



140  
516  
THS

**THESIS**

LIBRARY  
Michigan State  
University

PLACE IN RETURN BOX to remove this checkout from your record.  
 TO AVOID FINES return on or before date due.  
 MAY BE RECALLED with earlier due date if requested.

DATE DUE	DATE DUE	DATE DUE
MAY 10 2010		
011010		

.S.

Place in book and in  
ave this at

SETTING THE STAGE:  
PROMOTING NEIGHBORHOOD SENSE OF COMMUNITY THROUGH  
TRADITIONAL NEIGHBORHOOD DESIGN

By  
Meg Therese Skelley

A Plan B

Submitted to  
Michigan State University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of

MASTER OF URBAN AND REGIONAL PLANNING - URBAN AFFAIRS

Department of Urban and Regional Planning  
Urban Affairs Programs

1998

## ABSTRACT

### SETTING THE STAGE: PROMOTING NEIGHBORHOOD SENSE OF COMMUNITY THROUGH TRADITIONAL NEIGHBORHOOD DESIGN

By:

Meg Therese Skelley

Since World War II, there has been a decrease in sense of community throughout America. Without connection to physical places, people lose their sense of community that many residents of traditional neighborhoods still have. This is partly due to city and neighborhood design. Many different professions can play a part in rebuilding sense of community, but urban planners have a special role and responsibility. Through incorporating Traditional Neighborhood Design (TND) standards into planning, urban planners can help develop stronger cities and neighborhoods. An extensive literature review and a limited study of Seaside, Florida will be used to investigate how TND can be used by planners to impact the level of sense of community.

The factors of TND that promote sense of community include (town/neighborhood design, architecture, town philosophy, civic landmarks that create identity, the street hierarchy, the accessibility of community places and activities, and the existence of informal gathering places.) Urban planners contribute to the development of the physical environment people live, work and play in and to the overall sense of community through their daily decision making. Therefore, Urban Planners have an obligation to recognize the strengths of their communities and to find ways to promote sense of community through better (design, outreach, changes in policy, and participatory planning.)

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction.....	1
Methodology.....	5
Literature Review.....	8
What is "Sense of Community"?	9
Intersections of Sense of Community and Physical Design.....	12
Traditional Neighborhood Design and Sense of Community.....	25
Seaside, Florida.....	32
History.....	32
Physical Elements.....	35
Why Should We Expect Seaside's Design to Create Sense of Community?.....	37
Advantages and Disadvantages.....	48
Conclusions and Recommendations.....	52
Creating Places that Matter through Traditional Neighborhood Design.....	52
The Role of Urban Planners in Promoting Sense of Community.....	53
Bibliography.....	57

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Seaside Real Estate Sales Activity.....	45
--	----

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Seaside, Florida - Town Map.....	36
Figure 2. Seaside, Florida - Urban Code and Zoning Code.....	51

## Introduction

---

By now it's settled into American myth. That wonderful town we grew up in, even if we never really did. There's Main Street, maybe a town square, and a great old movie house. And after the movie we walked to the drugstore to see all our friends and enjoy the perfect milkshake. Neighbors lived just across the way. Work was a stroll down the street. And everybody looked out for each other. It's an American dream. (ABC Nightline, 1998)

Since World War II, neighborhood design has set a poor stage for the development of sense of community. More and more people are dissatisfied with where they live, but do not know exactly why. (Kunstler, 1996) People no longer live in places that have, what Terry Pindell called, the "Cheers factor," places where people know your name and your face. (Pindell, in Beatley and Manning, 1997). People have become less and less connected to their neighborhoods and more and more connected to their cars and to their places of work. Our neighborhood landscapes, the "stages" where daily life takes place, reflect this change through designs that promote television watching, homogeneity, and seclusion rather than walking, diversity, and community.

There are many factors that contributed to the loss of sense of community in America. One factor is the changes in the planning and development of neighborhoods. These changes in neighborhood patterns effect how the stage that neighborhood sense of community is created upon is constructed. This change in neighborhood design has played a role in the loss of sense of community throughout the United States.

Dunham (1986) suggests that the immediate geographic region people live in, such as the neighborhood, is significant to the development of sense of community. The areas that are close to home are where sense of community begins and grows. Sense of community is a feeling that members have of belonging to a group and an importance and

faith that their needs will be met by their commitment to the group. (McMillan and Chavis, 1986). Sense of community affects the level of participation in voluntary organizations, the effectiveness of service delivery, the quality of life of community members, and residential satisfaction. Sense of community enables individuals and the group to make changes and improvements in their quality of life. (Chavis & Wandersman, 1990)

Sense of community allows people to address problems within their locality and to make changes that improve the quality of life for residents, improve the quality of the physical environment, enhance services, prevent crime, and improve social conditions (Chavis & Wandersman, 1990). The opportunity exists to develop and to increase sense of community (Glynn, 1981). Many different professions can play a part in promoting sense of community, but urban planners have a special role and responsibility in developing sense of community. Urban planners perform site reviews, write ordinances and building codes, and work closely with residents, governmental officials and developers.) These activities can lead to the creation of “good” communities that people care about and where sense of community thrives.

Meaningful places are important to create connection and attachment between residents and their community and to promote sense of community. “To foster a sense of place, communities must nurture the built environment and settlement patterns that are uplifting, inspirational, and memorable, and that engender a special feeling of attachment and belonging” (Beatley and Manning, 1997). There is a connection between physical design and how people feel about where they live and how they feel about their

neighbors. Without the connection to the physical place, people lose their sense of community that many residents of traditional neighborhoods still have.

When places are built using Traditional Neighborhood Design standards, people often think they are “unreal,” or are an attempt to reproduce Disneyland’s Main Street U.S.A. John Norquist, the mayor of Milwaukee stated that, “Americans spend billions of dollars going to Disneyland and Disneyworld to look at Main Street, that’s not the only reason they go there, but they go there because they want to experience a sense of community, like they are part of something.” (ABC Nightline, 1998) People have lost touch and no longer feel part of their communities. They have forgotten that Disneyland’s Main Street is based on very real places that were parts of vibrant communities throughout America.

There is nothing terribly mysterious about the appeal of [Disney’s] Main Street U.S.A. It is a well-proportioned street full of good relationships between its components, and blessedly free of cars...There’s no pretense, however, that they are anything but false fronts. (Kunstler, 1993)

Main Street U.S.A. was built at the time when the places that inspired it were disappearing. Main Street shops were being replaced by strip malls and Walmarts - the current development pattern.

Over and over again scholars, practitioners, and neighborhood residents are reiterating that our neighborhood designs have lost something that is crucial to social and civic life. The loss of public space where pedestrians can walk, neighbors can watch and talk, and children can play, severely limits the connection people feel to where they live and to others. People no longer know their neighbors or consider their neighbors as friends. New neighborhoods erect fences and gates to keep out “undesirables” and for

safety. During the past 50 years, sense of community has decreased due in part to the loss of traditional neighborhood design.

Urban planners can play a significant role in creating the physical stage that people live their daily lives on and in doing so increase neighborhood sense of community. Planners need to confront the illusion that our existing neighborhood patterns are okay and convince their constituents and neighbors that there are better ways to design neighborhoods and the sense of community people feel while visiting Disneyland can be created anywhere. Through outreach, policy changes, and daily decision making urban planners can promote sense of community through design. Urban planners can affect the quality of life in neighborhoods and cities.

No one solution can miraculously resolve all of the urban problems that face Americans at the close of the twentieth century. Planners need to refocus their efforts from rubber stamping current policies to really discovering what is “good” about the communities in which they live and work and to emphasize those positive characteristics.

Through incorporating TND into planning, urban planners can help construct the stage for sense of community to be built on and can develop stronger neighborhoods and cities as a result.

## Methodology

---

An extensive literature review and a limited study of a real community will be used to investigate how the Traditional Neighborhood Design (TND) used in the development of a community can impact the level of sense of community felt by its residents. This process will provide insights into the assumptions that planners, architects, and designers who use TND have about building community through design and what information the findings can offer revitalization projects and new developments.

One existing project that will show some possible effects of TND on sense of community is Seaside, Florida. Seaside utilized the principles of TND in an attempt to create a sense of community among residents. Seaside is the product of numerous architects and designers using an Urban Code and a Master Plan as guides. This case is unique because it was designed from undeveloped land using TND principles to guide the development and planning decisions from the very beginning. The results of studying a uniquely developed community can reveal factors that are relevant for redesign of existing developments and the design of new developments in urban and suburban areas. The complete reliance on TND for the development of Seaside can provide some isolation of design differences among different types of developments in the community and demonstrates what effect TND can have on sense of community.

The literature review of sense of community and physical design will be followed by a specific look at Seaside. The investigation of TND will explore several aspects of Seaside. First a brief history of the community will be described. This section will explore the reason for the community's creation, who designed it and why, and how far

along the project is in development. The second section will describe the different physical elements of the community through descriptions and a map. The third section will examine the ten questions with the goal to examine why Seaside's physical design is expected to promote sense of community. The final section will discuss advantages and disadvantages of Seaside's physical design.

To examine the effects of TND in Seaside ten questions will be used to explore how TND can aid in promoting sense of community. The following questions will serve as a guide to investigate how physical design can effect sense of community:

1. How does the design promote neighboring and socializing?
2. Does design create a balance between public and private space?
3. Does the design seek to fulfill economic needs?
4. Are civic buildings placed as landmarks throughout the town and the neighborhood?
5. Is there a mix of uses available to meet the needs of a diverse population?
6. Is there a mix of market rate and affordable housing to provide housing opportunities for a diverse population?
7. Do the neighborhoods have "personalities"? Are their unique traits emphasized as a source of pride?
8. Is the street hierarchy well designed? Does it promote pedestrian and non-motorized transportation use as well as the use of the automobile?
9. Is the circulation system connective of several different destinations by several modes of transportation?
10. What other factors play a role in promoting sense of commuting?

The answers to these questions will come from the extensive literature review and from sources specific to and some originating from Seaside. From each of these questions

some generalizations will be drawn about how TND may affect sense of community in Seaside and in new and existing urban and suburban neighborhoods. These generalizations will also provide insight for planners into neighborhood development patterns and how practices and policies can be changed or modified to encourage or discourage sense of community in neighborhoods and cities through TND.

## Literature Review

---

A variety of literature exists attempting to define what a *good community* is and looks like. Several terms are used to describe the intangible phenomenon known as *community*. Many authors seek to define *healthy communities*. Others measure *collective efficacy*, *social capital*, or *social fabric*. This paper will address the concept of *sense of community*. Whatever the term used by urban scholars, they are generally examining the social and psychological effects of several factors that affect the quality of life in communities of all sizes and compositions. Beyond the social and psychological components of sense of community, the physical layout and design affect neighborhoods' and cities' quality of life. More and more scholars and practitioners are seeking to link the way we plan our neighborhoods and cities to how connected residents feel about where they live and how strong that connection is.

