Distribution Agreement

In presenting this thesis as a partial fulfillment of the requirements for a degree from Emory University, I hereby grant to Emory University and its agents the non-exclusive license to archive, make accessible, and display my thesis in whole or in part in all forms of media, now or hereafter now, including display on the World Wide Web. I understand that I may select some access restrictions as part of the online submission of this thesis. I retain all ownership rights to the copyright of the thesis. I also retain the right to use in future works (such as articles or books) all or part of this thesis.

Matthew W. Heldman   April 5, 2019

Too Good to be True: Mixed-Use Developments' Attempt to Replicate an Organic Sense of Place

By

Matthew W. Heldman

Dr. Christina E. Crawford

Adviser

Interdisciplinary Studies in Society and Culture

Institute for the Liberal Arts

Dr. Christina E. Crawford

Adviser

Dr. Kim Loudermilk

Committee Member

Dr. Michael Page

Committee Member

2019

Too Good to be True: Mixed-Use Developments' Attempt to Replicate an Organic Sense
of Place

By

Matthew W. Heldman

Dr. Christina E. Crawford

Adviser

An abstract of
a thesis submitted to the Faculty of Emory College of Arts and Sciences
of Emory University in partial fulfillment
of the requirements of the degree of
Bachelor of Arts with Honors

Interdisciplinary Studies in Society and Culture

Institute for the Liberal Arts

2019

Abstract

Too Good to be True: Mixed-Use Developments' Attempt to Replicate an Organic Sense of Place

By Matthew W. Heldman

Mixed-use developments (MUDs), like Metro Atlanta's Atlantic Station and Avalon, are the latest trend in American commercial real estate development. Built in many sizes— some just one city block and others an entire zip code—these projects are frequently branded as walkable, "live-work-play", "lifestyle center" communities that can have activity on site no matter the time of day. These qualities make MUDs both environmentally sustainable and financially attractive for a developer. When successful, residents, businesspeople, shoppers, diners, and those seeking entertainment form diverse communities that, at times, feel like cities within a city. This honors thesis examines New Urbanist-inspired MUDs and their developers' attempt to replicate the diversity, vibrancy, and sense of place of traditional, organically-developed neighborhoods, which serve as their inspiration. After integrating the seminal texts of theorists Jane Jacobs and Kevin Lynch to define the qualities of a vibrant neighborhood, this thesis places the New Urbanism movement and its flagship product into the historical context of American Planning as a response to suburban sprawl. Through two case studies of MUDs—brownfield Atlantic Station and greenfield Avalon—within Metropolitan Atlanta, MUDs are benchmarked to the theorists' characteristics of neighborhood vibrancy and planning movement's principles. Characteristics, including the execution of development, architectural genuineness, amenities, and demographic and retail-tenant makeup, are examined critically. The thesis also debates how MUDs' "success" should be measured and defined, and suggests ways to better develop communities with an organic and authentic sense of place.

Too Good to be True: Mixed-Use Developments' Attempt to Replicate an Organic Sense
of Place

By

Matthew W. Heldman

Dr. Christina E. Crawford

Adviser

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Emory College of Arts and Sciences
of Emory University in partial fulfillment
of the requirements of the degree of
Bachelor of Arts with Honors

Interdisciplinary Studies in Society and Culture

Institute for the Liberal Arts

2019

Table of Contents

List of Figures

Introduction

Imagine strolling down a charming tree-lined sidewalk on spring day. You walk past one brick building after another, passing restaurants and shops, until you reach a coffee shop at the corner, where you see businesspeople holding meetings, friends together catching up, and others working alone on laptops, taking in the beautiful weather outside under the umbrellas at the tables and chairs outside. You look across the street where you see a person walking his dog against the backdrop of more storefronts, each adorned with a different colored awning. But as you keep walking, you stumble across a metal expansion joint that runs across the sidewalk and road, and you remember that you are not on quaint, historic Main Street, but instead on District Avenue, a street built on the roof of a parking structure in Atlantic Station—a development that's existed for just more than a decade. Those metal expansion joints run across the streets, sidewalks, and throughout the facades of the buildings to ensure that the concrete doesn't crack as the structure settles. You also then remember that those ornamented numbered stairwells that punctuate the sidewalk **(Figure 1)** in a regular pattern are not entries to an underground public transit line, but instead they lead to the parking garage and your own personal vehicle.

