos for the movement. Later, a meeting was convened by California's Local Government Commission at the Ahwahnee Hotel at Yosemite National Park in California to propose a set of design principles for promoting sustainable and livable cities. The meeting, which included Andres Duany, Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, Peter Calthorpe, Stefanos Polyzoides, and other founding members of the New Urbanism, except Daniel Solomon, led to the articulation and endorsement of what is known as the Ahwahnee Principles to address the problems of development of the time.

The Ahwahnee meeting also laid the foundation for the establishment of the CNU, an advocacy group formed in October 1993 (Katz, 1994). CNU provided the impetus for the movement by convening annual meetings and articulated a set of design principles that were developed into what is known as the Charter of the New Urbanism. The Charter was given its current form during the first three meetings organized between 1993 and 1995 (CNU, n.d.). Advocates of New Urbanism presented a set of physical design ideas, from neighborhood scale to regional scale, to mitigate sprawl and to encourage sustainable growth sensitive to environmental quality, economy, and social equity (Calthorpe, 1993; Duany & Plater-Zyberk, 1991; Garde, 2004; Talen, 2005). Typical New Urbanist projects were expected to include an interconnected network of streets and blocks organized around a neighborhood center, a mix of land uses, a variety of housing types and densities to create a compact urban form, and a pedestrian-oriented design with an emphasis on providing civic spaces and amenities within walking distance (Steuteville, 1998).

Planning and design concepts developed during the first three CNU meetings influenced the institutional reforms that started in the mid-1990s. This was reflected in the land use and architectural design guidelines for the neo-traditional developments included in the Architectural Graphic Standards published by the American Institute of Architects in 1994 as well as in street design guidelines for the traditional neighborhood developments published by the Institute of Transportation Engineers (ITE) in 1997. The New Urbanist movement was bolstered when Henry Cisneros, Secretary of the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) at the time, initiated a 'Homeownership Zones' program that offered grants and loans to cities for redevelopment based on New Urbanist principles. HUD also launched a program, HOPE VI, to redevelop severely distressed public housing in cities across the nation (CNU, n.d.). Several cities and counties in the United States endorsed New Urbanist design schemes and facilitated projects that promoted principles of New Urbanism to engender an improved quality of life and to address the problems associated with post-World War II patterns of urban and suburban development (Garde, 2004).

3. The Present: Expansion of New Urbanism

In recent years, CNU has expanded its focus to more explicitly address environmental as well as socioeconomic problems, and has collaborated with other organizations to promote the integration of New Urbanist ideas in sustainability rating systems, development policies, and regulations. In particular, a collaboration among CNU, the Natural Resources Defense Council, and the USGBC has led to the development of the LEED-ND rating system (USGBC, 2007). LEED-ND is a voluntary and market-driven rating system that professionals have used to evaluate and certify the sustainability of neighborhood-scale projects. According to USGBC (2007, p. 1), the LEED-ND rating system promotes sustainability of projects by improving energy and water efficiency and serves to "revitalize existing urban areas, reduce land consumption, reduce automobile dependence, promote pedestrian activity, improve air quality, decrease polluted stormwater runoff, and build more livable, sustainable

communities for people of all income levels." It is important to note that the construction of new housing had reduced significantly in the wake of global financial crisis in 2009, which initially may have had a negative impact on the trajectory of LEED-ND certified projects as well as New Urbanist projects. However, it is expected that the diffusion of the sustainability concepts of the LEED-ND rating system into the development industry will contribute to the promotion of sustainable design concepts in housing projects (Smart Growth Network, 2006; U.S. Environmental Protection Agency [EPA], n.d.; USGBC, 2007). Researchers also have estimated that LEED-ND projects in urban and central locations have the potential to significantly reduce vehicles miles of travel of their residents (Ewing, Greenwald, Zhang, Bogaerts, & Greene, 2013b). Several cities in the United States have encouraged the integration of sustainability criteria included in the LEED-ND rating system into projects. Some cities have provided financial and regulatory incentives to encourage LEED-ND certified projects in their jurisdiction (Garde, 2009).

