Jill L Grant
School of Planning
Dalhousie University

WORKING PAPER: Trends in the Suburbs Project
August 2010

GOOD COMMUNITY DESIGN:
THE THEORY OF THE PUBLIC AND THE PRACTICE OF THE PRIVATE

Planners have often mistakenly assumed that we could solve social problems through good community design. In a discipline committed to trying to produce better places, the temptation to believe in the efficacy of good design has proven unrelenting. This paper contrasts contemporary community design theory – which draws extensively on the principles and values of new urbanism – with development practice. While the theory that animates the profession promotes a vibrant and engaging public realm, a large proportion of new development involves privatized and segregated landscapes. Whether developers are building new urbanism communities or gated enclaves, they generally fail to deliver affordability, diversity, democracy, or sustainability. Planning for the good community requires more than building beautiful and compact places: it demands attention to complex issues of social equity, spatial segregation, and environmental responsibility.

Theory and practice in community design

Contemporary planning literature shows considerable convergence around a key set of community design principles to guide planning practice. These principles of efficiency, diversity, walkability, affordability, equity, and environmental responsibility obtain through a range of community design theories, including new urbanism, smart growth, and sustainability. In early 21st century planning, few scholars or texts question such doctrinal values. Students of planning study the importance of an attractive, compact, and well-connected public realm that encourages people to walk and engage socially with their neighbors. To implement the principles planners have developed common land use practices which include providing medium to high density housing, mixed uses, mixed housing types, transportation options, quality urban design standards, and strategies for open space conservation.

While the discourse of the discipline reveals shared understandings, the practice of community design exposes our failure to achieve some ambitions. Expansion at the urban fringes continues to produce unattractive conventional development forms sprawling into green fields at densities that cannot support transportation alternatives (Lang and LeFurgy 2007; Sewell 2009). Affordability remains a dream for many, and social segregation constitutes a continuing challenge. Instead of animated public squares and

streets, many new areas feature picturesque private landscapes with exclusive amenities (McKenzie 1994; Webster 2002).

Governments that constructed urban infrastructure like streets and parks in the late 19th and 20th centuries no longer seem fully invested in keeping all parts of cities public[1]. Planning became entrenched as a task of local government in an era when municipalities saw providing public infrastructure as one of their functions. Recent decades of cost cutting and roll-backs of services have affected development practice, though, leading to a new era of private provision of infrastructure (Boudreau et al. 2009; Grant and Curran 2007; Kohn 2004). At the same time, the ascendance of new urbanism design philosophies contributed to a discourse that emphasized producing particular physical forms to generate social results (Talen 2008a; 2008b). As a consequence of these converging trends, developers aim a rising proportion of new residential projects at affluent niche markets delivered as private communities (Nelson 2005).

Here we discuss two seemingly divergent approaches to community design that coexist in North American cities, and to some extent in other parts of the world. New urbanism – a community design movement aiming to introduce urban qualities to new development – has enjoyed a high public profile and considerable support within the planning profession (Fainstein 2000; Grant 2006). Although Talen (2005a) argues that new urbanism encountered cultural conflicts in trying to penetrate American development practice, Grant (2006) suggests that new urbanism principles increasingly dominate planning theory and policies about good community form. An abundant literature articulates new urbanism premises and provides guidance for practitioners (Duany et al. 2000; Ewing 1996; Urban Task Force 1999). Gated communities – new developments that are enclosed with walls and access-controlled entries -- represent a development practice blissfully bereft of planning theory. Despite a critical academic discourse (e.g., Low 2003; Marcuse 1997), gated communities have excited relatively little debate within the planning profession (Grant 2005); the theory developed around gated communities (Blakely and Snyder 1997; Grant and Mittelsteadt 2004) seeks to explain and classify practices rather than to create a normative framework to legitimize practice. Despite the differences between these views of the good community and the forces that propel them, the places they produce share problematic similarities. New urbanism communities and gated enclaves similarly reflect the mechanics and economics of private community building, which all too often render the normative principles of planning dogma ephemeral. Consequently, although new urbanism seeks to enhance and celebrate the public realm as a community space, it often creates private communities that, like gated enclaves, are segregated places of consumption, exclusion, and inequality (Grant 2007).

Comparing the models, contrasting the practices

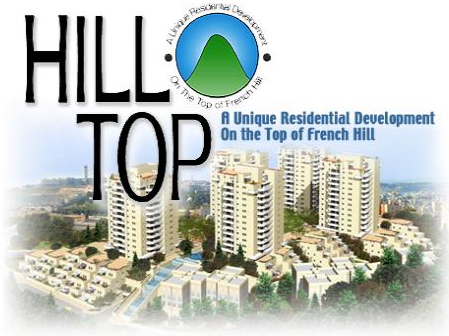
A community design movement that originated in the United States in the late 20th century, new urbanism advocates building complete communities that are mixed use, pedestrian-friendly, compact, clearly defined (with center and edge), and dense (Duany et al. 2000; Leccese and McCormick 2000). Drawing on the insights of Jane Jacobs (1961),