This literature review will first define sense of community and its relation to creating good, healthy, and active communities. Then the connection between sense of community and physical design will be examined. Finally, literature examining the specific technique of traditional neighborhood design (TND) on sense of community will be investigated.

## What is “Sense of Community”?

---

Somehow we must find a way to build communities that are based on faith, hope, and tolerance, rather than on fear, hatred, and rigidity, [and] we must learn to use sense of community as a tool for fostering understanding and cooperation. (McMillan and Chavis, 1986)

Terms that authors and researchers use to define what makes a community “good” include social fabric, social capital, collective efficacy, and sense of community. Each of these terms has a slightly different slant on what the essential components of community are. However, together they provide an interesting concept of what may be missing from the communities we are planning and building today.

Social fabric has been defined as the existence of social order and the environment in which social life occurs. (Short, 1986) The term describes how close the social networks and organizations in a community are. A community with weak social fabric is one with less cohesion and connection among residents, while a community with strong social fabric has active participation and a feeling of connection among residents. A strong social fabric characterized by trust, honest communication, and mutual support allows a community of individuals to seek solutions to their problems through the creation of a sense of community.

Sense of community enables a group of individuals to act for the benefit of the entire group. McMillan and Chavis use two types of “community.” The first type is the relationship between people and the second type is the more common geographical concept. They include both types of community in their theory and definition of sense of community. McMillan and Chavis (1986) define sense of community as “...a feeling that members have of belonging, a feeling that members matter to one another and to the

group, and a shared faith that members' needs will be met through their commitment to be together." Their definition includes four criteria: membership, influence, integration and fulfillment of needs, and emotional connection. (McMillan and Chavis, 1986)

McMillan and Chavis have the reigning definition of sense of community within the literature. Their 1986 article "Sense of Community: A Definition and Theory," reviews previous studies that attempt to measure and define neighborhood sense of community. Over and over again there is a "...recurring emphasis on neighboring, length of residency, planned or anticipated length of residency, home ownership, and satisfaction with the community" (McMillan and Chavis, 1986). In order for sense of community to exist, people must interact and feel happy about living in their community.

Collective efficacy is defined as "...social cohesion among neighbors combined with their willingness to intervene on behalf of the common good" (Sampson, Raudenbush, and Earls, 1997). In the study titled "Neighborhoods and Violent Crime: A Multilevel Study of Collective Efficacy," Raudenbush, et.al, found that collective efficacy is linked to a reduction in crime and violence. Collective efficacy includes a shared vision among residents for their community and a willingness to work to achieve that vision through intervention and participation.

Robert Putnam compares physical and human capital to social capital in "Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital." He defines social capital as "...features of social organization such as networks, norms, and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit." (Putnam, 1995). Indicators of social capital include civic participation and social connectedness. Social connections and social relations are the foundation of social capital, according to the Social Capital Interest Group at

Michigan State University. Social relations are the attitudes the people develop toward one another and the networks that develop as a result of their interactions. A network is the connection of a group of people who feel sympathy and obligation towards one another. Interactions among people foster trust and caring and a sense of responsibility to the community.

All these terms attempt to define what the difference between a healthy and vibrant community is compared to one that lacks connection among residents. What is common among the terms is a belief that what makes a community of people successful is a network of individuals who work for the common good of their community through interaction and connection. Strong social capital implies the presence of a vibrant social infrastructure consisting of numerous formal and informal organization which are held together by the social fabric of the community. Social networks link organizations and individuals with each other and enable the community to function in a healthy way. For the purposes of this research the term sense of community will be an encompassing term to capture the feeling a community of individuals feels or lacks in their neighborhoods.

There is a role that the built environment plays in developing and promoting this feeling of connectedness or belonging, this sense of community, that people feel. Architects have been the main activists in creating attention about design and its relation to “good communities.” Groups such as the Congress for the New Urbanism and architects such as Peter Calthorpe and Duany and Plater-Zyberk are at the forefront of creating laboratories where the hypothesis that a neighborhood’s physical form, and even the form of an entire city, will affect the level and feeling of community that residents experience.

## Intersections of Sense of Community and Physical Design

---

The physical scale in Greenpoint supports community. It's built on a scale, which is appropriate to the population. It is consistent and contextual, and the architecture, because of the high rate of local, small-scale property ownership, reflects the aesthetic preferences of the people who live there. The community and the built environment mutually reinforce one another. (Friedman, 1996)

Much of the sense of community literature focuses on the psychological and social aspects with little or no thought to the role of the physical environment. However, more and more authors acknowledge that physical design can play an important role in setting the stage for promoting sense of community. The literature that describes the intersections between design, sense of community and quality of life in urban and suburban neighborhoods is an important topic for urban planners that often goes unstudied.

Jane Jacobs, in her classic book The Death and Life of Great American Cities, provides insight into what good design can do for a community and what bad design can do to a community. Different elements of neighborhoods and cities serve different functions in creating a vibrant and social atmosphere for residents within which to live. Sidewalks, for example, provide for safety, contact among neighbors and strangers, and assimilate children. Active sidewalks are always interesting to watch, and therefore are safer than abandoned areas. For streets to be successful places they must fulfill three functions. The first is that there should be an obvious division between public and private space. The second is that there must be "eyes on the street," or people watching from windows or stores to ensure safety. And finally, sidewalks should have a near continuous stream of users to add to the street's eyes.

According to Jacobs, neighborhood streets have many functions:

...to weave webs of public surveillance and thus to protect strangers as well as themselves; to grow networks of small-scale, everyday public life and thus of trust and social control; and to help to assimilate children into reasonable responsible and tolerant city life...[and] they must draw effectively on help when trouble comes along that is too big for the street to handle. (Jacobs, 1961)

All of the functions that Jacobs outlines are part of creating a sense of community and weaving social fabric among residents of a neighborhood. Places where people feel safe, where people feel like they are members, and where there is empowerment and willingness to help when problems arise—these are successful places, places with a sense of community, places people care about.

Oscar Newman provides some guidelines for examining sense of community in his book Communities of Interest. Planners need to focus on meeting the needs of a community's residents. "Successful *physical* communities of interest are created by people who select themselves into defined three-dimensional environments to be able to live in close proximity with others who share similar needs which depend on physical proximity to be satisfied" (Newman, 1980) Physical needs can include community institutions such as schools and churches. Newman views physical communities as opportunities to serve the needs of communities of interest. In order to satisfy those needs, design of communities must consider the population being served.

Newman provides "Design Principles for Housing/Resident Type Combinations" by examining three different resident types and each resident type's housing needs. The resident types are families with children, elderly, and working adults. The four building types are single-family, walk-ups, medium high-rise, and elevator high-rise. Newman

produced a chart that shows which type of buildings are recommend for which types of residents depending on their day-to-day needs and activities. Each group required a different set of physical traits to meet their needs.

Another factor in creating “communities of interest” is the design of public areas. They need to be designed to fit the specific needs of the resident that will be using them. The third factor for communities of interest is that the design of buildings must promote a sense of belonging among those who reside there. The fourth factor is that public areas should serve the smallest number of residents as possible to help link private and public areas.

Another researcher attempted to study how people behave in public spaces and whether or not class and density affect the quality of interaction people experience. John Ottensman studied 12 residential areas that encompassed a range of social classes and physical environments throughout the United States and Great Britain using ethnographic research methods. He defined two types of physical environments, high-density urban and low density suburban; and two types of social classes, lower/working class and middle class.

The study focused on two main issues, the presence of street life and the amount of neighboring that occurred in each area. Street life was defined as “intensive social interaction...[that] takes place outside of the residents’ homes on the streets and in various commercial establishments in the neighborhood” (Ottensman, 1978). Neighboring was defined as “...the extent to which social relationships of the study area residents are restricted to and are common within their immediate neighborhoods” (Ottensman, 1978). Using these two concepts, Ottensman found that all high-density

urban areas in the study had an active street life and each also scored high in the neighboring category. None of the low-density suburban areas had an active street life and only two had high scores in the neighboring category. Places that lacked non-residential facilities had reduced neighboring and street activity. All these findings point to the importance that physical development plays in the creation of sense of community.

Karen Franck also examines the effects of physical design on social behavior in “Community by Design.” Her research focuses on planned residential developments and what physical traits in those developments encouraged or discouraged sense of community. The research locations were 35 moderate income, federally assisted housing developments. She examined the number and grouping of apartments, the amount of common space, as well as the demographic characteristics of the population. Through a survey questionnaire, she measured attachment, friendship/kinship, and acquaintanceship among the residents. Her findings concluded that the number of apartments affects community attachment and affects informal neighboring as well as the amount of social activities. However the number of apartments did not affect friendship.

Implications of Franck’s research include both recommendations for local communities as well as for physical design of housing developments in general. Her first finding is that local communities need to recognize that housing developments can serve the same function as a neighborhood. Housing developments should be built to encourage acquaintanceship, because acquaintances make fewer demands on the privacy that all people prize. One method for maintaining privacy and providing for acquaintances to develop is by regulating the number of apartments in a group. The

number of apartments helps to determine the amount and frequency of contact among neighbors.

Physical design recommendations stem from the findings that physical design had at least the same amount of effect on residents' behavior as did the social and demographic aspects. However, it is important to remember that design doesn't affect every behavior. When designing a housing development, Franck insists that the designer needs to ask, "Why do you expect this feature of the built environment to have this effect?" (Franck, 1983) Examining assumptions and expectations can help to improve the quality of design for housing developments. Her final thoughts ring as a warning to not completely depend on design to change or affect peoples' behaviors. Any residential area must be multidimensional, it must seek to fulfill social and economic needs as well as provide a design that promotes certain types of interaction.

Geojeanna Wilson and Mark Baldassare, in their article "Overall Sense of Community in a Suburban Region: The Effects of Localism, Privacy, and Urbanization," discuss the search for community that is becoming more and more part of Americans' lives. In order to explore sense of community in a suburban area, Wilson and Baldassare make use of McMillan and Chavis' definition of sense of community. One question they are attempting to answer is if sense of community increases neighboring or if neighboring increases sense of community.

What Americans have been looking for, according to Wilson and Baldassare, is a small town feeling which people have attributed to the suburbs. "In America, the search for community has been closely tied to the suburbs" (Wilson and Baldassare, 1996). The suburbs have proven to be dualistic by providing personal space and privacy, but also by

providing the opportunity to interact with neighbors when desired. Localism provides residents with the perception that they live in a connected community whose residents are committed to the community's future. While local participation is important, the study also found that privacy is a value shared by most people. Privacy regulates the amount of interaction among neighbors and strangers in a person's social life. Privacy is controlled through design elements such as landscaping, fences, and gates.