More recently, CNU members have contributed to the development and dissemination of form-based codes that focus more on physical form and less on segregation of land uses to regulate development as compared to conventional zoning codes (Parolek, Parolek, & Crawford, 2008). Several cities and counties across the United States have adopted form-based codes to replace conventional zoning codes for specific areas of the city or for an entire city (Garde & Kim, 2017). Form-based codes received a significant boost when then-Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger of California signed Assembly Bill 1268 into law in 2004, which authorized local governments to adopt form-based codes instead of conventional zoning codes. In addition, CNU advocated for revising the regulations related to increasing the proportion of commercial areas allowed in mixed-use buildings, which led the Federal Housing Administration to change the rules that now permit condominiums in mixed-use buildings with commercial areas of up to 35 percent, a 10 percent increase from the limit (CNU, n.d.; Gose, 2012).

In 2017, CNU collaborated with the ITE to jointly produce the report *Implementing Context-Sensitive Design on Multimodal Corridors: A Practitioner's Handbook* that transportation engineers and planners can use to design multimodal transportation corridors within the broader context of community objectives, street networks, and land uses in the area (CNU, n.d.; ITE, 2017). The CNU (2018) also adopted a statement that highlighted its commitment to support more inclusionary development practices.

Furthermore, the New Urbanist movement has helped to inspire a number of planning and design concepts, including smart growth, aimed at mitigating sprawl, and health districts, aimed at removing the barriers between urban neighborhoods and health systems (CNU, n.d.; EPA, n.d.). The diffusion of New Urbanist design ideas into development practices is also evident in recent research as well as in reports on real estate trends and development practices (Garde, 2009; ITE, 2017; Moore, 2013; Talen, 2019). A survey of senior city planners in all 180 cities in the five-county Southern California region, which examined the physical design characteristics of neighborhood-scale projects in their cities, indicates that a significant proportion of new projects built or under construction around the turn of the millennium were mixed-use, high-density, compact developments that integrated some of the physical design concepts also promoted by New Urbanism (Garde, 2008). Taken together, the diffusion of New Urbanist concepts into development projects, policies, and regulations signifies New Urbanism's evolution from an exception to the norm to a resilient and well-established paradigm in the fields of planning and urban design.

4. The Future: New Challenges and New Urbanism

From its earliest stage, New Urbanism was conceived and promoted as an anti-sprawl movement that emphasized compact, higher-density, mixed-use development that is less land consumptive, less auto-dependent, and generally more sustainable than is low-density development. Over time, New Urbanism evolved as a new paradigm in the fields of planning and urban design. The circumstances of development in the United States also have changed considerably in the four decades since its inception, however. These circumstances of development are characterized by interrelated trends that have important implications for the future of New Urbanism even though the specific ways in which we might expect to see changes in the design of New Urbanist projects are not that clear at this time.

The future of New Urbanism will be defined, in part, by how the debate on density unfolds and by the preferences of the Millennials in terms of where they will choose to live, work, shop, and play. The spread of the COVID-19 pandemic and the recommendations from public health officials to maintain social distance to slow the spread of the virus have led to speculation about how higher-density urban environments and commuting to work on mass transit may contribute to the spread of the infection, which has reignited the debate on the compact development versus sprawl (Badger, 2020). Compact and higher-density development, sometimes referred to as density, is frequently equated with overcrowding by advocates of low-density development as well as by sponsors of slow growth or no growth in cities. Andrew Cuomo, governor of the state of New York, has linked New York City's considerably high number of COVID-19 cases to its high-density built environment and mass transit, arguing that "dense environments are its feeding grounds" although other high-density cities, such as Hong Kong, Seoul, and Tokyo have had a much smaller proportion of cases (Dillon, 2020). In an op-ed column in the *Los Angeles Times*, Joel Kotkin (2020) contends that Los Angeles and its low-density suburbs have had

comparatively fewer cases of infection and death related to COVID-19 pandemic than the dense and transit-dependent New York City.