Mixed-use developments (MUDs), like Atlanta's Atlantic Station, are the latest trend in American commercial real estate development, sprouting up on one intersection after another. Built in many sizes—some just one city block and others an entire zip code—these projects are frequently branded as walkable, *live-work-play, lifestyle center* communities that have activity on site no matter the time of day, qualities that make them both environmentally sustainable and financially attractive for a developer. When successful, residents, businesspeople, shoppers, diners, and those

seeking entertainment form diverse communities that, at times, feel like cities within a city.

As millennials flock to urban environments instead of suburbs, single developers have built mixed-use developments that seek to emulate the aesthetic, vibrancy, and nostalgia of organically formed neighborhoods—places that have slowly developed over time with the input of many architects and developers.[1] But can a genuine sense of place that is felt amongst users in a vibrant organic neighborhood, such as Greenwich Village in New York City, be manufactured in a sole-developer, new-construction, mixed-use development like Atlantic Station?

Mixed-use developments purportedly offer many benefits. Their density allows for walkability, or pedestrian friendliness, to promote a healthy and sustainable lifestyle, and they are a refreshing alternative to the parking lot-dominated, placeless, suburban-style indoor shopping malls and outdoor strip malls that preceded them. The variety of primary uses they offer brings diverse users not present in single-zoned suburbs. Additionally, MUDs attempt to suggest a sense of place—an "authentic" identity—another quality that their predecessors do not own.

But frequently, these claimed benefits do not fix the underlying problems associated with modern, suburban shopping centers. The retail tenants that many of these developments house are the same national chains found in traditional shopping malls, not independent shops that support the everyday lifestyles of the developments' residents. Additionally, the neo-traditional, nostalgic architecture frequently employed in MUDs conveys an artificiality that is Disney-esque, an attempt to replicate age and

---

[1] Richard Florida, "Millennials Are Happiest in Cities," *CityLab*, June 29, 2018, https://www.citylab.com/life/2018/06/millennials-are-happiest-in-cities/563999/.

development over time that is far from organic in actuality. And while MUDs may be pedestrian friendly on the surface, these developments tend to be built within a bubble and are noticeably disconnected from their surrounding environments, thereby diminishing the value of their walkability.

The modern mixed-use concept is a product of the New Urbanism, an American urban planning movement, originated in the 1980s, that promotes high density, walkable neighborhoods to counter the automobile-driven suburban sprawl that prevailed in America after the end of World War II. New Urbanism espouses many of the principles required for community success that urban theorists like Jane Jacobs and Kevin Lynch outlined in the 1960s as components of a successful community, including high density, multiple primary uses (mixed-use), sidewalks, short blocks, and greenspaces. Mixed-use developments—and a subset, transit-oriented developments, which are integrated with public transportation—are considered examples of *smart growth*, as they value alternative means of transportation and promote car-free lifestyles. The increasing popularity of sustainable thinking among citizens and municipal governments in the United States has resulted in the increasing popularity and construction of smart-growth developments as well.

While New Urbanism rightfully looks to emulate historically successful communities with strong senses of place, it is as if the architects and developers of MUDs assume that these communities are "plug and plays" that can be replicated anywhere, regardless of the existing surrounding community fabric and history. The beautiful Italianate architecture of Greenwich Village works within the context of Lower Manhattan, but it is not the only architectural style that promotes a strong sense of place. Similarly, the Arc de Triomphe is an icon in Paris but might not be the best

emulator of placeness in the middle of Atlanta; where it comes off as copycat, tacky, and tasteless.[2]