For suburban communities both localism and privacy play a role in sense of community. If privacy is the mechanism that regulates social interaction, then suburban designs that promote privacy may not cause social isolation to occur, but rather may be a component in creating "good" neighbors and a "good" community. However, they found that urbanization does not necessarily create a sense of community. Wilson and Baldassare suggest that urbanization and the promotion of higher densities in suburbs can negatively impact the sense of community perceived by residents. The final conclusion is that both localism and privacy must be incorporated into design of neighborhoods to promote sense of community among residents. There needs to be a balance between the public and private lives of residents.

In "Social Interaction via 21<sup>st</sup> Century Housing," Victor Mirontschuk tackles the issue of commuter suburbs as places without neighbors, without hearts and without community. Mirontschuk believes that there is too much privacy and not enough opportunity to participate in public life in commuter suburbs. His main point is that we have planned our communities to leave out the socializing that is a crucial part of creating sense of community. He sees one answer to the lack of community, "The new mixed-use suburban village where living, working, shopping, civic, and recreation needs are

satisfied within walking distance of each other...” (Mirontschuk, 1990). Compactness, he asserts, is the key to creating a pedestrian village that is a fully integrated community.

Mirontschuk calls for “re-humanizing” neighborhood and city form through design elements like streets, sidewalks, front yards, porches, houses, back yards, and alleys. Each element plays an important role in creating a human environment. Each element connects the others to a broader environment, in which pedestrians rule and have the ability to go places and meet people. There is a need for mixed uses to be within walking distances for pedestrians. People need to have destinations to get to by foot, if they are to take to the streets. Environments that include people in the plans help to create sustainable communities where people enjoy living, working, and playing.

Another critique of the modern American landscape is James Kunstler. In Geography of Nowhere, Kunstler gives a scathing report on the unimaginative and automobile oriented cities and neighborhoods in which Americans reside. Through an historical account, Kunstler describes the evolution of American land use patterns from the founding to the present. He claims that after WWII Americans lost sight of how neighborhoods and cities should be planned. The automobile and administration became the focus of planning, rather than people and neighborhoods. Kunstler sees the profession of urban planning as no longer responsible for the design of “good” places or neighborhoods. “Planners no longer employ the vocabulary of civic art, not do they find the opportunity to practice it...planners are now chiefly preoccupied with administrative procedure...” (Kunstler, 1993) Planners have forgotten how to plan and in doing so have been unable to connect activities of daily life without the use of the automobile.

The problem with the changes in physical design since the 1950s is that we have lost a sense of how to build things and we have lost our sense of connection to places in our neighborhoods and cities. In his final chapter, entitled “Better Places,” Kunstler describes different paths Americans can take to turn around the decline in culture and again build “good” places. Without some type of paradigm shift from sprawling development to sustainable growth, Kunstler senses a decline in America’s global influence. “The future will require us to build better places, or else the future will belong to other people and other societies” (Kunstler, 1993) Americans must plan places people will care about and be responsible for.

Kunstler is not the only author encouraging more sensible use of our resources and more sustainable development through the creation of “good” places. In The Ecology of Place: Planning for Environment, Economy, and Community, Timothy Beatley and Kristy Manning describe how Americans can achieve better places through compact development, sustainable economic growth, and citizen participation. Beatley and Manning discuss more than simply design of places, but how people relate and are organized in those physical places:

Obviously, a community’s physical form and design influences the opportunities for true community...The physical characteristics of a sustainable community help to create a sense of community—a sense of ownership, commitment, and a feeling of belonging to a larger whole. Walking spaces, civic buildings, plazas and parks, and other public places have the potential to nurture the commitment and attachment to the larger collective. (Beatley and Manning, 1997)

The solutions suggested by Beatley and Manning include compact urban development in the form of urban growth boundaries, point systems, and transfer of

development rights programs; preservation of natural and open space; increases in density; proper investments into public infrastructure; and reurbanization. Planning needs to de-emphasize the automobile and plan more places with mixed uses and pedestrians as the focus. Also, cities can longer view themselves as islands, and need to participate in planning and development on a regional scale.

To create sense of community, planners need to recognize and to promote places with special assets, such as historical buildings or natural features. Cities and neighborhoods have personalities that need to be nurtured and developed. Public places that encourage face-to-face contact are important in developing sense of community. Beatley and Manning discuss Oldenburg's concept of the "third place." The "third place" can be considered a "hang-out," such as a local bar or coffee shop. (Beatley and Manning, 1997) These places are where informal interaction occurs among neighbors and strangers.

In recent developments, such places are either left out or become unfriendly places to loiter, such as fast food restaurants. One crucial element to community is participation. People mix at "third places," at festivals, shops, and markets. These places and events provide forums for residents to discuss issues and are finding ways to participate in community life. Affordable housing, in mixed income areas, is also important for creating community and sustainability for neighborhoods. Placement of physical elements is as important as their design to promote community.

In "Understanding and Enhancing Neighborhood Sense of Community," Steven Cochrun examines the components of sense of community and explores different planning mediums for encouraging the development of sense of community in

neighborhoods. Using the definition of sense of community created by McMillan and Chavis (1986), Cochrun emphasizes two ways that urban planners can play a role in developing sense of community through neighborhood planning.

The first way planners can impact sense of community is through the development of social policy. Cochrun offers five methods for using social policy to advance sense of community. The first is to encourage neighborhood groups to apply for program funds, rather than having a government employee as the representative write and file the application. The second is to offer technical assistant to neighborhood organizations seeking to solve problems or to create beautiful neighborhoods. The third is to help form neighborhood watch groups. The fourth is to create policies that promote home ownership. Finally, Cochrun suggests helping to form tenant management of rental buildings or forming housing cooperatives.

From the physical side of neighborhood planning, Cochrun describes some historical attempts to use physical planning to increase quality of life. He defines Garden Cities and Super Blocks as past efforts to use physical design to promote social good. One example is that of Columbia, Maryland, where the "...founder hoped to demonstrate that he could provide 'a richer sense of community among people if the physical place and community institutions were all seen as opportunities to support and enable the growth of people'" (Rouse in Cochrun, 1994). Cochrun explains several methods of review that planners can apply when examining designs to help promote sense of community.

The first important physical design factor that Cochrun mentions is the placement of public institutions such as schools, churches, and libraries. Another characteristic to

look for is the interaction of public and private spaces such as the use and placement of streets, sidewalks, and houses in relation to one another. The third role planners can play in creating “good” communities is by creating zoning regulations that encourage multiple uses in one area. Another physical characteristic that planners can encourage is places that allow both pedestrian and automobile traffic to move smoothly, but give pedestrian the right-of-way. The final method of physical planning that Cochrun cites as important to developing sense of community is to reinforce each neighborhood’s symbols and boundaries to help create a unique identity and residents’ pride in the neighborhood.

Dan Burden, President of *Walkable Communities, Inc.* a company devoted to helping cities develop walkable communities through interactive workshops and on-site analysis, is a twenty-five year veteran of promoting alternative transportation and sustainable and walkable communities through his work for the Florida Department of Transportation, Federal Highway Administration/National Highway Safety Administration, urban planner, and Florida State Bicycle Coordinator. (Burden, 1998) He spreads the message that design and physical layout effects whether a place is “good” and, in his term, walkable or not. *Walkable Communities, Inc* supports and promotes sense of community through its work.

On May 11, 1998, Mr. Burden gave a presentation on walkable communities to Delta Township, Michigan. Using slides, he described five measures to use to determine if a community is walkable. These measures are: 1.) The number of people present, 2.) The number of hours the people are there, 3.) The diversity among the people, 4.) A low number of cars, and 5.) The place “works” in all seasons (weather is not a barrier). Applying these measures to the pictures of places helps to visually demonstrate what a

walkable community is and what non-walkable communities can become. The pictures provide a model of successful places that can help cities, townships, and neighborhoods to see their potential and to develop into walkable places.

Burden suggests that successful places have five components. These components are security, convenience, efficiency, comfort and welcome. (Burden, 1998) Places with these components, such as Walt Disney World, bring people back again and again. Successful places attract people and investment. They provide people with places to wait and connections that draw people from one end of the street to the other. Places grow over time. Places have unique designs; buildings or statues that make them stand out and are recognized and remembered.

Walkable communities present opportunities for people to mingle with each other and to shop in a pleasant atmosphere that provides interesting things to do and to see. Neighborhoods in walkable communities meet the needs of today's homebuyers through low traffic speeds, volumes, noise, and open space. These factors can be achieved through design techniques aimed at maximizing walkability.

Burden believes that creating a walkable community also means having a "healthy" street network. The relationship of land use to trip generation is important to consider when looking at a community's streets. The network should include trails, alleys, lanes, streets, avenues, boulevards, and parkways. Each level contains specific design requirements, such as number of lanes, width of lanes, and types of buffering. Each level also serves a different purpose. An effective street network that is designed properly can stop streets from breaking down and causing traffic problems. Proper

design can improve turning, borders, and buffers. Streets should be designed for the ordinary user, not the extraordinary or occasional user.

Burden suggests that an important first step a community can take to promote walkability and sense of community is to collectively create a vision of what the community will be in the future. Creating a code that will allow for the development of walkable communities and that will achieve the shared vision is a crucial step. (Burden, 1998) Code can promote more pedestrian oriented development, can provide safer and more beautiful streets, and can provide the model of how walkability is achieved.

More and more urban planners and scholars are realizing that many places lack streets that serve the functions described by Jacobs (1961), Kunstler (1993, 1996), Burden (1998), Duany, Plater-Zyberk (1996), and others, that have no public spaces, and that primarily serve the automobile rather than residents that live there. There are a few design techniques being used by both architects and planners to stop creating dull places that lack life and to start creating vibrant communities that energize residents. Even developers are beginning to realize that cookie-cutter suburbs aren't the answer and they only succeed in robbing us of tradition and a sense of place. (Turley, 1996) One of the more popular techniques encouraged by planners, architects, and the Congress on New Urbanism is Traditional Neighborhood Design (TND).

## **Traditional Neighborhood Design and Sense of Community**

---

In 1993, the Congress for the New Urbanism (CNU) was founded to restore urban areas, to reduce of sprawl and the wasteful use of land, and to build communities that people care about. CNU focuses its efforts on Traditional Neighborhood Design (TND) and searches for ways to promote awareness through yearly conferences and standing task forces. TND seeks to build sense of community by designing a stage that provides meaning for residents. Slowly, planners, developers, and designers are joining the bandwagon and supporting changes in the post-World War II methods of planning and neighborhood and urban design.