However, cases of COVID-19 infection and death have increased considerably, in Los Angeles and its suburbs, within weeks since the publication of the column. Indeed, recent research indicates that the pandemic is spreading in low-density communities across the nation (Payton, 2020; The New York Times, 2020). It is also noteworthy that many European cities with relatively higher-density built environment and extensive public transportation network have considerably lower infection rates than cities in the United States (World Health Organization, n.d.). The spread of COVID-19 has made people apprehensive of higher-density built environments and public transit; however, recent research focusing on COVID-19 infection and mortality rates suggests that crowding, not residential density (housing units per acre), is associated with the spread of the virus (Hamidi, Sabouri, & Ewing, 2020).

Further, recent demographic changes pose new challenges as well as opportunities for development and have considerable implications for the future of New Urbanism. Urban and suburban development patterns are shaped, in part, by the demographic trends of the time. Duany (personal communication, 1999) noted that "it is the Baby Boomers' ethos that will be the dominant ethos until 2030 because the nation is going to be dominated by the Baby Boomers." Indeed, the broader theme of New Urbanism was conceived to address the values of Baby Boomers, with particular attention to where they preferred to live, work, shop, and play. Much has changed, however, in the last three decades. Millennials have now replaced Baby Boomers as the largest living adult generation in the nation, which is contributing to current patterns of urban growth (Fry, 2020; Myers, 2016).

Recent population estimates point to the growing population of young minorities and the aging and declining population of white non-Hispanics in the nation (U.S. Census Bureau, 2017). Moreover, although some urban areas are experiencing substantial population growth, many Americans are moving to the suburbs due to unaffordable housing prices in cities (Frey, 2018). Further, Millennials, especially those who are minorities and new immigrants, have a preference for living in the denser, urban cores of large metropolitan areas as compared to suburbs (Frey, 2018). Currently, however, there is a substantial shortage of housing that has contributed to a housing affordability crisis in cities with strong job growth (Garde & Kim, 2017). The stock of housing has not kept pace with population growth. Myers (2016) has argued that cities will have to compete with suburbs to attract and retain Millennials who are considering a move to the suburbs. Already, the accelerated rate of telecommuting and the shift to remote working during the COVID-19 pandemic may have made urban density and mass transit less appealing to a significant proportion of the Millennials. The debate on density is likely to continue in the post-COVID-19 world given the preferences of the Millennials, housing affordability crisis in cities with strong job growth, and regulatory barriers to higher-density development, and also because the debate is characterized by the ideological position of researchers, which rarely change. In this context, collaborative efforts of protagonists that have contributed to the development and promotion of form-based-codes that are already implemented by cities to permit, *by right*, compact, mixed-use, mixed-income developments that support alternative modes of transportation will favor New Urbanist type projects. Further, New Urbanist projects in suburbs aimed at retrofitting town centers and greyfields may offer alternatives to Millennials seeking transit accessibility, density, and amenities of urban cores of large metropolitan areas but are priced out of those areas.

There is, furthermore, an acute shortage of housing in some regions across the nation that can only be addressed by higher-density development because there is limited vacant land available for development. The five-county Southern California region is a case in point. The region has a considerable shortage of all types of housing and an acute shortage of low-income housing while the population is expected to continue to grow in the next decade. Further, most cities in the region have limited vacant land available for new development and cannot address their regional housing needs, as is required by state law, without changing zoning regulations and facilitating mixed-use and higher-density development. In California, state law also requires Metropolitan Planning Organizations to guide local policies to achieve sustainable development in their regions through an integrated approach to land-use planning, housing, and transit (Southern California Association of Governments, 2020). This in turn requires cities in Southern California to facilitate infill, mixed-income, mixed-use, higher-density developments that include a variety of housing types and support alternative modes of transportation, such as public transit, walking, and biking. It is expected that most new housing developments in the region are likely to be New Urbanist type compact, mixed-use, higher-density projects that are transit-supported and facilitate alternative modes of transportation such as walking and biking. Given this, at least in fast growing regions, the Millennials will most likely choose from limited options of housing that might be available to them.