This thesis explores what makes the neighborhoods we love "good" and "vibrant," and questions whether MUDs can ever properly generate an authentic sense of place. Though mixed-use developments are a nationwide phenomenon, I will use Atlanta—a city with rich urban and suburban history—as the consistent underlying context of my analysis. Two New Urbanist mixed-use developments in Metropolitan Atlanta—Atlantic Station in Midtown and Avalon in Alpharetta—will be analyzed to assess how successfully they own qualities urban theorists, like Jacobs and Lynch, attribute to historical vibrant neighborhoods. Both of the case studies were selected to discuss the site-types of which mix-use developments are typically built: *brownfield,* areas that were formally industrial and many times require decontamination (Atlantic Station) and *greenfield*, previously undeveloped sites, most commonly found in the suburbs and urban peripheries (Avalon). In addition to the characteristics of the built development, I will also analyze on how reflective the decision to develop each project on the site-type is to New Urbanist values.

Each organic neighborhood—one that developed and evolved over time—in Atlanta has its own strong, unique identity. While mixed-use developments, the signature projects of New-Urbanism, are creating new environments that fit consumers' desires and promote sustainable lifestyles, their artificiality and surface-level execution, I will argue, prevent them from emulating the organic communities they aspire to be.

---

[2] It is important to recognize that the Arc de Triomphe, built in the 1800's in a neoclassical style, is also an anachronism. It begs the question of whether sense of place is something that is acquired over time. Will the Millennium Gate at Atlantic Station also feel authentic eventually?

The Vibrant Neighborhood—Theories Shaping New Urbanism

Much of the New Urbanism philosophy is derived from and credited to urbanist Jane Jacobs. While Jacobs, a New York City resident, was not an architect or urban planner in practice, her career as a journalist propelled her to become an activist for urban preservation in the mid-twentieth century. As she witnessed planners like the City's chief planner Robert Moses aim to level complete neighborhoods for highways in the name of "urban renewal," Jacobs was alarmed to see the direction in which her city, and specifically her own neighborhood of Greenwich Village **(Figure 2)**, was headed. Moses' vision of urban renewal was one of modernity, sure, but at the cost that valuable real estate that had become the fabric of dynamic communities would be used for cars rather than people. Moses and other modernist planners across the country worked to make the city efficient for commuting rather than the best place in which to live.[3]

Reflecting on what made her own neighborhood so successful and vibrant, Jacobs wrote *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* in 1961, in which she outlined the qualities necessary for vibrant neighborhoods and urban diversity. The essence of the text are four points she defines as the "conditions" that contribute to Greenwich Village's success: mixed primary uses, small blocks, aged buildings, and concentration.[4]

All of these conditions, to which Jacobs denotes a full chapter for each, provide both social and economic benefits to a neighborhood. Jacobs condenses her arguments for each condition into a brief statement at the beginning of each chapter. Her advocacy of these conditions greatly helped shape the principles of the New Urbanism movement. Later sections of this this thesis will evaluate MUD case studies to Jacobs' conditions.

---

[3] Robert A Caro, *The Power Broker* (New York, NY: Knopf, 1974).
[4] Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1961), 150.

The following discussion will parallel Jacobs' convention and open the following sections with her declarations.

> **Condition 1:** *The district, and indeed as many of its internal parts as possible, must serve more than one primary function; preferably more than two. These must insure the presence of people who go outdoors on different schedules and are in the place for different purposes, but who are able to use many facilities in common.* [5]

Jacobs explains that mixed primary uses permit a neighborhood to remain consistently vibrant. Primary use anchors can include office buildings, schools, retail stores, schools, parks, and museums. Her emphasis on multiple uses is described at various scales, from the neighborhood as a whole to "as many of its internal parts as possible."[6] Jacobs adds that diversity of neighborhood functions promotes success in numerous ways. It brings steady activity in the neighborhood throughout different times of the day and attracts a variety of people. There should be enough variety that the primary use of the district is seen as something different for everyone; some users may consider the neighborhood their home, others as the neighborhood of their work, and others as the place to recreate. Similarly, while some restaurants may cater to office workers, parks and retail in the neighborhood can appeal to families. The diverse types of people in the neighborhood not only make the neighborhood attractive for businesses, but also provide liveliness and a sense of community.