who contrasted the urban dynamics of vibrant urban neighborhoods with the sterility of modernist districts, and Leon Krier (1978), who argued for building districts that emulated the urban structure of traditional towns, architects Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk initiated a bold experiment in building traditional neighborhoods (Katz 1994; Krieger 1991). Signature projects – such as Seaside, the Kentlands (Figure 1), and Celebration in the United States; Cornell, McKenzie Towne, and Garrison Woods in Canada; Poundbury, Greenwich Millennium Village, and Upton in England – reveal the potential of the paradigm to create an attractive, physically diverse, and connected public realm. New urbanism seeks to produce communities that are authentic, democratic, diverse, equitable, and sustainable. Prior to the late 1990s, most communities adhering to new urbanism developed on greenfield sites: while they were attractively designed, few offered the comprehensive set of urban uses that planners hoped to see. Despite the challenges of implementing the full concept, however, new urbanism articulated the principles of the good community for many planners (Grant 2006). Urban infill projects in cities across North America now commonly apply new urbanism principles: with its major redevelopment projects on former industrial lands, Vancouver became the "poster-child" of modernist new urbanism, achieving many of the principles of the model in a contemporary architectural style (Figure 2).

Figure 1: Town Center at Kentlands

Figure 2: Vancouver tower with mixed use base

Although the gated community phenomenon is well documented in a range of locales (Atkinson and Blandy 2006; Glasze et al. 2006)[2], it remains a market practice in search of planning theory. Research suggests that the residents of access-controlled enclaves seek privacy, security, and exclusivity, which the producers of this development product have captured for a niche market (Blakely and Snyder 1997; Caldeira 2000; Hillier and McManus 1994; Low 2003). Enclosed enclaves represent a growing segment of new development in the United States, Canada, the UK, and many other countries (Blandy et al. 2006; Glasze and Alkayyal 2002; Grant et al. 2004; Sanchez et al. 2005). Some suggest that the prevalence of gating affirms the ascendance of neoliberal thinking about the city (Harvey 2005; Hackworth 2007; McKenzie 2006). It embodies the philosophy that the market can better serve the interests of residents and meet needs that planning resists, and therefore should carry greater responsibility for development (Kohn 2004; Nelson 2005).

Figure 3: Gated community in western Canada	Figure 4: Gated development in Israel
	

How do new urbanism-based and gated communities differ? Most importantly, new urbanism's philosophy of an open public realm precludes closing streets or generating single-purpose residential districts. The Congress for the New Urbanism (CNU 2005) suggested that new urbanism communities cannot be gated. Duany et al. (2000, 45) prove less categorical in evaluating enclosure.

> "The repulsion that many citizens feel toward such communities may be justified, but it is important to remember that the problem with gated communities is not the gate itself but what the gate encloses. Nobody objects to the walled towns of Europe and Asia, because they were home to a full cross section of society rather than only a privileged elite. The unity of society is threatened not by the use of gates but by the uniformity and exclusivity of the people behind them."

Such remarks might be interpreted to suggest that the adherents of new urbanism privilege social diversity and equity while those building gated communities do not. A closer reading of new urbanism and gated enclaves in practice may help to clarify the comparison. To what extent does either of these models of community design deliver on the aspiration planners have of creating good communities that may be equitable as well as beautiful? In the next sections we consider their ability to provide four potential attributes of equity: affordability, diversity, democracy, and sustainability.

Do these contrasting models deliver affordable housing?

New urbanism argues that offering a mix of housing types – apartments, town houses, detached houses – provides prices and options to suit different households. To date the evidence on new urbanism's ability to deliver affordability proves mixed. Several studies report a premium for new urbanism communities (Eppli and Tu 1999; Song and Knaap 2003); prior to the 2008 economic downturn, the monthly *New Urban News* often reported high house prices of projects. With their excellent amenities and standards, new urbanism communities cost more to build (Garde 2004). Mixing housing types and land uses to improve affordability for those who can purchase homes cannot resolve the problems of poorer households. The gentrification which Duany et al. (2000, 173) describe as lifting neighborhoods out of crisis benefits the city (and its tax revenues) but

often displaces those seeking affordable housing. As trendy coffee shops move in, the service sector workers who once lived centrally find themselves travelling further to their low wage jobs.

A major program to facilitate affordable housing in new urbanism communities came through the HOPE VI public housing renewal project in the United States (Steuteville 2004), but critics argue that the program destroyed more low cost units than it created (Goetz 2003; Marcuse 2000; Popkin et al. 2004; Smith 2002). In places like the United Kingdom and Vancouver that have adopted affordability principles in association with new urbanism policies governments require that 20 percent of new units address social housing needs. The challenge in such situations is to find funding for non-profit organizations to deliver affordable units (GVRD 2006). Generally, new urbanism projects have had limited success in addressing affordability except where governments have committed the resources necessary to build for the disadvantaged (Sears 2006).

Although gated communities have the reputation of serving elites, in practice they house a cross-section of residents. As Sanchez et al. (2005) report gated communities in the US tend to feature one of two socio-economic profiles: owner-occupied enclaves house affluent, white households; renter-occupied projects are home to low-income Hispanic residents. The most exclusive enclaves accommodate superstars and professional athletes in mansions; on the other end of the spectrum, gated mobile home parks on rented lots provide working class housing. In some parts of the world, gated communities have become the conventional form for new middle class housing (Caldeira 2000; Pow 2007). People in a range of income levels live behind walls.