Two vocal members of CNU that are very active in TND are Duany and Plater-Zyberk. These two architects and town planners have created a list of specific principles of traditional neighborhood design. In general, urban design should have a diverse balance of public and private spaces. Traditional neighborhoods, according to Duany and Plater-Zyberk in The American Enterprise (1996), have the following traits:

- Neighborhoods should have independent identities that when combined with other independent neighborhoods become a town or a city.
- Neighborhood size is limited to a 5-minute walk to the center from the edge, or approximately ¼ of a mile, so residents can easily meet the demands of their daily life without the use of an automobile.
- Streets are networks that exist to provide pedestrians, bicyclists, and drivers with many options for reaching several destinations.
- Streets are defined by “a wall of buildings that front the sidewalk in a disciplined manner, uninterrupted by parking lots.” (Duany and Plater-Zyberk, 1996)
- Buildings have diverse functions but are similar in size and character to each other.
- Building functions are mixed between high and low density, mixed income residential and commercial and office functions.
- Civic buildings are used at the termination of street vistas and serve as landmarks in these locations.

- Open space is provided through public squares, playgrounds and parks, and in some cases greenbelts.
- Trees must be planted in a uniform fashion along streets.
- On-street parking should be provided for convenience and to add a layer of safety for pedestrians.
- Crosswalks at intersections should remain at a scale that is comfortable for pedestrians to cross.
- High traffic volume streets need to be designed as boulevards or avenues to maintain pedestrian activity and keep commercial viability.
- Apartments should be allowed above commercial businesses, as well as above garages and behind single-family houses to create affordable housing among market rate housing.

Duany and Plater-Zyberk emphasize that current zoning ordinances and building codes do the opposite of what traditional neighborhood designs try to achieve. Current zoning ordinances allow only separate residential and commercial uses, and outlaw living above commercial buildings. Municipal zoning ordinances make mixed income housing in the same neighborhood difficult if not impossible. Zoning outlaws what makes neighborhoods livable. Cities and towns need to rethink their zoning ordinances, which in many cases have never been rewritten since they were first enacted. (Duany and Plater-Zyberk, 1996) The current zoning practices does not build sense of community; it creates an environment that is hostile to its development.

Gindroz and Bothwell, in “Traditional Neighborhood Design and Social Capital,” examine how TND can create sense of community in all types of neighborhoods. Current neighborhood design has failed “...to reproduce the livability of many older neighborhoods” and has never created a distinction between public and private space “...and in the process residents lost a critical venue for social exchange” (Gindroz and Bothwell, 1997). Social interaction is an important factor in building sense of community. (Schweitzer, 1996) There are three assumptions guiding Gindroz and

Bothwell: that physical design affects social interaction, that social interaction affects participation in civic life, and that participation in civic life helps to determine the quality of life in a community. (Gindroz and Bothwell, 1997)

The authors emphasize that the relationship among physical elements is an important part of creating quality neighborhoods. Examining the relationship between front and side yards to the street, porches to the sidewalk, windows that face the street, orientation of mailboxes, type and placement of buffers along the street, and many more elements can point to the nature of social interaction on a block. “Elements such as front porches and well-designed streets encourage neighbors to come together and form a community” (Gindroz and Bothwell, 1997). Strong communities created through a traditional neighborhood design process are more stable and are a source of pride for residents. Designs that enable interaction among residents provide the basis for sense of community to grow.

James Kunstler also provides insight into traditional neighborhood design in his follow-up book to Geography of Nowhere, Home From Nowhere. In a question and answer format Kunstler seeks to provide insight into the differences between current zoning and principles of traditional neighborhood design and how TND creates a more positive environment for a community’s residents. Kunstler says, “Zoning has never been concerned with the question of beauty. It produces a cartoon of a human settlement” (Kunstler, 1996). TND creates civic art and “...is the practice of assembling human settlements so that they maximize the happiness of their inhabitants” (Kunstler, 1996). Kunstler maintains that promoting civic art through TND effects the quality of

daily life by connecting residents to their surrounding community, without the necessary use of a car.

The ability for residents to walk to accomplish daily tasks is important in TND because it allows people to do several chores without spending half the day in the car running from one end of town to the other. A focus on walking also provides for safety, with Jane Jacobs' concept of "eyes on the street." Walking also allows residents to appreciate beauty and civic art. Pedestrians are able to view buildings and design while strolling by, instead of while "flying" by in a car. A hierarchy of streets is also necessary to promote different uses along the streets that have different functions and give pedestrians route options. Some streets exist to maximize non-motorized transportation, such as alleys and streets, while others exist to maximize automobile movement, such as boulevards and avenues.

Often, people fear congestion from higher density uses of land and fear a loss of privacy without their own "private cottage in the woods." Without a certain density, it is difficult to maintain civic life; "There are not enough people living, or business activities, at the core to maintain the synergies necessary for civic life. The New Urbanism proposes a restoration of synergistic densities within reasonable limits. These limits are regulated by building size" (Kunstler, 1996). Duany insists that TND combines the best of traditional living with modern living. Those who wish to live in isolation can live at the neighborhood's outer edge. While those who desire closeness and community can live at the higher density center. (Duany, ABC Nightline, 1998)

TND and New Urbanism do not seek to become an authoritarian regime in defining what houses will look like or be built with or to stop people from using their

cars. These concepts seek to replace zoning in defining the standard on which we build our neighborhoods and cities. Several agencies at different levels have ordinances, rules, and programs that promote sprawl and are difficult to change. However, even though zoning is an obstacle to TND and many programs and rules stand in the way of redefining the way we plan our neighborhoods and cities, slowly models of good development are coming from planners, architects, designers, and residents of communities through participatory planning processes.

Even the building, construction, and development trades are seeking to build better places for people to live. In “Gathering Places Fulfill the Desire to be Connected,” Susan Bady describes for the Professional Builder and Remodler what people want in their homes. In an interview with Perry Bigelow a residential developer in Illinois, Bigelow said “The underlying premise is that people want to be more connected...So I created an environment where homeowners wouldn’t have to make appointments with each other to be friends” (Bady, 1993). Densities were mixed among single-family homes and four-unit townhouses. Buyers were allowed a final say in the development of the courtyards and landscaping of their homes, as well as placement of mailboxes. The developer recognized the importance of providing environments that promote interaction and the residents also sought an environment where the opportunity to interact existed.

Michael Southward evaluates neotraditional communities in “Walkable Suburbs?” He uses 5 criteria to compare TND to traditional suburban developments and to see how “successful” TNDs are. The five criteria examine the pattern of urban development. The criteria are:

1. Built Form, showing the pattern of development,

2. Land Use Patterns, showing the location and density of different uses,
  3. Public Open Space,
  4. Street Design and Circulation System, and
  5. Pedestrian Access.
- (Southward, 1997)

Each of these criteria provides useful insight into how people relate to one another and to the built environment.

In the developments Southward studied, he found that the TNDs differed somewhat from traditional suburban developments. They still had difficulty overcoming pedestrian access issues and needed to better consider the design needs of their residents. What the TNDs were lacking was mainly paying attention to the tradition of the place they were developing. They needed to use the existing history rather than trying to create a new symbolic tradition.

In "Neotraditionalism and the Corner Store: Can the Community of the Future Support the Commerce of the Past?," Alan Ehrenhalt questions the ability of TND to support the type of economic activities that will provide communities with the ability to support themselves and meet their needs. He notes that in several TND developments such as Kentlands near Washington, D.C. and Seaside, Florida, "The residential component of neotraditionalism is working remarkably well. The commercial component has yet to succeed" (Ehrenhalt, 1996). Ehrenhalt views the commercial aspect of Main Street economies as too small a scale to be profitable in today's economy.

However, Andres Duany in an interview on ABC News Nightline program insists that it is too early to determine whether or not the commercial component of TND is a failure or a success. In all reality these developments are still quite new and need to have a residential base before the commercial can succeed. The residential part is succeeding,

so the commercial part will soon follow. “The variety of uses, the shops, the schools, and the offices, they will come. What the critiques haven’t granted us is the time to complete our communities...When that happens all those elements will be in place, and then we can test it” (Duany, ABC Nightline, 1998). Time is a critical component in creating community. Meaningful connections among neighbors and to places do not happen overnight.

These factors are important when studying TNDs, because they aim to create meaningful places for their residents, but if they are only creating a superficial environment then any sense of community developed within them will not be withstanding. It is important to understand how and why different physical components of TND can promote sense of community. It is also important to examine how design provides for both the individual and her need for privacy, as well as for the community and its need for sense of community to thrive.

## **Seaside, Florida**

---

### **History**

---

J.S. Smolian purchased the 80 coastal acres that Seaside, Florida now occupies in 1946. The land was originally planned as a summer camp for the employees of his department store. Smolian picked the name "Dreamland Heights" for his future camp. However, Smolian's business partner was not interested in the camp, so the land remained undeveloped. Instead the acres by the Gulf Coast became a vacation excursion for the Smolian family. By 1969, Smolian was ready to develop his land again. His next idea for the property was a conference center with small cottages on the beach that the University of Alabama would sponsor. However, the social and political conditions never made the realization of Smolian's conference center possible. The land continued to be undeveloped.

Smolian's grandson, Robert Davis, spent his summers growing up on the Northwest Florida coast near his grandfather's property. Once grown-up, Davis became a successful real estate developer in Florida. He built several residential housing developments. His projects were financial and critical successes. One reason for the success was because the projects incorporated the housing into the existing natural surroundings. (Brooke, 1995)

In 1978, Davis inherited his grandfather's property on the gulf coast. Davis' memories of family vacations inspired him to develop the land. Davis' development would be called "Seaside," because of its relation to Florida's coast. One major goal of

the development would be to revive the building traditions of Northwest Florida. Wood-frame cottages would be the basic housing design. This type of design would accommodate generations of families. The design of the roofs, windows, and porches would allow for good ventilation and would be central to the design. (Seaside Community Development Corporation, 1998)

Rather than jumping into a development plan, Davis studied town planning, architecture, history, and urban design. The eighty acres that would become Seaside, according to scholar Leon Krier, when properly designed would allow residents to comfortably walk everywhere. Davis and his wife also spent time driving throughout the region's small towns to study their architecture and layout. Studying and exploring other regional small towns convinced Davis of how to build and to design Seaside. (Brooke, 1995)

In 1980, Davis enlisted the help of Miami architects Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk to design his community. The architects also spent time researching the building traditions of Northwest Florida by visiting towns, taking notes and pictures, and using their research to develop a model of buildings that would be developed into the town's Master Plan and Urban Code. (Seaside Community Development Corporation, 1998) Seaside would be designed as a town where people could walk where they wanted and needed to go and where architecture would "draw" people to sit on their porches and to interact with other residents. "[Davis] wanted safe streets, generous boulevards, comfortably scaled buildings, indigenous landscape, and 'an atmosphere of neighborliness...a familiarity that promotes even the practice of cutting through backyards' " (Brooke, 1995).