The future of New Urbanism also will be defined by its contributions to mitigating climate change. Although sustainable design and development has been an almost continuous theme in the fields of urban planning and design, the urgency to address climate change has contributed to the adoption of certain measures by local and state governments in recent years. There is some evidence that low-density sprawl, with its auto-dependent development patterns, contributes to climate change, in

part, due to increased VMT and associated greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions from low-occupancy passenger vehicles (California Air Resources Board, n.d.; Ewing et al., 2013a). Recent research, however, shows that the lockdowns and stay-at-home orders activated in many municipalities to slow spread of COVID-19 virus have significantly reduced the GHG emissions associated with VMT (Carlton, 2020; Gardiner, 2020). Recently, several environmental pollution prevention regulations and policies adopted during the Obama administration already have been dismantled or reversed, and there is a possibility that the reduced level of air pollution could lead to lax enforcement of existing pollution regulations.

The results of a study based on data on COVID-19-related deaths from more than 3,000 counties in the nation highlight the importance of enforcing existing air pollution regulations to protect human health and the environment during and after the COVID-19 pandemic (Wu, Nethery, Sabath, Braun, & Dominici, 2020). New Urbanist projects, especially those that are in-fill, higher-density, mixed-use, and transit-oriented developments, are expected to reduce VMT and the number of vehicle trips. Such projects in existing transit-served areas, however, face considerable regulatory and non-regulatory barriers. Protagonists of New Urbanism have, for a long time, engaged in advocacy at local and state levels to remove regulatory and non-regulatory barriers to mixed-use, compact development to mitigate climate change. Stronger evidence is needed, however, to support the claims of climate mitigation and GHG emission reduction through New Urbanist design principles.

We have been witnessing major technological changes that have important implications for the future of New Urbanism. How we think about the design of neighborhoods and cities in the post-COVID-19 world will be shaped, in part, by electric vehicles, connected and autonomous vehicles, delivery robots, e-bikes and e-scooters, and the idea of shared-use mobility. Connected and autonomous and vehicles that use wireless technology to communicate with other vehicles and traffic signals, and that can be driven without human intervention, can improve the safety and mobility of young adults, seniors, and people with disabilities, but it will require us to rethink street configurations, parking requirements, and the transportation infrastructure in the post-COVID-19 world (Garde, 2019; Nelson, 2018; Rouse, Henaghan, Coyner, Nisenson, & Jordan, 2018). Before the COVID-19 pandemic, it was anticipated that autonomous vehicles also could boost the use of public transit by providing better connectivity to transit stops, especially for the first and last miles, and improve the mobility of the transit-dependent population. Mass transit, however, may seem less appealing in the post-COVID-19 world, especially to those commuters who currently do not use public transit and would like to avoid it to maintain social distance in view of asymptomatic and silent spreaders of the virus. Indeed, if a significant proportion of commuters who currently use public transit shift to connected and autonomous vehicles, it will increase congestion on high-volume routes in cities (Henaghan & Rouse, 2018; Nisenson, 2018).

Furthermore, delivery robots that deliver food, groceries, and parcels already are being used in some cities, where they are permitted to travel on certain streets and sidewalks (Garde, 2019). The author has, on several occasions, shared a sidewalk with a delivery robot and witnessed the delivery of pizza to customers (see Figure 1 for a photo of delivery robots). The transportation planning models typically used for predicting demand will not be very useful in the context of connected and autonomous vehicles and delivery robots sharing the streets and sidewalks with other vehicles and pedestrians in cities (Marshall, 2019). In this context, CNU's collaborative efforts with ITE to propose solutions for context-sensitive design of multi-modal transportation corridors could provide much needed insight (ITE, 2017).