Jacobs specifies that the placement of the primary uses is also key, with the mixture necessary at the smaller scale of individual buildings on different streets, to ensure that each part of the neighborhood maintains activity throughout the day.

---

[5] Jacobs, 153.
[6] Jacobs, 152.

Otherwise, pedestrians who are in the neighborhood for different reasons may never cross paths and "there is no mixture in reality."[7]

Jacobs centers her argument for having multiple primary uses within a neighborhood around economics. She proclaims, "In short, with primary mixtures, it is every day, ordinary performance in mixing people, as pools of economic support that count. This is the point, and it is a tangible, concrete economic matter, not a vaguely 'atmospheric' effect."[8] A variety of users, Jacobs explains, "unconsciously cooperate" to support each aspect of the neighborhood by being present during different parts of a day.[9] A simple example she gives is how office workers are able to support restaurants midday while residents may dine there in the evenings. Because commercial businesses rely on customers continually throughout the day, diverse constituents (be they residents or office workers) allow for more commercial options to be available for *all user*s than a single group could support on its own. Jacobs enthusiastically proves that this is a win-win for both constituencies, that "workers and residents together are able to produce *more* than the sum of our two parts".[10]

This is why, the New Yorker adds, mixed-use Midtown Manhattan, which contains plentiful residential units in addition to retail and offices, is more vibrant than primarily business-oriented Downtown. For having 400,000 employees work downtown every day (in 1961, at the time of publication), there is a "pitifully inadequate" number of retail options, since the area is underutilized outside of business hours.[11] The lack of retail then had a negative domino effect on commerce. Corporations

[7] Jacobs, 163.
[8] Jacobs, 164.
[9] Jacobs, 153.
[10] Jacobs, 153.
[11] Jacobs, 154.

noticed that there were fewer conveniences around their office, and thus companies moved to more amenity-filled areas, like Midtown. Jacobs asserts that "the mixture of people on a street at one time of day must bear some reasonably proportionate relationship to people there at other times of day," attributing much of Downtown Manhattan's struggles to the relatively disproportionate business population during the work day. [12] A larger population of residents and other users, such as tourists, would be needed to support restaurants and retail during the non-business hours of weeknights and weekends.[13]

>   **Condition 2:** *Most blocks must be short; that is streets and opportunities to turn corners must be frequent.* [14]

Jacobs' second criterion is the need for small blocks. Connectivity, she states, is vital for the success of a vibrant district. "It is fluidity of use, and the mixing of paths, not homogeneity of architecture, that ties together city neighborhoods into pools of city use," she writes. [15] Otherwise, pedestrians feel disconnected from the next street over. Jacobs illustrates her point by describing the perceived isolation of a man on 88th Street in Manhattan with long blocks: "this man would have every justification for disbelieving that 87th and 89th streets or their people have anything to do with him."[16] **(Figure 3)** Long blocks are social barriers between communities and hinder economic growth, as they restrict access from a larger population. Short blocks, she argues, provide greater

---

[12] Jacobs, 164.
[13] But what comes first, the residents or the mixed uses?? Negative feedback loop...
[14] Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, 178.
[15] Jacobs, 182.
[16] Jacobs, 178.

connectivity, which, in turn, creates a stronger community and social experience for pedestrians as well as larger market for businesses.

Jacobs argues that this condition, too, is for economic benefit. The limited connectivity of long blocks results in a smaller customer base for any street-level businesses. Smaller blocks, by contrast, create multiple arteries for storefronts that pedestrians can access, "literally opening up the neighborhood."[17] This larger, *more diverse*, pedestrian base then attracts a more diverse mixture of tenants and primary uses. She writes that in Greenwich Village, "it is instructive to notice how frequently and how nicely special shops like bookstores or dressmakers or restaurants have inserted themselves, usually, but not always, near the corners," where small blocks have made way for a flow of people from multiple directions.[18] On the West Side though, which contains an equally "intellectual" and cultured population, the long blocks have inhibited a larger variety of retail offerings, because the neighborhood "has never been physically capable of forming the intricate pools of fluid street use necessary to support urban diversity."[19] Jacobs states this to reiterate that these conditions must mutually exist to ensure the success of a neighborhood.