Davis and his family moved to Seaside into one of the first two houses built. The Master Plan and the Urban Code were drafted in the summer of 1982 and finalized in 1983. The Urban Code set the guidelines for building in the community, rather than traditional zoning and building codes. The Urban Code focused on the architecture that would preserve the building tradition Seaside sought to revive:

As few rules as necessary are incorporated into the Code in order to ensure that each Seaside home will continue the regional building tradition and will contribute to giving Seaside's neighborhoods the coherence, cohesion, and strong sense of place...Seaside's houses share a common vocabulary of building forms and materials, yet there is a great deal of heterogeneity within the town.

The Code is designed to work with the plan to produce streets which are comfortable, and even delightful, to pedestrians. The streets are designed to accommodate cars and parking but to make walking more convenient and pleasant than driving. (Seaside Urban Code, Seaside Community Development Corporation)

These codes were put into place to guide the development of the first neighborhood on Tupelo Street. Two test houses and the pavilion connecting the neighborhood to the beach were built as a market test to see if the architectural codes and Master Plan would hinder sales. Sales were better than anticipated.

Since Seaside's inception in 1980 it has developed through the use of the Master Plan and Urban Code as development guides. There are now approximately 260 cottages and 350 homes. Some of the residences are owner occupied, some rented, and some are rental properties for seasonal visitors. The Seaside Community Development Corporation believes that the commitment to the Master Plan and the Urban Code, which promotes elements of livability and sense of community, is one of the elements that attracts new Seaside residents.

## **Physical Elements**

---

What makes Seaside different from other communities is its emphasis on accessibility, architectural integrity, and walkability included in its design and codes.

Major physical elements of Seaside include:

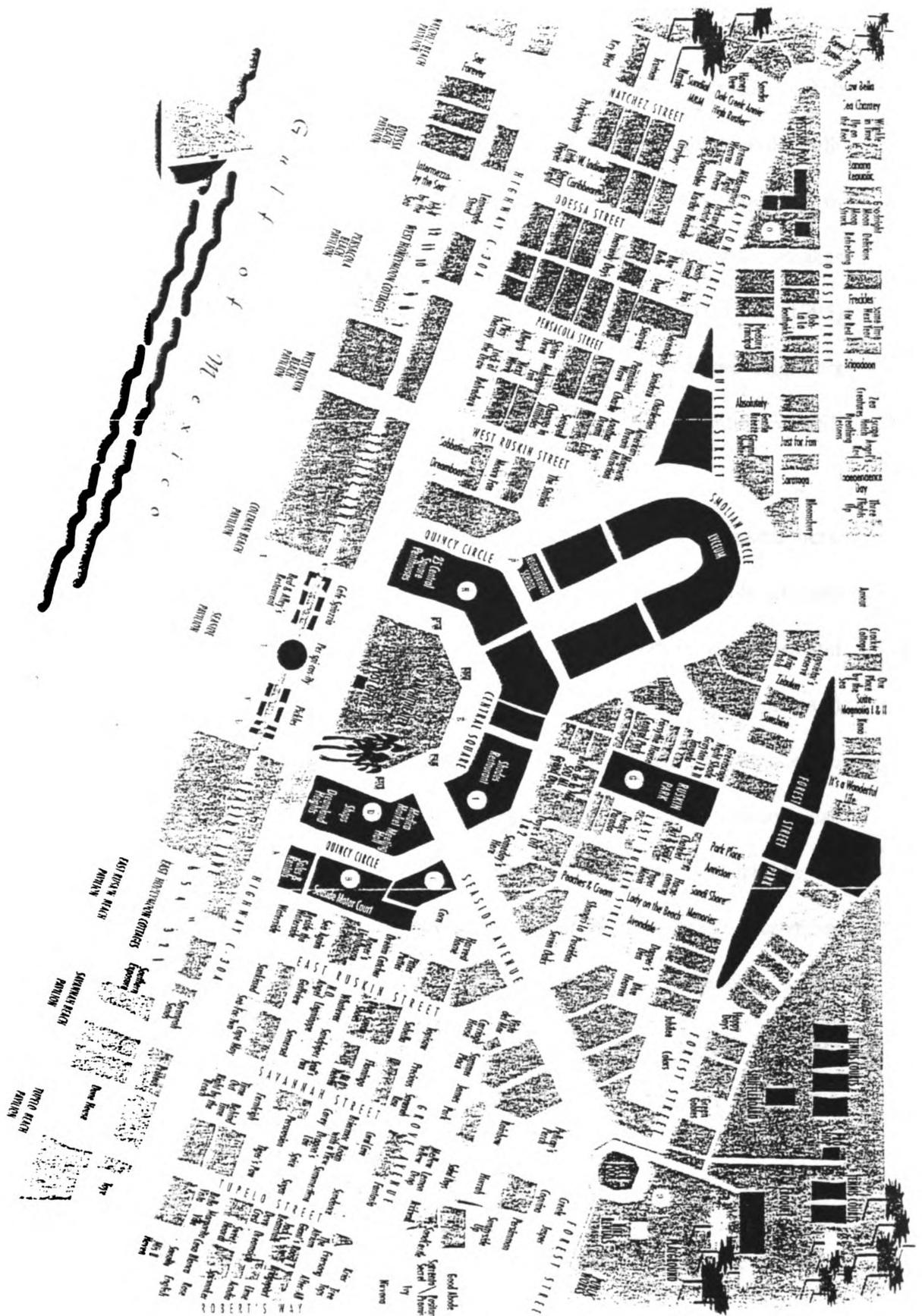
- Nine Beach Pavilions that connect Seaside's neighborhoods to the beach.
- A Central Square that contains restaurants, a market place, penthouses, an amphitheater, and the post office.
- Parks, pools, playgrounds, and recreation courts that are accessible to all residents.
- A Neighborhood School near the Central Square.
- A Street Network that contains boulevards, streets, and alleys.
- The Street Network connects each section of the town to every other section. There are no cul-de-sacs.
- Development materials and landscaping materials are all of local origin.
- Heterogeneous housing developed under a consistent, functional, and pleasing architectural code.

The positioning of each of these elements creates a well-proportioned small town.

(See Figure 1. Seaside, Florida - Town Map, p. 36)

The town designers set out to create a town with a sense of community. It is important to understand how the town's physical elements play a role in the level of sense of community.

Figure 1. Seaside, Florida - Town Map



## **Why Should We Expect Seaside's Design to Create Sense of Community?**

---

The Urban Code and the Master Plan guide development in Seaside. "The unambiguous logic of the *overall* Seaside Plan--the pedestrian-scaled and well-proportioned streets, the accessible beach pavilions, the harmonious grouping of residential and commercial buildings, the absence of high-rise beachside condos--makes a persuasive case for Seaside's underlying message: civilized livability" (Brooke, 1995) The "purpose" of Seaside's development is to create a meaningful place where neighbors know each other and are free to walk to any place in town they wish in order to fulfill their daily needs.

Several factors influence the sense of community in Seaside. Two researchers, Jeanne Plas and Susan Lewis, examined the sense of community in Seaside in their article, "Environmental Factors and Sense of Community in a Planned Town." Plas and Lewis set out to investigate the relationship between planned physical characteristics and sense of community using Seaside, Florida as a case study. This study was intended to link urban planning research and community psychology research. Little research has been done linking physical factors to the creation of sense of community. Plas and Lewis relied heavily on McMillan and Chavis' study for sense of community variables, membership, influence, fulfillment of needs, and shared emotional connection, as the basis for the study. They relied on historical research, participant observation, and survey results for the environmental, town design, architecture, and town philosophy variables. A total of seven variables were measured in the study.

The study had three phases: observational evidence gathering, historical evidence gathering, and interview data obtained from town residents and town employees. The

first phase sent the researchers to Seaside to be participant observers in the town and to record their observations. The second phase involved researching historical information about Seaside and analyzing the Master Plan and Urban Code to determine the sense of community variables related to the physical design. The final phase was a survey of town residents and town employees. The survey sample consisted of 125 adults that lived and / or worked in Seaside. Individual interviews were performed with each respondent. The interview consisted of an open-ended question that "...asked the research participant to share perceptions of the strengths and weaknesses of Seaside. All of the follow-up questions were nonspecific and intended to give the respondent the opportunity to provide information and meaning that he or she considered important" (Plas and Lewis, 1996). The interviewers did not use the seven selected variables to guide the research participant's interview.

The two researchers individually coded the data into nine categories. The nine categories were: urban design, architecture, town philosophy, membership, influence, need fulfillment, shared emotional connection, other relevant sense of community, and variables unrelated to sense of community. (Plas and Lewis, 1996) These categories were based on the respondents' answers and on the chosen variables. From the two sets of coded responses a final codebook was created.

As a result of this observational data, historical research, and the survey of residents and workers, Plas and Lewis found that three of Seaside's physical characteristics had a positive influence on the sense of community of its residents. Approximately 80% of the participants agreed on the variables of interest to the researchers. The researchers felt this could be due to several reasons: the high amount of

free time the respondents had and the fact that they were accustomed to hearing similar questions from perspective Seaside residents and tourists. Responses to the survey were overwhelmingly positive, with approximately 95% of responses being positive. (Plas and Lewis, 1996)

The three environmental variables, Town Design, Architecture, and Town Philosophy received many positive answers from respondents. Town Design strengths included beach pavilions, walkability, informal places to gather and to meet, and the “devaluing” of the auto in favor of pedestrian oriented design. (Plas and Lewis, 1996) Closely connected to Town Design was Architecture. Architecture was important because of the feeling it created among residents and for the opportunities it provided for socializing and interaction. Both the strengths of the Town Design and Architecture variables were promoted through the Town Philosophy that was guided by the Master Plan and Urban Code.

The four sense of community factors also had positive responses from participants. Seventy-two percent of respondents identified the membership variable by talking about "...Seaside's ability 'to make us feel at home'" (Plas and Lewis, 1996). The town market was often described as a place where the community gathered and where people had "community feelings." The influence variable carried less weight, with only 4% of the respondents speaking of Seaside's influence on their behavior. (Plas and Lewis, 1996) Two-thirds of the respondents mentioned that Seaside helped to fulfill needs, especially family needs such as time together and intergenerational activities. (Plas and Lewis, 1996) The emotional connection variable was talked about by 77% of the respondents. Responses consisted of the ability to connect with other residents and

the quick ability to become friends with neighbors. (Plas and Lewis, 1996) Another variable mentioned by 45% of the respondents that Plas and Lewis did not anticipate was that of loyalty to the community. (Plas and Lewis, 1996)

Finally Plas and Lewis examined the connections between the environmental variables and the sense of community variables. The basis for determining connections was "If more than 35 people made specific comments that connected ideas in a category with an idea in a category of the other set of variables, it was considered relevant" (Plas and Lewis, 1996). Using this methodology three strong connections between the two variable sets were described. First, Town Design was found to have a strong connection to generating the emotional connection between residents. Second, Architecture and the membership variable were connected. Finally, Town Philosophy was related to the feelings of membership and the emotional connection of the residents.