The affordability of some enclave and other private communities may reflect the low social status of particular residential options. To compensate home-buyers for the perceived stresses of higher density living in condominium developments developers offer potential residents the ancillary benefits of privacy through walls and gates. Developers express little concern for affordability and equity in adding exclusionary embellishments. Although some of the projects may provide affordable housing and some may not, the landscapes produced by such enclaves are often places of social and economic segregation.

Although equity requires more than just affordability, without affordable housing, and without fair and open access for all residents to community resources and spaces, communities cannot become equitable places. Although new urbanism advocates describe equity as a key attribute of good community design, they may define equity narrowly: as Talen (2008a, 281) says “social equity in a New Urbanist context uses physical design strategies to put people of all income levels in proximity to the goods and services they require on a daily basis”. Proximity presumes social justice. Critics of government programs that engage new urbanism theory as a justification for destroying public housing units argue that new urbanism thereby undermines efforts to enhance equity in the city (Douglas et al. 2004; Goetz 2003); such commentaries understand equity to entail access to the material and social benefits of urban life.

While new urbanism advocates equity without always achieving it, those building gated enclaves openly disavow equity and point to the pre-eminence of consumer choice. Gated communities exacerbate social inequities by contributing to spatial segregation by class and ethnicity (Grant and Curran 2007; Le Goix 2005). The inhabitants and developers of enclaves lack either the interest or the power to improve equity and affordability. Ultimately, experience shows that whatever theory may guide the design of these new communities, in practice they tend to contribute to socio-spatial segregation.

Do the models promote diversity?

Contemporary planning theory values diversity: the "new orthodoxy", as Fainstein (2005, 3) notes. Literature about diversity in varying fields takes different perspectives on what it entails, and its relevance and implications for community design. Despite widespread agreement in theory over the importance of diversity (if not on what it means or how to achieve it), planning practice reveals the continuing segregation of social and economic groups and of uses in the city.

For planning theorists like Sandercock (2003a; 2003b) and philosophers like Young (1990) cities by their nature are places where people need to learn to live together while acknowledging but appreciating their differences. In this context, diversity entails embracing social difference while engaging residents and providing equal access to the spaces and processes of the city. Plans and projects that facilitate intercultural coexistence contribute to social justice and equity. The form of the city may be less important in accommodating diversity than are policies and practices.

For management theorists and economic geographers like Florida (2002a; 2005), some kinds of diversity attract creative workers and thus contribute to economic innovation and urban growth. The creative cities discourse values particular types of difference: higher than average proportions of gays, bohemians (artists and creative workers), and immigrants are said to indicate tolerance and thus attract talented workers (Florida 2002b; Florida et al. 2008). This model suggests that planners design lively urban environments that interest the creative classes: it resonates with new urbanism's call for dynamic streetscapes and an attractive public realm.

Jane Jacobs's (1961) concept of diversity—requiring physically mixing uses, building types, and densities in urban development–became fundamental to new urbanism. Thos advocating physical planning describe diversity as "the antidote to separation" (Talen 2005b, 214): they focus on the pattern of uses rather than of people. This approach, while cognizant of the dangers of physical determinism, presumes that a mix of people will result from mixing uses and building types. Its advocates hope that design for place diversity can encourage social and economic mixing (Talen 2006; 2008b).

New urbanism communities typically reveal a mix of housing types and some mix of uses. Many of the projects have struggled with achieving mixed use (Grant 2002; 2006); few have viable commercial districts (Grant and Perrott 2010) and none have significant industrial tenants. Moreover, new urbanism's commitment to social diversity has been

undermined by comments from some key theorists in the movement: Duany et al. (2000, 53) argue for limiting the admixture of non-market housing to not more than 10 percent, implying that poor people contribute positively to community diversity only in small doses. The high cost of some projects precludes socio-economic diversity. Even in communities like Poundbury, where programs mandate 20 percent social housing, social differences between residents generate tensions (Thompson-Fawcett 2003; Till 1993): proximity without appropriate engagement practices may not overcome the challenges of difference. Place diversity produces a kind of physical difference which some call vibrant but others view as manufactured or inauthentic: it cannot by itself produce or manage social diversity (Day 2003).

Those producing gated communities make no effort to encourage diversity. Indeed, their discourse and packaging focuses on identity, commonality, and homogeneity (Maxwell 2004). They recognize and reinforce customers' desire to live cocooned with others like themselves. Gating (re)produces homogeneity, contributing to a potential indifference to the plight of others in the city (Low 2001; 2003; Wilson-Doenges 2000).

New urbanism and gated communities take somewhat different approaches to trying to reduce unpredictability in the residential environment (Table 1). New urbanism creates a simulacrum of place diversity while trying to shape social behavior through design mechanisms (like front porches) and through assimilation strategies (like embedding social housing in small numbers among middle class units). Gated communities create pods of likeness, explicitly separating those who share defined similarities from those who do not. In searching for "niceness" (Low 2003), the residents of enclaves distance themselves from those whose behavior or characteristics frighten them. Often created under private homeowner associations, both types of communities use legal codes and deed covenants extensively to ensure conformity.