Figure 1. Delivery robots. Source: Author.

Although a larger restructuring of the global economy, stimulated by e-commerce, has been underway for some time, the COVID-19 pandemic has contributed to an unanticipated acceleration of e-commerce that will intensify some of the existing problems of development in cities but also offer new opportunities for addressing some of the problems. Even before the COVID-19 pandemic, online shopping had led to substantial growth in technology-driven e-commerce companies, such as Amazon, which was contributing to reduced profit margins for brick-and-mortar stores and shopping malls (Franck, 2018; Hartung, 2017). This trend, which

is also known as the 'Amazon effect,' has intensified during the COVID-19 era and is expected to further accelerate the decline of small brick-and-mortar stores, large department stores, and shopping malls, some of which are already closing (Grosman, 2018; Irvine, 2020; Maheshwari, 2020; Sanburn, 2018). The bankruptcy filing by Neiman Marcus during the COVID-19 crisis is a case in point (Bhattarai, 2020).

Many brick-and-mortar stores, however, will survive, indeed thrive, by making their goods and services more appealing to local clientele, and not all shopping malls will close, but e-commerce is here to stay, and its impact is more likely to increase in the post-COVID-19 era. This, in turn, offers an opportunity for adaptive reuse of closed department stores and shopping malls, especially in cities with a shortage of vacant land available for housing and severe shortage of all types of housing, including affordable housing. New Urbanist designers could benefit from this opportunity for redevelopment and/or adaptive reuse of vacated commercial properties, including shopping malls and department stores for developing projects that also include affordable housing.

It is reasonable to expect that e-commerce will influence the design of New Urbanist projects that are conceived as mixed-use developments. Thus, New Urbanist projects will need to include a carefully calibrated and finer-grain mix of commercial uses such as coffee shop, ice cream parlor, juice bar, internet café, hair salon, and the like that cater to local needs and are difficult to fulfill through e-commerce. The redevelopment and/or adaptive reuse of vacated commercial properties offers an opportunity to include what Oldenburg (1989) has called "third places" in New Urbanist projects. However, the extent to which these third places may be included in New Urbanist projects will depend on their urban (or suburban) location, the demand for different types of housing, and the availability of land for development.

In like manner, as the idea of remote work gains more acceptance and more people work from home, it would be reasonable to expect that this in turn may reduce the overall need for office space; however, the consumption standards per person for office space may increase in the short term until a vaccine for the coronavirus is available. It is too early to tell whether the need for office space will reduce in the long term, given our fundamental need for social contact especially in office settings where people spend most of their waking hours and it is difficult to anticipate how the future demand for office space will change New Urbanist projects.

5. Conclusion

It is clear that there are some fundamental shifts underway that are related to the nation's changing demographics, climate change, technological advances and remote work, as well as e-commerce and rapid growth of the digital economy, some of which have been intensified by the COVID-19 pandemic. However, the ways in which we might expect to see changes in the design of New Urbanist projects are not that clear, as discussed above.

There is ample evidence that critical research on New Urbanism has continued, albeit without the label, as the debate has shifted from New Urbanist ideas and ideals to its various and differentiated forms. Recent research has highlighted the need to evaluate the relationship between New Urbanist design and environmental outcomes (Turner, 2019); pointed out the need to promote racial diversity and inclusion through New Urbanist projects (Jackson, 2019); emphasized the need to examine the relationship between retail revitalization in cities and gentrification (Kickert, 2019); explored theoretical foundations of New Urbanism (Ellis, 2019); studied the diffusion of New Urbanist design concepts in development regulations (Garde & Kim, 2017); noted the need to measure social, economic, and transportation benefits of walkable suburbs; and emphasized the need for future research on New Urbanism (Talen, 2019). It will be important to address these needs in future New Urbanist projects.