The findings of the study about the relational nature of the environmental variables and the sense of community variables measured in Seaside by Plas and Lewis, along with a written history of Seaside's development by the Seaside Community Development Corporation, the Seaside Urban Code and Master Plan, a published photographic tour and description of Seaside, and other information provided by the community development corporation will help in providing some insights into the questions posed in the methodology.

The first two questions are interrelated and will be explored simultaneously:

- 1. How does the design promote neighboring and socializing?**
- 2. Does design create a balance between public and private space?**

Town design and architecture through the design of homes and their relation to each other can promote neighboring, socializing, and walkability. One of the researchers from the Plas and Lewis study noted that, "Within a half hour or so of wandering around town, I'd realize that most people seemed to be speaking to one another as they crossed paths" (Plas and Lewis, 1996). It is far easier to chat with neighbors and strangers while walking than when closed up in an automobile. The ease of using non-motorized transportation makes stopping and talking very easy. Home designs also promote neighboring and a balance between public and private space.

Houses have wide porches that are positioned close to the street and use variations on the Northwest Florida building tradition as the basis for architecture. As one observer noted, "These people were not living in their backyards (as people in my own hometown neighborhood did); they were living on their front porches" (Plas and Lewis, 1996). The ample porches encourage residents to sit on them and to greet the pedestrians passing by not far from their houses. Building designs are pleasing to the eye and allow for the transition between private and public space. The porches do not just promote neighboring and socializing; they also mediate between private residences and public streets.

Bridges between public and private spaces can also be found in the placement of parks and recreation facilities in relation to the neighborhoods. All are within walking distance. The central square is within walking distance as well. All the shops and "third places" exist as stores and restaurants around the central square. According to Plas and Lewis, the town philosophy helped to bridge public and private realms and was a strength because of the friendly and social atmosphere residents and visitors felt while in town.

(Plas and Lewis, 1996) With residents believing in and acting on the town philosophy, the social needs of interaction in comfortable places, where “people know your name,” becomes possible. People are not afraid to relate with each other from their homes or while walking in the Town Square.

### **3. Does the design seek to fulfill economic needs?**

Seaside’s design attempts to meet some of the economic needs of its residents. There is a market place that is run every weekend in which outside vendors and residents participate. This market sells everything from art to clothing. Another source of economic interaction is at the central square. The central square is home to shops and restaurants that serve some of the needs of Seaside’s residents.

The shops contained in Seaside’s central square—while meeting some economic needs—are also a bit trendy than the average shopping center. For example, the grocery store, Modica Market, is a “unique gourmet grocery,” rather than a full service, possibly a national chain, grocery store. There are other stores that also serve specific needs rather than day-to-day needs. There is a specialty cigar store, an aromatherapy store, several stores that sell “fine art,” and a few stores that sell ice cream novelties such as flavored ice and yogurt. Many stores exist that serve the general needs of the population outside of these trendy spots. There are a variety of clothing stores (9), restaurants (7), arts and crafts stores (9), and financial institutions (2). (Seaside Cottage Rental Agency, 1998) However, there are other economic needs that Seaside has not fulfilled yet.

The economic needs that have yet to be met are the needs for full-time, well paying, and stable employment. Most residents still commute to work, leaving their

pedestrian paradise to spend an hour in rush-hour traffic. One of the architects, Duany, maintains that this is not a disadvantage of Seaside. (ABC Nightline, 1998) He contends that Seaside is not fully developed and the economic and commercial functions of the town will slowly develop, as they do in authentic communities. So, while residents can shop and meet the economic needs of daily life in town, they must go outside to pursue an economic life and a career.

#### **4. Are civic buildings placed as landmarks throughout the town and the neighborhood?**

Several civic landmarks are placed in one of the most crucial locations in town, the central square. One significant landmark at the center of town is the Post Office. Locating a town's post office in the center is important to creating a place people will visit. (Burden, 1998) The neighborhood school is in the square where all town children can reach it by foot or by bicycle with ease. The lyceum and the amphitheater are also located in the central square. Beach pavilions are also important town landmarks for the residents of the neighborhoods that are near the beach. The pavilions can provide a source of identification and of pride for the neighborhoods. Parks also serve as terminating vistas to the neighborhoods that have streets that do not meet the beach. The town design has civic landmarks that may provide neighborhoods with their own identities.

#### **5. Is there a mix of uses available to meet the needs of a diverse population?**

In order to fulfill the needs of a diverse population "The ideal situation would encourage mixed functional uses—recreational, leisure, consumer, task-oriented—in

order to attract individuals to use available open spaces” (Holahan, 1976). Seaside does its best to create an “ideal” mix of uses. The mix of commercial and recreational uses in the central square as well as the parks and playgrounds available within walking distance of each neighborhood provide a mix of locations for residents of all ages and of all interests to use for a variety of purposes. There are opportunities for sports, swimming, family outings, picnics, bicycling, relaxing while reading a book near the beach or at a local restaurant. There are several activities that take place in the town to attract residents and visitors alike. Community activities include the weekend market and shows and events at the Lyceum and Amphitheater. The town design provides many different opportunities for the town's population.

There are at least two missing elements in Seaside. The missing elements are a community library and a hospital or a clinic. However, these facilities could be developed as the town grows over time.

**6. Is there a mix of market rate and affordable housing to provide housing opportunities for a diverse population?**

Housing supply is somewhat diverse. Different housing types are dispersed throughout each neighborhood. Even vacation rental cottages are mixed in with the owner-occupied housing. One setback of the housing diversity is the low availability of below market rate housing. Rental housing and apartments are available, but housing prices are high. The high price of homes shuts lower income people out the town. “Thus, the incomes of Seaside’s full- and part-time owner residents—most of whom own an additional residence elsewhere—tend to fall within the upper 20% of American

household incomes” (Plas and Lewis, 1996). Table 1 shows how the average prices of lots and of homes has skyrocketed over the past 14 years.

**Table 1. Seaside Real Estate Sales Activity**

<b>Date</b>	<b>Lot Sales</b>	<b>Average Price</b>	<b>Home Sales</b>	<b>Average Price</b>
1982	12	\$18,800	---	---
1983	9	\$21,300	1	\$64,900
1984	29	\$34,650	4	\$97,500
1985	23	\$49,904	4	\$127,800
1986	33	\$46,081	11	\$158,000
1987	41	\$49,896	10	\$161,491
1988	41	\$81,689	14	\$174,655
1989	33	\$88,642	12	\$231,131
1990	43	\$106,806	14	\$240,158
1991	17	\$114,005	17	\$286,082
1992	32	\$134,568	10	\$326,000
1993	20	\$176,895	16	\$347,281
1994	9	\$193,222	10	\$334,650
1995	10	\$219,050	19	\$414,263
1996	3	\$343,333	14	\$503,500

Source: Seaside Community Development Corporation in the *Lusk Review*, 1998

This trend is similar to the traditional automobile suburb. And while the mix of renters and owners is an advantage, there is a definite lack of social class and racial mixing in the town. “People who own and rent in Seaside tend to be white and are not

representative of U.S. minority groups” (Plas and Lewis, 1996). Equal chances to become homeowners should be a goal of town and neighborhood development. Seaside has not yet achieved this goal.

**7. Do the neighborhoods have “personalities”?  
Are their unique traits emphasized as a source of pride?**

Neighborhood identities are a part of Seaside’s design. For the neighborhoods that line up along the beach, beach pavilions serve as landmarks and terminating vistas. The nine beach pavilions are spaced along the beach shore providing complete access to the gulf shore for residents and visitors. The beach pavilions serve as “...an invitation to *share* the beach” (Brooke, 1995). Each beach pavilion was designed by a different architect to give each neighborhood a different vista to view at the end of the streets and a different identity. Researchers have found that neighborhood identity helps to promote membership and belonging to the community. (Plas and Lewis, 1996) Neighbors can take pride in their pavilion and feel special in belonging to a “separate” neighborhood.

The final two questions deal directly with access to different modes of transportation and mobility in Seaside:

- 8. Is the street hierarchy well designed? Does it promote pedestrian and non-motorized transportation use as well as the use of the automobile?**
- 9. Is the circulation system connective of several different destinations by several modes of transportation?**

These two questions focus on how accessible the town’s amenities and central square are to residents with different transportation needs and how the circulation system aids residents in fulfilling their daily needs.

The street network is a part of promoting sense of community in Seaside. Seaside employs the entire street hierarchy from alleys to boulevards. Each level provides a different function. Alleys allow access to houses without having automobiles parked directly in front of each house disturbing the view. Each level provides the ability to access alternatives routes to several destinations. "Dirt footpaths throughout Seaside provide additional networks for pedestrian traffic. They also provide unexpected vistas and intimate views of Seaside homes and gardens. Children love using them as private highways" (Brooke, 1995). Everyone in town from children to elderly adults can manage to attend to the tasks of their daily lives and to have the interaction that is important in promoting sense of community through the accessibility of all modes of transportation. Since everything is in walking distance, public transportation is not necessary. Seaside has paid important attention to the infrastructure needs of its population, so everyone can be mobile.

#### **10. What other factors play a role in promoting sense of community?**

In addition to the environmental variables in Plas and Lewis' study, the four sense of community variables played a role in developing sense of community in Seaside. The variables were membership, influence, needs, and emotional connections. Membership was important because people felt like important members of Seaside and that the town had the ability "...to make us feel at home" (Plas and Lewis, 1996). Residents also felt they could influence what happened in Seaside, they felt empowered to make a difference in their community. Needs, such as family or relaxation needs, were also meet by the variety of parks, recreation facilities, and community markets and activities. Finally, the

emotional connections of the residents were developed through neighboring. Residents talked to people sitting on their porches, walked to and mingled at events.

Town Design was found to have an impact on the emotional connection felt by residents. The planning efforts created a “good-looking town that people enjoy living, working, and visiting in” (Plas and Lewis, 1996). Architecture encouraged feelings of membership especially due to the porches and their position to the street. It is easy for people to chat as they pass a neighbor enjoying the evening sitting on their porch. The Town Philosophy, to create a place where residents can walk to their destinations and where friendships can be made and nurtured, promotes membership and emotional connection among the residents

### **Advantages and Disadvantages**

---

Seaside’s physical layout has several advantages to promoting sense of community. As shown by the research of Plas and Lewis, the residents of Seaside realize that their town is “different” from other towns, but they know what it is about their community that makes it special and they make the effort to preserve what they find special.