> **Condition 3:** *The district must mingle buildings that vary in age and condition, including a good proportion of old ones.* [20]

Third, Jacobs praises aged buildings: "a requisite for diversity that vital city neighborhoods can only inherit, and then sustain over the years." [21] She is not only

---

[17] Jacobs, 183.
[18] Jacobs, 184.
[19] Jacobs, 184.
[20] Jacobs, 187.
[21] Jacobs, 199.

referring to the beautiful, historically recognized "museum pieces...although those make fine ingredients," but also the overlooked ordinary ones.[22] In fact, Jacobs goes as far to say that it is "probably impossible for vigorous streets and districts to grow without them." [23] Since she is a preservationist, it is not surprising that this is one of Jacobs' most passionate points, and the one that is most relevant to my forthcoming critique of the architectural aesthetic of New Urbanism and mixed-use developments. Old buildings and aesthetic diversity provide a distinctive charm to the district that solely new buildings cannot.

Again, Jacobs turns to the economic benefit to make her case, as she explains that aged buildings provide a value to a neighborhood that is "irreplaceable at will. It is created by time."[24] Aged buildings provide a rent diversity that new construction cannot allow. Jacobs proclaims that "large swatches of construction built at one time are inherently inefficient for sheltering wide ranges of cultural, population, and business diversity." [25] A reason for this, which Jacobs states earlier in the chapter, is the paradox that "old ideas can sometimes use new buildings. New ideas must use old buildings." [26] Frequently newly-constructed buildings will house national chain stores and other wealthier tenants—simply because they are the only ones who have the capital to afford them. Independent stores do not have the capital to locate in a new, pristine building, but only in an older, imperfect building whose value, and thus rent, have depreciated. This situation holds for start-ups and residents who desire more affordable housing.

---

[22] Jacobs, 187.
[23] Jacobs, 187.
[24] Jacobs, 199.
[25] Jacobs, 191.
[26] Jacobs, 188.

The buildings that have the ability to adapt and fit the needs of the present community, such as a "town-house parlor that becomes a craftsman's showroom...the garage or brewery that becomes a theater, the beauty parlor that becomes the ground floor of a duplex" and many other examples she gives, add a unique identity to a neighborhood and are "among the most admirable and enjoyable sights to be found along the sidewalks of big cities." [27] Jacobs does not demand that all buildings in a neighborhood be old but notes that there is a correlation between the diversity in building age and diversity of the people in that neighborhood. Like Condition 2 (the need for small blocks), old buildings are a prerequisite for Jacobs' first condition of mixed primary uses. Her emphasis on demographic diversity for neighborhood "success" is difficult to achieve when the buildings are homogeneous.

> **Condition 4:** *The district must have a sufficiently dense concentration of people, for whatever purpose they may be there. This includes people there because of residence.* [28]

Jacobs' final condition for vibrant cities is concentration. Suburbanization in the second half of the twentieth century led to significant low-density development, as the history section of this paper will discuss. Aspects of Le Corbusier's "Towers in the Park" and Sir Ebenezer Howard's Garden City models were implemented in new office parks and residential communities, where a large percentage of the lot was devoted to greenspace and/or parking lots, and buildings were set back from the streets. This low-density model isolated people and reduced the connectivity between places. Jacobs argues that high density concentration—for both commercial and residential use—

---

[27] Jacobs, 194.
[28] Jacobs, 200.

increases convenience for the citizens and creates stronger, more diverse communities.