Overall, the trajectory of New Urbanism from its inception to date, which is reflected in its resilience and expansion in the face of development trends of the 1990s, and later in its impact on development projects, policies, and regulations, suggests that the paradigm will continue to evolve and influence development practices in the United States with or without the label. While the founding members of New Urbanism continue to be prominent practitioners and protagonists of the movement, professionals in early years of their career have been organizing themselves as the 'Next Generation of New Urbanists' to address current and future challenges of development (Wright, 2003). Further research is needed, however, on the benefits of New Urbanism in the context of contemporary circumstances of development especially in the post-COVID-19 world.

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Conflict of Interests

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Commentary

The Creeping Conformity—and Potential Risks—of Contemporary Urbanism

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Abstract
As new urbanism has come to dominate planning, it has contributed to new kinds of design conformity. The recent emergence of the Covid-19 pandemic has exposed the potential risks generated by some of new urbanism's key principles, such as higher densities and transit orientation intended to enhance efficiency and sustainability.

Keywords
conformity; density; form-based codes; gentrification; neoliberalism; urban design

Issue
This commentary is part of the issue "New Urbanism: From Exception to Norm—The Evolution of a Global Movement" edited by Susan Moore (University College London, UK) and Dan Trudeau (Macalester College, USA).

1. The New Planning Paradigm

In planning, as in science, theoretical paradigms tend to dominate disciplines until the fit between theory and evidence becomes so contorted that practitioners adopt a new paradigm (see Kuhn, 1962). We witnessed such a shift happen in planning in recent decades as new-urbanism-smart-growth-sustainability supplanted the earlier radiant-garden-city-neighborhood-unit-modernist model of urban development. The dominance of particular planning principles and practices—regardless of the paradigm in place—leads to conformity, whether in suburbs (Grant, 2002; Harris, 2004) or in urban centers (Molina, 2015). Moreover, each paradigm generates unique implications and risks that become increasingly evident through time.

Principles associated with new urbanism theory (mixed use, high-quality design, compact form, higher densities, transit-orientation) have become ubiquitous (Fulton, 2017), although contemporary planning documents are more likely to favor the language of sustainability or smart growth. New urbanism principles and practices have proven well-suited to neoliberal times, where real-estate finance has become critical to urban economies (Smith, 2002; Weber, 2010), and large-scale master-planning increasingly dominates growth areas. New urbanism's early promises of authenticity, civility, and meaningful citizen engagement (Katz, 1993; Krieger, 1992) appear less often today than calls for complete communities, human-scaled urban design, walkability, and form-based codes to streamline development (Tachieva, 2010).

2. Emerging Risks

In dominating urban planning practice, new urbanism has generated unique risks. For instance, cities that adopt design guidelines and form-based codes that promote intensification and attractive streetscapes thereby enhance the value of urban land—to the benefit of owners, but at the potential cost of renters. Design codes are entrenching contemporary aesthetics in ways that generate new kinds of conformity in building morphology and spatial patterning and that may be hard to change in future. Just as earlier garden city prescriptions created sprawling suburban landscapes, contemporary rules that remove set-backs or encourage narrow towers produce homogeneous urban cores and suburban 'town centers.' By encouraging—or in some cases requiring—commercial uses at street level in downtown buildings,

cities can over-produce commercial space that then may remain vacant for months or years (Grant, Abbott, Taylor, & Zhu, 2018). While theorists talk about including an admixture of affordable units in new projects (Duany, Plater-Zyberk, & Speck, 2000), in the absence of significant government intervention and investment, the market rarely meets the demand (Goetz, 2013). The kinds of urban environments being produced appeal to subsets of the population—especially Millennials and affluent empty-nesters—but may not meet the needs or means of others. The result of the kind of 'revitalization' or 'renewal' underway in many cities adopting new urbanism practices and principles with panache is often continuing or intensifying residential segregation by income, household type, age, and ethnicity (Trudeau & Kaplan, 2016).