One important advantage to the design of Seaside over “traditional” automobile suburbs is the accessibility for residents of all ages to explore the community and to connect with other residents. “It had been primarily designed to give people access to each other and to their community” (Plas and Lewis, 1996). People are not bound to a car to get things done. Children can bike anywhere and the elderly can safely walk to

their destinations because of the thought out town plan. Each physical element has its role in the town plan and its position to other elements was carefully considered when creating the master plan.

The ease of understanding the Master Plan and the Urban Code are also important advantages to Seaside. “The plan is guided by a surprisingly simple Urban Code that is presented on a single large page rather than in the more typical volumes of complicated legalese” (Plas and Lewis, 1996). The use of pictures and simple to understand directions means that everyone building in the town can understand the rules they must follow. (See Figure 2. Seaside, Florida - Urban Code and Zoning Code, p. 51) Without the complicated zoning ordinances and building codes, the process of becoming a Seaside resident is often more pleasant than the process people experience when relocating to other places that incorporate long and confusing zoning ordinances and building codes into their plans.

The neighborhood identities created by the parks and beach pavilions are a significant source of pride and community formation for Seaside residents. People who feel they have a unique identity are more likely to feel pride and to feel like members of the community and each neighborhood. Membership is a crucial factor to the promotion and maintenance of sense of community.

While there has been some fulfillment of economic needs, the biggest disadvantage to Seaside is the lack of growth in commercial and professional office ventures in the community. Over time several restaurants have developed, but a solid base of professional centers have not been a great success. Due to this lack of office development, most residents do not work in Seaside. Office buildings may be slowly

developing, but as of yet, most residents commute to work rather than walk. Another disadvantage to Seaside is the low number of permanent residents versus visitors.

The high price of housing in Seaside is another disadvantage. While diverse needs of different populations can be met through the facilities in the town, market prices of homes are too high for the lower and lower-middle classes to afford. "Originally, Seaside was designed to accommodate residents from a variety of economic levels...Rather quickly, however, the success of the town planning as well as the high-quality architecture of these buildings boosted prices beyond the reach of the target population" (Plas and Lewis, 1996). The lack of below market prices affects the ability of lower and lower-middle class residents to become homeowners in Seaside. Without a diversity of classes and races, Seaside will not fulfill the goal of a diverse population.

Overall, Seaside presents a very real and well-planned stage for residents that supports the promotion of sense of community. The advantages point to opportunities for other cities, towns, and neighborhoods to follow in revitalization and new development efforts. The disadvantages provide challenges for revitalization and new development projects to overcome. The disadvantages may have solutions in design techniques, such as Traditional Neighborhood Design, but more likely the solutions will come from policy changes and economic and social development programs created by and tailored for the towns, cities, and neighborhoods in which they will be used

### Figure 2. Seaside, Florida - Urban Code and Zoning Code

# URBAN CODE • THE TOWN OF SEASIDE

DEFINITIONS	TYPE I	TYPE II	TYPE III	TYPE IV	TYPE V	TYPE VI	TYPE VII	TYPE VIII	SPECIFICATIONS
<b>YARDS</b> A YARD IS A SPACE BETWEEN BUILDINGS OR A SPACE BETWEEN A BUILDING AND THE STREET OR A SPACE BETWEEN BUILDINGS AND THE STREET.									1. THE YARD, IF ANY, SHALL BE THE SPACE BETWEEN THE BUILDING AND THE STREET OR THE SPACE BETWEEN BUILDINGS OR THE SPACE BETWEEN A BUILDING AND THE STREET OR THE SPACE BETWEEN BUILDINGS AND THE STREET.
<b>PORCHES</b> A PORCH IS A SPACE BETWEEN A BUILDING AND THE STREET OR A SPACE BETWEEN BUILDINGS AND THE STREET.									2. THE PORCH, IF ANY, SHALL BE THE SPACE BETWEEN THE BUILDING AND THE STREET OR THE SPACE BETWEEN BUILDINGS OR THE SPACE BETWEEN A BUILDING AND THE STREET OR THE SPACE BETWEEN BUILDINGS AND THE STREET.
<b>OUT- BUILDINGS</b> An OUT-BUILDING IS A BUILDING OR A SPACE BETWEEN BUILDINGS OR A SPACE BETWEEN A BUILDING AND THE STREET OR A SPACE BETWEEN BUILDINGS AND THE STREET.									3. THE OUT-BUILDING, IF ANY, SHALL BE THE SPACE BETWEEN THE BUILDING AND THE STREET OR THE SPACE BETWEEN BUILDINGS OR THE SPACE BETWEEN A BUILDING AND THE STREET OR THE SPACE BETWEEN BUILDINGS AND THE STREET.
<b>PARKING</b> A PARKING SPACE IS A SPACE BETWEEN BUILDINGS OR A SPACE BETWEEN A BUILDING AND THE STREET OR A SPACE BETWEEN BUILDINGS AND THE STREET.									4. THE PARKING SPACE, IF ANY, SHALL BE THE SPACE BETWEEN THE BUILDING AND THE STREET OR THE SPACE BETWEEN BUILDINGS OR THE SPACE BETWEEN A BUILDING AND THE STREET OR THE SPACE BETWEEN BUILDINGS AND THE STREET.
<b>BUILDING HEIGHTS</b> A BUILDING HEIGHT IS A SPACE BETWEEN BUILDINGS OR A SPACE BETWEEN A BUILDING AND THE STREET OR A SPACE BETWEEN BUILDINGS AND THE STREET.									5. THE BUILDING HEIGHT, IF ANY, SHALL BE THE SPACE BETWEEN THE BUILDING AND THE STREET OR THE SPACE BETWEEN BUILDINGS OR THE SPACE BETWEEN A BUILDING AND THE STREET OR THE SPACE BETWEEN BUILDINGS AND THE STREET.

*The Sensitive Code spells out the required aspects of building form.*

## **Conclusions and Recommendations**

---

### **Creating Places that Matter through Traditional Neighborhood Design**

---

In order to promote sense of community, Seaside teaches us that one important step is to create places that people care about and will be active participants in taking care of the community. Places that having meaning for community members give a sense of pride, membership, and an obligation to take care of it. Meaningful places are where residents feel like members and are connected to each other, places where sense of community exists. Traditional Neighborhood Design (TND) is a technique that attempts to create places that matter and to promote a sense of community among residents.

The factors of TND that promote sense of community include: town/neighborhood design, architecture, philosophy, land marks that create identity, the street hierarchy and layout, the accessibility of community places, and the existence of “third places.” As shown in the exploration of Seaside, Florida, each of these factors influences how people relate to each other and to the places they live. The quality of the relationship among neighbors can be influenced by their physical surroundings.

Seaside, Florida follows the TND technique and has promoted sense of community among residents so far. The example of Seaside is useful because it was built “from scratch,” and therefore controls some outside forces, such as existing development patterns and political influences. What Seaside gives planners and developers are some keys to creating “good” places. While Seaside cannot be replicated exactly in developed places, the principles it follows can be adapted to revitalization projects as well as to new

developments. Since it takes time for sense of community to be built, how successful Seaside will become remains to be seen.

What examining Seaside does is provides an example of how the physical elements of a place effect the level of sense of community residents' feel. This fact is important to what planners do and how they make daily decisions that effect the layout of the places where people live, work, and play.

### **The Role of Urban Planners in Promoting Sense of Community**

Urban Planners have several roles to play in promoting sense of community in cities, towns, villages, and neighborhoods. Planners have a unique job, which allows them to communicate both with developers and with residents. This uniqueness provides the opportunity for planners to contribute residents needs to developers' projects and to provide developers with guidelines that create meaningful places that will fulfill the residents' needs. Planners can promote sense of community through:

- Citizen Participation
- Codes and Regulations,
- Civic Art and Public Spaces, and
- The Street Hierarchy.

#### **Citizen Participation**

One important step planners can take to promote sense of community is to work with residents to describe what type of community they desire and how they want that community to look. Cochrun (1994) and Burden (1998) emphasized the use of charrettes to gain input from citizens in a short period of time and to make contact with

neighborhood groups to get them involved in program development. This type of participatory planning can take place through charrettes, focus groups, citizen involvement on commissions, and public meetings to discuss changes to the code. Once a vision is in place, planners can rewrite the codes, policies, and zoning ordinances to produce the results the community desires. When the codes match the vision, the community residents want will start to evolve.

### **Codes and Regulations**

Codes can promote architecture that develops membership and emotional connections among residents, which are crucial to maintaining a sense of community. Cochrun (1994), Duany and Plater-Zyberk (1996), and Burden (1998) examine how planners can use zoning and building codes and policies to promote physical design that promotes sense of community. Well-designed buildings are interesting to look at and provide a transition between public and private space. Houses with porches close to the street allow neighbors to chat as they walk by, creating a friendly atmosphere where socializing can occur. Architecture also creates beauty. People enjoy walking around beautiful buildings, rather than speeding by concrete box buildings in a car. The design of a building can create a place where people want to be, and therefore, can promote sense of community.

Gindroz and Bothwell (1997) and Duany and Plater-Zyberk (1996) emphasize that codes can create a mix of uses that encourages a mix of uses within walking distance of a neighborhood. Having a small grocery store and meeting places is crucial to promoting sense of community. First, people need to have the option to meet their daily

needs through walking. Many people are unable to drive and are therefore left out of neighborhood and city plans. Planners need to remember those who cannot drive. Second, informal meeting places, or “third places,” discussed by Beatley and Manning (1997), are critical places where information is exchanged and people can meet and mingle with friends and strangers. Informal meeting places allow for socializing to occur and aids in creating a feeling of membership to a group or to a place.

### **Civic Art and Public Places**

Kunstler (1993, 1996), Beatley and Manning (1997), and Putnam (1995) note that civic art and public spaces are missing from many cities and towns. Planners need to work to put civic art and public spaces back into community centers and neighborhoods. Civic art give residents feelings of pride and create meaning. Duany and Plater-Zyberk (1996), Ottensman (1978), Kunstler (1993, 1996), and Jacobs (1961) discuss the importance of public spaces. Public spaces, when properly designed, provide spaces for people to meet, to sit, and to watch. Both civic art and public spaces give identity to neighborhoods as well as meet the needs of families and individuals living in the neighborhoods.