Table 1: Contrasting agendas of new urbanism and gated communities

New Urbanism Communities		Gated Communities
Transforming development form to meet social, design, and environmental aims	**Planning Agenda**	Transferring responsibility for infrastructure to private community residents
Niche market for medium to high density housing with mix of uses, and transportation options	**Marketing Agenda**	Niche market for medium density housing that is car-oriented
Search for urbanity, conviviality, design quality	**Consumer Agenda**	Search for privacy, homogeneity, price point, exclusivity

Contemporary cultural processes embrace a superficial and commodified level of diversity while residents continue fundamentally to resist difference. Rather than producing complete communities new developments often manufacture private spaces called "village greens", "civic centers", or "town squares". Both the new urbanism project and the gated enclave try to produce civility and control behavior in a messy urban environment where old codes of conduct have disappeared. To an extent then, both employ community design as a civilizing project to harness diversity, generate identity, and reproduce inequality (Grant 2007).

Do the models enhance democracy?

A key theorist informing new urbanism, Leon Krier (1991, 119), argues that traditional community design "will allow a much larger range of people and talents to become active citizens, in the full meaning of that phrase". Duany (2002) has similarly linked new urbanism architectural principles with democracy. Like the earlier generation of garden city proponents, the new urbanists seek to shape behavior and citizenship through community design. Their principal method of community engagement, the design charrette, generates remarkable consensus around the principles and solutions that new urbanism advocates (Bohl 2002; Duany et al. 2000). Hundreds of community residents may participate in these processes to craft plans to create new urban forms. Is the charrette a forum for democratic expression or a tool of expert manipulation? Supporters of charrettes see them as empowering citizens. Critics suggest that the charrette process provides a venue within which designer / facilitators shape attention and outcomes for the elites who participate. "Does the commonality generated in charrettes reflect underlying cultural values that designers can draw out of residents across diverse communities, or does it reveal the persuasive appeal of design professionals in the charrette process" (Grant 2006, 184). Do the charrettes provide democracy or generate a sanitized vision of the good community? Key proponents of the movement certainly express disdain for public and political processes (Duany et al. 2000, 226).

Genuine democracy in planning involves conflict as community members negotiate their interests (Forester 1989; Grant 1994). In seeking to streamline development according to new urbanism principles, however, those advocating the model differentiate input into the overall planning concept from implementation of projects. Communities turning to strategies like the SmartCode or other regulatory frameworks implementing new urbanism principles seek to fast-track development while limiting participation options. As *New Urban News* (2008, 8) reports in San Antonio, Texas, once the SmartCode regulation plan and zoning is in place staff "will never have to go back to a political body again for approval. We created this to avoid the NIMBY problem." Such discretionary processes give staff the ability to avoid the messy mechanics of local consultation in favor of facilitating speedy processing of development applications. The power balance between citizen, developer, and planner shifts.

American new urbanism projects and gated enclaves are often private communities managed as common interest developments (McKenzie 1994, Kohn 2004). Social relations within such communities become entangled with contractual arrangements. Extensive codes, restrictions, and covenants govern built form, activities, and choices in private communities. While lobbyists for private communities see them as epitomizing a property-owning democracy (CAI 2008; Nelson 2005), critics view them as fundamentally threatening democracy and freedom of expression (McKenzie 1994).

In examining new urbanism and gated community projects we find similar indications that urban elites and development interests employ the rhetoric of equity and democratic empowerment at least in part to mask social disparity and status seeking behavior. By

employing codes and covenants to entrench particular forms and functions, and by developing regulatory and management processes that privatize decision-making, such community design approaches conserve the privilege of the few while reducing opportunities for democratic participation and influence by the many. The designer of Celebration, Florida – a famous new urbanism private community -- is quoted as saying that the residents of such communities appreciate regulation and conformity.

> "In a free-wheeling Capitalist society you need controls – you can't have community without them … I'm convinced these controls are actually liberating to people. It makes them feel their investment is safe. Regimentation can release you" (quoted in Robbins 2004, 223).

The private communities design for social control through mechanisms of surveillance (Foucault 1977; Haggerty and Ericson 2006): eyes on the streets in the new urbanism communities or guards at the gates in the enclaves. They seek to make non-residents feel they are watched within a space that is purified to reveal and reject difference (Sibley 1988). They represent alternative responses to the fears and crises of contemporary living. The neat picket fences and cultivated urbanity of the new urbanism community attracts a different kind of consumer than the exclusive southern-style ranchers of the gated enclave, but both types of purchasers make social statements about their positions in society and their aspirations for the good community. Such community design strategies convey and reproduce power relations and implicit social hierarchies (Gross 1980; Koskela 2000). Rather than promoting collaborative planning (Healey 1997) and social equity, contemporary models of community building reflect faith in technical expertise, property values, and expedited decision making.

Do the models produce sustainability?

Some proponents of new urbanism have advocated ideas of sustainable urban regions from the movement's early beginnings (Calthorpe and Fulton 2001; Katz 1994; Van der Ryn and Calthorpe 1986). In recent years the language of sustainability has increasingly infused new urbanism literature. While some studies (Gordon and Tamminga 2002) suggest that new urbanism projects conserve sensitive ecological features others describe failures to protect valued environments (Audirac et al. 1990; Zimmerman 2001). With early projects occurring on fringe sites, new urbanism was vulnerable to charges of encouraging picturesque sprawl (Leung 1995); with renewed consumer interest in urban living, infill projects increasingly employ new urbanism principles. New urbanism supports higher densities, but its ability to reduce car use remains unproven: Hess's (2008) study of new urbanism communities in Toronto suggests that residents rely on cars for most utilitarian trips. The close connection between new urbanism and smart growth suggests a privileging of the growth agenda (Garde 2004) rather than long term concern for inter-generational or inter-species equity. Although new urbanists look to ecological theory for rhetoric and inspiration, their practice takes a utilitarian view of the environment (Grant 2006).