The Congress for the New Urbanism (2020) proclaims that "New Urbanism has transformed deteriorating public housing into livable mixed-income neighborhoods," yet critics note that programs employing new urbanism practices removed thousands of affordable units (Goetz, 2013; Vale & Shamsuddin, 2018) and stimulated gentrification (Clark & Negrey, 2017). Places built according to new urbanism principles are beautiful and walkable, but far from affordable, diverse, or accessible (Grant, 2006).

Some planners recognized the benefits of compact form and increasing urban densities as early as the 1970s, as Jane Jacobs' (1961) ideas about dense cities gained popularity and the environmental movement promoted eco-communities and then sustainable development (Bookchin, 1977; World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987). Major cities in Europe, Asia, and Canada pursued intensification policies long before new urbanism theory arrived. As the commitment to greater densities became more entrenched with the influence of new urbanism, though, intensification transformed from being a means to greater efficiencies and affordability to an end in itself, with growing densities and high-rise towers emblematic of cities' competitive success (Kipfer & Keil, 2002; Rutland, 2010). Efforts to densify urban areas using popular new urbanism strategies contribute to a creeping global design conformity unique to the early 21st century (Figure 1), while promoting what some call 'town cramming' may generate unwelcome risks. The emergence of new infectious diseases—whether Ebola in Africa, or coronaviruses in China—reminds us of the potential risks of dense urban living that we had the comfort to overlook for many decades. Linked to each other through global supply chains and international air travel, high-density urban environments are vulnerable to the rapid transmission of infections. During the 2020 Covid-19 outbreak many cities closed public transportation systems, retail environments, and workplaces. Parks, playgrounds, trails, beaches, public squares, libraries,

Figure 1. Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada: The plan called for new urbanism principles to increase suburban densities, but the results are repetitious. Source: Photo by author.

cafes, and other 'third places' vital to urban 'livability' became off-limits to urban dwellers who had access to precious little private space. Studies of the 1918–19 influenza pandemic suggested that higher-density areas experienced higher relative population loss (Chandra, Kassens-Noor, Kulijanin, & Vertalka, 2013). As some of the world's largest cities found themselves hit hard by coronavirus, Rosenthal (2020) argued that "Density Is New York City's Big 'Enemy.'" Although effective public health strategies can mitigate risks, high-density living faces clear challenges.

3. A Paradigm for the Times

By defining the public interest as good-quality urban form ensured through the application of pre-approved design codes, the new urbanism streamlined planning and development in ways that have made planning easier for practitioners—both for planners and for developers. Where local residents may have once had the right to appeal zoning and planning decisions, in recent decades many jurisdictions have significantly limited third-party appeal rights (Alfasi, 2018; Ellis, 2006). While the reduced 'red tape' reinvigorated the ability of cities to function effectively as what Molotch (1976) called "urban growth machines," legislative and procedural changes undermined or removed the right of citizens to influence outcomes. Thus, new urbanism has been strongly linked with the rebalancing of power in the city: away from residents (accused of NIMBYism) and towards developers and planning practitioners (recast as 'city builders').

In sum, over the last several decades new urbanism became an important force in making more beautiful urban environments with more efficient transportation networks and services. It proved a sympathetic design and planning strategy for a period dominated by neoliberal philosophies and a rising creative class. In practice, though, it generated negative implications and risks that have become more apparent. If Kuhn's (1962) observations about the history of science offer an appropriate model of how theory changes, then we may expect to see increasing critiques of the paradigm over time, and eventually new approaches to planning beginning to appear as urban planners look for appropriate strategies and options for contemporary and future challenges. The combined contemporary crises of climate change, infectious disease, and political unrest are forcing attention on the need for planning to reassert a commitment to public health, social equity, and environmentally-responsible local solutions. Western towns facing chronic fire risks need different planning and design options than coastal villages experiencing sea level rise or than the urban fringe of growing global cities. In a future where planners recognize that context matters, textbook solutions producing creeping conformity may become a historical footnote.

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