### **The Street Hierarchy**

As described by Jacobs (1961), Kunstler (1992, 1996), Burden (1998), and others, a properly design street hierarchy creates accessible neighborhoods and destinations for residents of all ages in a community. Both Jacobs (1961) and Burden (1998) stress the

use of alleys to replace the emphasis on automobiles to pedestrians. Alleys take the emphasis off garages and off of the automobile and provide an alternative route of travel for children away from busy streets. Other levels of streets give access to the elderly, to bicyclists and pedestrians, and to the automobile. Every mode of transportation has its place in the hierarchy and each needs to be a focus of the planner. Automobiles can no longer be the focus of planning street networks.

What is missing in planning today is the focus on community needs. Many authors cite the focus of planning on administration and code enforcement. Changing this trend in planning is the first step planning can take towards promoting sense of community. City, neighborhood, and community planners need to take their work back into the community they live in and the people they work for. Without a refocus on community and ways of promoting it, planners will remain administrators and not effectively create positive change for their future.

Finding ways to promote sense of community through participatory planning, code changes, and physical planning is crucial to success of urban planning in the next century. As more and more places compete with each other and more and more places lose their special identity, people will continue to lose the connection they have to their homes and communities and will also lose interest in making them better places to live.

Urban Planners contribute to the development of interesting physical stages that day-to-day life takes place on through their daily decision making. Therefore, Urban Planners have an obligation to recognize the strengths of their community and to find ways to promote sense of community through better design.

## Bibliography

---

- ABC, 1998. *Nightline: America the Ugly*, Forrest Sawyer, anchor.
- Bady, Susan. 1993. "Gathering Places Fulfill the Desire to be Connected." *Professional Builder and Remodeler* 58: 108-110.
- Beatley, Timothy and Manning, Kristy. 1997. *The Ecology of Place: Planning for Environment, Economy, and Community*. Washington, D.C.: Island Press.
- Blassingame, Lurton. 1998. "Sustainable Cities: Oxymoron, Utopia, or Inevitability?" *The Social Science Journal*. 35: 1-12.
- Brooke, Steven. 1995. *Seaside*. Gretna, LA: Pelican Publishing Company.
- Burden, Dan. 1998. *Walkable Communities Presentation* to Delta Township, Michigan. Delta Township Hall.
- Burden, Dan. 1997. *Walkable Communities: A Search for Quality*. Introduction and Planning Sections for the Walkable Communities Course.
- Chavis and Wandersman. 1990. "Sense of Community in the Urban Environment: A Catalyst for Participation and Community Development." *American Journal of Community Psychology* 18: 55-81.
- Clapp, James A. 1971. *New Towns and Urban Policy: Planning Metropolitan Growth*. New York: Dunellen.
- Cochrun, Steven Edward. 1994. "Understanding and Enhancing Neighborhood Sense of Community." *Journal of Planning Literature*. 9: 92-9.
- Congress for the New Urbanism. On-line. Available: <http://www.cnu.org>
- Duany, Andres and Plater-Zyberk, Elizabeth. 1996. "Some Specific Principles of New Traditionalist Community Design." *The American Enterprise*. 7: 48-50.
- Dunham, H. Warren. 1986. "Commentary, The Community Today: Place or Process." *Journal of Community Psychology*, 14:399-404.
- Ehrenhalt, Alan. 1997. "The Dilemma of the New Urbanists." *Governing* 10: 7-8.
- Ehrenhalt, Alan. 1996. "Neotraditionalism and the Corner Store: Can the Community of the Future Support the Commerce of the Past?" *Governing* 10: 6-8.

- Ewing, Reid. 1997. "Is Los Angeles-style Sprawl Desirable?" *Journal of the American Planning Association* 63: 107-126.
- Florida Department of Transportation. 1995. "Walkable Communities: Twelve Steps for an Effective Program."
- Forsyth, Ann. 1997. "Five Images of a Suburb." *Journal of American Planning Association* 63: 45-60.
- Franck, Karen A. 1983. "Community by Design." *Sociological Inquiry* 53: 289-313.
- Friedman, Diana. 1996. "Community: Just What Is All the Talk About?" [online] [New York]: *Metropolis*. Available from Internet:  
<URL:<http://www.metropolismag.com/nov96/survey.html>>.
- Garvin, Alexander and Duany, Andres. 1998. "Is the New Urbanism Passe?." *Lusk Review*.
- Gindroz, Raymond and Bothwell, Stephanie. 1997. "Traditional Neighborhood Design and Social Capital." *Fannie Mae Foundation 1997 Annual Housing Conference*.
- Glynn, Thomas J. 1986. "Neighborhood and Sense of Community." *Journal of Community Psychology* 14 (1986): 341-352.
- Guest, Avery M. and Barrett A. Lee. 1977. "How Urbanites Define Their Neighborhoods" Pp. 32-56 in *Population and Environment*. New York: Human Sciences Press.
- Hardwick, Walter G. 1994. "Responding to the 1960s: Designing Adaptable Communities in Vancouver." *Environment and Behavior* 26: 338-362.
- Heller, Kenneth. 1989. "The Return to Community." *American Journal of Community Psychology* 17: 1-15.
- Holahan, Charles. 1976. "Environmental Effects on Outdoor Social Behavior in a Low-Income Urban Neighborhood." *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*. 6: 48-63.
- Jacobs, Jane. 1961. *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. New York: Random House.
- Kaline, Dan. 1996. "It Takes More than Good Urban Design to Create Community." *Public Management*. 78: 2-3.
- Key, William H. 1965. "Urbanism and Neighboring." *Sociological Quarterly* 6: 379-385.

- Kunstler, James Howard. 1993. *The Geography of Nowhere*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Kunstler, James Howard. 1996. *Home from Nowhere: Remaking our Everyday World for the Twenty-First Century*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Levine, Bruce L. 1986. "The Tragedy of the Commons and the Comedy of Community: The Commons in History." *Journal of Community Psychology* 14: 81-99.
- Logan, William Bryant. 1996. "New Towns." *House Beautiful*. 138: 42-5.
- Lynch, Kevin. 1981. *Good City Form*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- McMillan, David W. 1996. "Sense of Community." *Journal of Community Psychology* 24 : 315-325.
- McMillan, David W, and Chavis, David M. 1986. "Sense of Community: A Definition and Theory." *Journal of Community Psychology* 14: 6-23.
- Mirontschuk, Victor. 1990. "Social Interaction via 21st Century Housing." Presentation at the 8th International Conference on Making Cities Livable. Sienna, Italy.
- Myers, Dowell. 1988. "Building Knowledge About Quality of Life for Urban Planning." *Journal of American Planning Association*. 54: 347-58.
- Newman, Oscar. 1980. *Community of Interest*. Garden City, New York: Anchor Press/Doubleday.
- O'Brien, David J. and Stephen Ayidiya. 1991. "Neighborhood Community and Life Satisfaction." *Journal of the Community Development Society* 22: 21-37.
- Ottensmann, John R. 1978. "Social Behavior in Urban Space: A Preliminary Investigation Using Ethnographic Data." *Urban Life* 7: 13-22.
- Plas, Jeanne M. & Susan E. Lewis. 1996. "Environmental Factors and Sense of Community in a Planned Town." *American Journal of Community Psychology* 24: 109-43.
- Porteous, J. Douglas. 1997. *Environment and Behavior: Planning and Everyday Urban Life*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.
- Putnam, Robert D. 1995. "Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital." *Journal of Democracy* 6: 65-78.
- Rybczynski, Witold. 1995. "This Old House." *The New Republic*. 212: 14-16.

- Rybczynski, Witold. 1996. "Tomorrowland." *New Yorker*. 72: 36-9.
- Rymer, Russ. 1996. "Back to the Future." *Harper's*. 293: 65-71.
- Sampson, R.J., Raudenbush, S., and Felton, E. 1997. "Neighborhoods and Violent Crime: A Multilevel Study of Collective Efficacy." *Science*. 277: 918-24.
- Seaside Community Development Corporation. 1998. "The Seaside Story."  
Available on the Internet: <URL: <http://www.seasidefl.com/sstory.htm>>.
- Seaside Cottage Rental Association, Seaside Florida. 1998. *1998 Rental Prices and Town Guide*.
- Schwab, Jim; Macie, Edward; Corbett, Judy. 1997. "A Plan for Liveable Communities." *American Forests*. 103: 28-9.
- Schweitzer, John H. 1996. Sense of Community in Lansing Neighborhoods. Paper presented at Defining Community, Reexamining Society Conference, Flint, MI.
- Short, John R. 1989. *The Humane City: Cities as if People Matter*. New York: Basil Blackwell.
- Social Capital Interest Group. 1998. Social Capital -Bridging Disciplines, Policies And Community's International Conference, April 20-22, 1998, Conference Abstract.
- Southworth, Michael and Owens, Peter M. 1993. "The Evolving Metropolis: Studies of Communities, Neighborhood, and Street Form at the Urban Edge." *Journal of American Planning Association*. 59: 271-87.
- Southworth, Michael. 1997. "Walkable Suburbs? An Evaluation of Neotraditional Communities at the Urban Edge." *Journal of American Planning Association*. 63: 28-54.
- Stake, R.E. 1995. *The Art of Case Study Research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Turley, Henry M. 1996. "Learn from Tradition." *The American Enterprise* 7: 71.
- Unger, Donald G. and Abraham Wandersman. 1982. "Neighboring in an Urban Environment." *American Journal of Community Psychology* 10: 493-509.
- Warren, Roland L. 1983. "The Good Community-What Would It Be?" Pp. 393-401 in *New Perspectives on the American Community* edited by Roland Warren and Larry Lyon. Homewood, IL. The Dorsey Press.

- Warren, Roland L. and Larry Lyon. 1983. "Basic Approaches to the Community" Pp. 1-6 in *New Perspectives on the American Community* edited by Roland Warren and Larry Lyon. Homewood, IL.: The Dorsey Press.
- Warren, Roland L. and Larry Lyon. 1988. *New Perspectives on the American Community*. Chicago: The Dorsey Press.
- Werner, Carol M., Irwin Altman and Barbara B. Brown. 1992. "A Transactional Approach to Interpersonal Relationships: Physical Environment, Social Context and Temporal Qualities." *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships* 9: 297-323.
- Wiesenfeld, Esther. 1996. "The Concept of "We": A Community Social Psychology Myth?" *Journal of Community Psychology* 24: 337-346.
- Wilson, Georjeanna and Mark Baldassare. 1996. "Overall 'Sense of Community' in a Suburban Region: The Effects of Localism, Privacy, and Urbanization." *Environment and Behavior* 28: 27-43.
- Yin, R. *Case Study Research (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.)*. 1994. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Zehner, Robert B. 1971. "Neighborhood and Community Satisfaction: A Report on New Towns and Less Planned Suburbs." *Journal of American Institute of Planners* 37: 379-385.

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES



3 1293 02656 8745