Most gated communities pay little heed to issues of sustainability. Some occupy valued ecosystems such as beaches: in celebrating environmental quality they commodify nature and prevent non-residents from gaining access (Gonzalez 2000). The buyers of gated enclaves seem focused on the glorious present, encouraged to embrace the good life heedless of generations to come. Intergenerational justice and long term resilience are foreign concepts to those who would rather be left alone in their private neighborhoods.

Most community designers embrace the rhetoric of growth and believe in the inevitability of development and urbanization. Although the new urbanists have an interest in history and make reference to long term futures, where they continue to facilitate suburban development they do little better than the gated communities in ensuring that they create places with the self-reliance, flexibility, and adaptability needed for long term resilience.

Design for the good community

Although the theory of community design that dominates contemporary planning rhetoric advocates affordability, diversity, democracy, and sustainability this brief discussion has argued that development practice often fails to deliver on these goals or to contribute towards greater social equity. New urbanism projects and gated enclaves alike principally serve the interests of urban elites, reproduce existing power structures, and operate for short-term gain. Rather than creating attractive, integrated, and accessible public realms, contemporary design practices have too often reproduced social and spatial segregation within private and privileged landscapes.

In the early 21st century, affluent consumers have choices in how to mark their status and alleviate their angst over urban problems. Some act on their nostalgia for the conformity and identity of traditional communities by buying in new urbanism projects. Others look for "resort living year round" behind the gates of enclave settlements. Both strategies render inequality invisible through practiced design strategies. Both generate a kind of sanitized urbanity (Marcuse 1997; 2000). Their coded language about urban character and design quality elides any discussion of the challenges of addressing the growing gap between rich and poor or the continuing loss of environmental resources. The residential community has become more than a site for (re)production and a space for social interaction. Community designers fashion it as an object of display for the urban consumer: a public statement of personal values.

Economic development forces in our cities have embraced the effort to use design to stimulate urban growth in a globally competitive market. In that context, the values associated with new urbanism provide useful prescriptions for powerful urban interests. The rhetoric of diversity and mix parallel and reinforce the discourse of the creative city (Florida 2002). "Vibrant urbanism has become the code for dynamic capitalism in the city" (Grant 2006, 200). Urban elites have redefined the public interest in terms of diversity, mixed use, density, and walkability. Issues of urban form are privileged as palatable mechanisms to deliver growth. Planning has been complicit in this philosophy.

Government processes have played a significant role in the fate of both new urbanism and gated communities. The neoliberal agenda of the last three decades provided space for the rise of private communities. Government reluctance to address significant issues of economic disparity and spatial inequity in cities contributed to a crisis of fear while permitting the remedy of spatial segregation and private development control. By allowing the market to address many urban needs government may have encouraged citizens to withdraw from public space and to disengage from questions of social justice. More recently, by adopting form-based codes and facilitating discretionary planning mechanisms, governments began facilitating the ascendance of technical expertise over community empowerment. Powerful voices in government are dismissing the participatory democracy necessary for a just society as NIMBYism and are removing engagement opportunities from planning processes to hasten development.

As consumers and citizens we share responsibility for the problems of our cities and the inequalities they exhibit. Each of us makes daily decisions about where to shop and how to get where we need to go. Periodically we make important, life-changing decisions about where to work, how to live, who to elect to govern us. As long as many of us choose to shop at the big box retailers and drink coffee at Starbucks, local venders will struggle to survive. Even those community amenities that North Americans point to as examples of what our cities could have – the local pubs in Britain or the cafés in France – are closing at alarming rates as people change their behavior (BBC 2008; Burke 2008; Edwards 2008). Designing the good community involves planners, designers, and developers, but it also requires consumers and citizens who make appropriate choices. Without responsible consumer behavior we cannot ensure sustainability. Without committed citizens, we cannot safeguard democracy. Without caring neighbors, we cannot produce social equity.

What can we do to help plan good communities? A century of planning practice has demonstrated that no single community design approach works everywhere every time. The garden city model had its strengths but ultimately lost influence as its problems accumulated. Now the dominant paradigm in community design theory, new urbanism is addressing its challenges and adapting its methods. It remains an approach in development and under revision. While new urbanism has shown its ability to create beautiful settings and meaningful communities for those it accommodates, planners should be cautious about applying its premises and practices willy-nilly. The essence of responsible planning involves understanding local needs and potentials and then examining the range of options that may be appropriate in the situation. Rather than uncritically accepting a given set of answers, planners committed to socially responsible design need to develop approaches that ask important questions, consider the distributive effects of policy choices, refuse to accept standardized answers, and accommodate local conditions.

In our daily practice as planners we need to ensure that issues of social justice are on the table alongside questions of good design. We have the potential in our work to shape the attention of decision makers and communities on core questions related to the nature of public responsibility, community land use issues, local character and self-reliance, and

long-term resilience. We can bring meaningful theory to our practice and practice to our theory so that we bridge the disparities between them. We can expose the social and spatial implications of design and planning interventions that currently dominate practice and that create private realms to enforce difference. We can develop engagement processes to facilitate meaningful debates and discussions around what it takes to plan for cities that are equitable, democratic, and sustainable. We can reflect critically on our practice to recognize the potential for manipulation and distortion. As professionals we have the responsibility to avoid offering simple formulas for solutions to complex problems, and to stop ignoring problems of our own creation. The task of planning the good community may not be easy: if solutions were simple society would not need professional planners. As a conspiracy of optimists, however, planners retain faith that we can find ways to make our practice live up to the aspirations of our theory.

References

Atkinson, Rowland and Sarah Blandy. 2006. *Gated communities*. Oxford: Routledge.

Audirac, Ivonne., Anne Shermyen, Marc T. Smith. 1990. Ideal urban form and visions of the good life: Florida's growth management dilemma. *Journal of the American Planning Association* 56(4): 470-482.

Blakely, Edward and Mary-Gail Snyder. 1997. *Fortress America: Gated communities in the United States*. Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution Press.

Blandy, Sarah., Jennifer Dixon, Ann Dupuis, David Parsons. 2006. The rise of private residential neighbourhoods in England and New Zealand. *Private cities: Global and local perspectives*. Edited by Georg Glasze, Chris Webster, Klaus Frantz, 190-205. Oxford: Routledge.

Bohl, Charles. 2002. *Place making: Developing town centers, main streets, and urban villages.* Washington: Urban Land Institute.

Boudreau, Julie-Anne, Roger Keil, Douglas Young. 2009. *Changing Toronto: governing neoliberalism.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

BBC. 2008. The loss of village pubs. BBC Inside Out. Available online at http://www.bbc.co.uk/insideout/east/series2/local_pub_closures_property_boom.shtml (accessed 9 December 2008)

Burke, Jason. 2008. France fears death of village life as cafes call last orders. The Observer. Available online at http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2008/dec/07/cafe-closures-village-rural-france (accessed 9 December 2008)

Caldeira, Teresa. 2000. *City of walls: Crime, segregation and citizenship in Sao Paolo.* Berkeley: University of California Press

Calthorpe, Peter and William Fulton. 2001. *The regional city: Planning for the end of sprawl.* Washington: Island Press

Community Associations Institute (CAI). 2008. Welcome to the Community Associations Institute. Available online at http://www.caionline.org/ (accessed 2 September 2008)

Congress for the New Urbanism (CNU) 2005. *Frequently asked questions*. Available online at http://www.cnu.org/about/_disp_faq.html (accessed 23 January 2005)

Day, Kristen. 2003. New urbanism and the challenges of designing for diversity. *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 23:83-95

Douglas, Debbie, Grace-Edward Galauzi, Kanishka Goonewardena, Dateje Green, Jason Hackworth, Punam Khosla, Stefan Kipfer, Ute Lehrer, Karen Wirsig, Doug Young. 2004. Tearing Regent up. *Now Magazine*, 23(26). Available at www.nowtoronto.com/issues/2004-02-26/news_story4.php (Accessed 8 July 2007)

Duany, Andres. 2002. *New urban post IV*. Congress for the New Urbanism, p 7

Duany, Andres., Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, Jeff Speck, J. 2000. *Suburban nation: The rise of sprawl and the decline of the American dream*. New York: North Point Press.

Edwards, Adam. 2008. Recession: Death of pubs will be death of UK, The Telegraph, 27 November. Available online at http://www.telegraph.co.uk/opinion/main.jhtml?xml=/opinion/2008/11/27/do2704.xml (accessed 9 December 2008)

Eppli, Mark and Charles Tu. 1999. *Valuing the New Urbanism: Impact of the new urbanism on prices of single-family homes*. Washington DC: Urban Land Institute

Ewing, Reid. 1996. *Best development practices: Doing the right thing and making money at the same time.* Chicago: APA Planners Press

Fainstein, Susan. 2005. Cities and diversity: should we want it? Can we plan for it? *Urban Affairs Review* 41(1): 3-19.

Fainstein, Susan. 2000. New directions in planning theory. *Urban Affairs Review* 35(4): 451-479

Florida, Richard. 2005. *Cities and the creative class.* New York: Routledge

Florida, R. 2002a. *The rise of the creative class.* New York: Basic Books

Florida, Richard. 2002b. The economic geography of talent. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 92(4): 743-755.

Florida, Richard, Charlotta Mellander, Kevin Stolarick. 2008. Inside the black box of regional development: human capital, the creative class and tolerance. *Journal of Economic Geography* 8: 615-649.

Forester, John. 1989. *Planning in the face of power.* Berkeley: University of California Press

Foucault, Michel. 1977. *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison.* (Trans. Alan Sheridan) New York: Vintage Books, Random House

Garde, Ajay. 2004. New urbanism as sustainable growth? A supply side story and its implications for public policy. *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 24: 154-170

Glasze, Georg and Abdallah Alkhayyal. 2002. Gated housing estates in the Arab world: case studies in Lebanon and Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design* 29(3): 321-336

Glasze, Georg, Chris Webster, Klaus Frantz (Eds) 2006. *Private cities: Global and local perspectives*. Oxford: Routledge

Goetz, Edward G. 2003. *Clearing the way: Deconcentrating the poor in urban America*. Washington DC: The Urban Institute Press

Goheen, Paul. 1994. Negotiating access to public space in mid-nineteenth century Toronto. *Journal of Historical Geography* 20: 430-449

Gonzalez, David. 2000. Bahamians resent the loss of beaches to luxury. *New York Times* 29 February, A4.

Gordon, David and Ken Tamminga. 2002. Large-scale traditional neighbourhood development and pre-emptive ecosystem planning: the Markham experience 1989-2001. *Journal of Urban Design* 7(2):321-40

Grant, Jill L. 2007. Two sides of a coin? New urbanism and gated communities. *Housing Policy Debate* 18(3): 481-501

Grant, Jill. 2006. *Planning the good community: New urbanism in theory and practice*. Oxford: Routledge

Grant, Jill. 2005. Planning the (dis)connected city: why gated projects get approved. *Cahiers de Geographie du Quebec* 49(138): 363-376

Grant, Jill. 2004. From "sugar cookies" to "gingerbread men": conformity in suburban design. In A. Forsyth and T. Angottti (eds), *The Progressive Planning reader 2004*, Planners Network, pp 21-23

Grant, Jill. 2002. Mixed use in theory and practice: Canadian experience with implementing a planning principle. *Journal of the American Planning Association* 68(1): 71-84

Grant, Jill. 1994. *The drama of democracy: contention and dispute in community planning.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press

Grant, Jill and Andrew Curran. 2007. Privatised suburbia: the planning implications of private roads. *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design* 34(4): 740-754

Grant, Jill, Katharine Greene, Kirstin Maxwell. 2004. The planning and policy implications of gated communities. *Canadian Journal of Urban Research* 13(1) Supplement: 70-88

Grant, Jill and Lindsey Mittelsteadt. 2004. Types of gated communities. *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design* 31(6): 913-930

Grant, Jill L. and Katherine Perrott. 2010. Where is the café? The challenge of making retail uses viable in mixed-use suburban developments. *Urban Studies* (published online 7 June 2010 - *doi:10.1177/0042098009360232)*

Greater Vancouver Regional District. (GVRD) 2006. Discussion paper on a regional affordable housing strategy for Greater Vancouver. Available online at http://intraspec.ca/RAHS_draft_Dec2006.pdf (accessed 11 December 2008)

Gross, Bertram. 1980. *Friendly Fascism: The new face of power in America***.** Montreal: Black Rose Books

Hackworth, Jason. 2007. *The neoliberal city: governance, ideology, and development in American urbanism.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press

Haggerty, Kevin and Richard Ericson. 2006. *The new politics of surveillance and visibility*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Harvey, David. 2005. *A brief history of neoliberalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Healey, Patsy. 1997. *Collaborative planning: Shaping places in fragmented societies*. Vancouver: UBC Press

Hess, Paul M. 2008. Fronts and backs: the use of streets, yards, and alleys in Toronto-area new urbanist neighborhoods. *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 28: 196-212

Hillier, Jean and Phil McManus. 1994. Pull up the drawbridge: fortress mentality in the suburbs. *Metropolis Now: Planning and the urban in contemporary Australia*. Edited by K Gibson and S Watson, 91-101. Sydney: Pluto Press.

Jacobs, Jane. 1961. *The death and life of great American cities*. New York: Vintage Books.

Katz, Peter. 1994. *The New Urbanism: Toward an architecture of community*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Kohn, Margaret. 2004. *Brave new neighborhoods: The privatization of public space*. New York: Routledge

Koskela, Hille. 2000. 'The gaze without eyes': video-surveillance and the changing nature of urban space. *Progress in Human Geography* 24(2):243-65.

Krier, Leon. 1991. Afterword. *Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk: towns and town-making principles.* Edited by A. Krieger, 117-119. New York: Rizzoli.

Krieger, Alex. 1991. *Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk: towns and town-making principles.* New York: Rizzoli.

Lang, Robert E. and Jennifer LeFurgy. 2007. *Boomburbs: The rise of America's accidental cities*. Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution Press.

Leccese, Michael and Kathleen McCormick. 2000. *Charter of the New Urbanism*. New York: Sage.

Le Goix, Renaud. 2006. Gated communities as predators of public resources: the outcomes of fading boundaries between private management and public authorities in southern California. *Private communities: Global and local perspectives*. Edited by G Glasze, C Webster, K Frantz, 76-91. Oxford: Routledge.

Le Goix, Renaud. 2005. Gated communities: sprawl and social segregation in Southern California. *Housing Studies* 20: 323-344.

Leung, Hok-Lin. 1995. A new kind of sprawl. *Plan Canada* 35(5):4-5.

Low, Setha. 2003. *Behind the gates: Life, security, and the pursuit of happiness in fortress America*. New York: Routledge.

Low, Setha. 2001. The edge and the center: gated communities and the discourse of urban fear. *American Anthropologist* 103: 45-58.

Marcuse, Peter. 2000. The new urbanism: the dangers so far. *DISP* 140: 4-6. Available online at http://disp.ethz.ch/pdf/140_1.pdf (Accessed 5 December 2003)

Marcuse, Peter. 1997. Walls of fear and walls of support. *Architecture of fear*, Edited by N Ellin, 101-114. New York: Princeton Architectural Press.

Maxwell, D. Kirstin. 2004. Gated communities: selling the good life. *Plan Canada* 44(4): 20-22.

McKenzie, Evan. 2006. Constructing the *pomerium* in Las Vegas: a case study of emerging trends in American gated communities. *Gated communities*. Edited by R Atkinson and S Blandy, 1-17. Oxford: Routledge.

McKenzie, Evan. 1994. *Privatopia: Homeowners associations and the rise of residential private government.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Nelson, Robert H. 2005. *Private neighborhoods and the transformation of local government*. Washington: Urban Institute Press.

Newman, Oscar. 1995. Defensible space: A new physical planning tool for urban revitalization. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 61(2): 149-155.

New Urban News. 2008. Groundbreaking anticipated for TND and campus. *New Urban News* 13(7):8.

Popkin, Susan, Bruce Katz, Mary Cunningham, Karen Brown, Jeremy Gustafson, Margery Turner. 2004. *A Decade of HOPE VI: research findings and policy challenges.* The Urban Institute, Available at www.urban.org/urlprint.cfm?ID=8864 (Accessed 5 September 2004)

Pow, Choon-Piew. 2007. Securing the "civilized" enclaves: gated communities and the moral geographies of exclusion in (post-)socialist Shanghai. *Urban Studies* 44(8): 1539-1558.

Punter, John. 2003. *The Vancouver achievement: urban planning and design*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

Robbins, Edward. 2004. New urbanism. *Shaping the city: Studies in history, theory and urban design*. Edited by Edward Robbins and Rodolphe El-Khoury, 212-230. London: Routledge.

Sanchez, Thomas, Robert Lang, Dawn Dhavale. 2005. Security versus status? A first look at the census's gated community data. *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 24: 281-291

Sandercock, Leonie. 2003a. *Cosmopolis II: Mongrel cities of the 21st century*. New York: Continuum.

Sandercock, Leonie. 2003b. Planning in the ethno-culturally diverse city: a comment, *Planning Theory and Practice* 4(3): 319-323.

Sears, Trevor. 2006. Karow Nord: rebuilding the German village. *Planning the good community: new urbanism in theory and practice.* Edited by J. Grant, 117-119. Oxford: Routledge.

Sewell, John. 2009. *The shape of the suburbs: understanding Toronto's sprawl*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Sibley, D. 1988. Survey 13: purification of space. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 6: 409-421

Smith, Janet. 2002. HOPE VI and the new urbanism: eliminating low-income housing to make mixed-income communities. *Planners Network* 151:22-25 (also available online at http://www.plannersnetwork.org/htm/pub/archives/152/smith.htm (Accessed 14 September 2004)

Song, Yan and Gerrit-Jan Knaap. 2003. New urbanism and housing values: a disaggregate assessment. *Journal of Urban Economics* 54: 218-238

Steuteville, Robert. 2004. Numbers don't lie: HOPE VI has worked wonders. *New Urban News* 9(4): 2

Talen, Emily. 2008a. New urbanism, social equity, and the challenge of post-Katrina rebuilding in Mississippi. *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 27: 277-293

Talen, Emily. 2008b. *Design for diversity: Exploring socially mixed neighborhoods.* Oxford: Elsevier.

Talen, Emily. 2006. Design that enables diversity: the complications of a planning ideal, *Journal of Planning Literature* 20(3): 233-249.

Talen, Emily. 2005a. *New urbanism and American planning: the conflict of cultures*. New York: Routledge.

Talen, Emily. 2005b. Land use zoning and human diversity: exploring the connection, *Journal of Urban Planning and Development* 131(4): 214-232.

Thompson-Fawcett, Michelle. 2003. "Urbanist" lived experience: resident observations on life in Poundbury. *Urban Design International* 8: 67-84.

Till, Karen. 1993. Neotraditional towns and urban villages: the cultural production of a geography of 'otherness'. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 11: 709-732.

Urban Task Force. 1999. *Towards an urban renaissance*. Final Report of the Urban Task Force under Lord Rogers of Riverside. Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions. London: E&FN Spon.

Van der Ryn, Sim and Peter Calthorpe. 1986. *Sustainable communities: A new design synthesis for cities, suburbs and towns*. San Francisco: Sierra Club Books.

Webster, Chris. 2002. Property rights and the public realm: gates, green belts and Gemeinshcaft. *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design* 29: 397-412.

Webster, Chris and Renaud Le Goix. 2005. Planning by commonhold. *Economic Affairs* 25: 19-23.

Wilson-Doenges, Georgia. 2000. An exploration of sense of community and fear of crime in gated communities. *Environment and Behavior* 32: 597-611.

Young, Iris Marion. 1990. *Justice and the politics of difference*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Zimmerman, Jeffrey. 2001. The "nature" of urbanism on the new urbanist frontier: sustainable development, or defense of the suburban dream? *Urban Geography* 22(3): 249-267.

Acknowledgements:
Funding for this research was provided by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

Notes:

[1] Several authors (Goheen 1994; Le Goix 2006; Newman, 1995; Webster and Le Goix 2005) document the historic prevalence of private streets and remind us that public streets cannot be taken as given.

[2] Special journal issues have documented international examples of gated communities: e.g., *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design* (29,3: 2002), *Housing Studies* (20,2: 2005), *GeoJournal* (66: 2006), *Housing Policy Debate* (18,3: 2007), *Home Cultures* (5,1: 2008), and *Urban Design International* (13,4: 2008).