She is quick to point out that high density is not the same as overcrowding. There is a

sweet-spot, so to speak, to residential density. Jacobs refuses to give a numerical value

as it can vary based on each neighborhood's context. Instead she puts it simply that

"densities are too low, or too high, when they frustrate city diversity instead of abetting

it." [29] She does state that fewer than ten dwellings per acre renders a neighborhood

suburban and that ten to twenty dwellings per acre, such as "generously-sized row

houses," can be suitable for a neighborhood but "will not generate city liveliness" as they

are still not dense enough.[30]

    While Jacobs discusses the social and economic benefits of a dense, diverse, and

walkable city environment (in *Death and Life*), geographer Kevin Lynch takes an

empirical approach to break down the granular components of cities, and to analyze

how people—the "users," as he labels them—interact with them and what creates a

"delightful" place.[31] Another influencer of the New Urbanism movement, Lynch

published his findings to those questions in in his 1960 book *The Image of the City*, just

a year before *Death and Life,* by conducting sociological research of users in three cities:

Boston, MA; Jersey City, NJ; and Los Angeles, CA. [32]

    Lynch focused on the organization of the city, a landscape he views as a singular

complex object— "the product of many builders who are constantly modifying the

structure for reasons of their own." [33] Because of the complexity, Lynch writes that it is

---

[29] Jacobs, 209.
[30] Jacobs, 210.
[31] Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City* (Massachusetts: The Joint Center for Urban Studies, 1960), 3.
[32] The next chapter will describe the evolution of the post-war urban landscape, leading up to the founding of the New Urbanism movement.
[33] Lynch, *The Image of the City*, 2.

up to citizens to recognize patterns and create a simplified, "mental image" of their city

via their own experiences, an idea he terms as *"legibility."* [34] City goers use multiple

senses as they read the city and construct a mental map. They instinctively evaluate

"color, shape, motion...smell, sound, touch, kinesthesia, sense of gravity, and perhaps

[sensations] of electric or magnetic fields" from both current stimulation and past

experiences.[35] But in addition to people reading the already-built environment on their

own, architects, planners, and builders can design projects with legibility in mind.

Though every person may have a slightly different mental map, "there seems to be

substantial agreement among members of the same group. It is these group images,

["public images"] ...that interest city planners who aspire to model an environment that

will be used by many people."[36]

Designing for legibility, though, does not necessarily mean creating the simplest,

most direct path. Lynch writes that there is "value in mystification," for someone to

explore the twists and turns of a city's streets—so long as the person does not feel in

danger or completely lose his or her orientation.[37] There are also some components of a

city that stand out and are more prominent in a collective group's mental image than

others. Lynch coins these objects, given their "shape, color, or arrangement" to have a

high *"imageability."*[38] He adds that cities as a whole can have high imageability, noting

---

[34] Lynch, 2.
[35] Lynch, 3-4.
[36] Lynch, 7. While written more than 20 years before the start to New Urbanism, it is as if Lynch is referring to the movement's architects and planners, as their communities execute Lynch's concepts in great detail.
[37] Lynch, *The Image of the City*, 5–6.
[38] Lynch, 9.

Venice as the quintessential imageable historic city and Manhattan, San Francisco,

Boston, and Chicago as imageable American cities.[39]

      While many may agree with Lynch's claims that those cities are indeed

aesthetically pleasing, it is more difficult to pinpoint how and why they are imageable.

To better analyze the city unit, Lynch disassembles the singular object into five

components, or "elements." These elements—*paths, edges, districts, nodes*, and

landmarks—are the cues that one utilizes to form a mental image and vary greatly in

scale, from singular focal points to collections of buildings. He emphasizes that only in

analysis should each element be viewed individually, as each are "the raw material of the

environmental image" that make up a city.[40]

      Lynch begins with *paths*, the most predominant element of one's mental image of

a city. Defined as the "channels along which the observer customarily, occasionally, or

potentially moves," it is not surprising that a person's mental image is fundamentally

are based on the linear routes in which he or she navigates.[41] Lynch explains that paths

based on the mode of transit one takes; roads, sidewalks, transit lines, canals, and

railroads can all be perceived as a path. As the most prominent element of a city,

identifiable paths are integral to a city's entire image. "Where major paths lacked

identity, or were easily confused for the other, the entire city image was in difficulty." [42]

Associations and past experiences with a path can aid in a path's prominence, like a

shopping or entertainment district, heavy traffic congestion, lots of pedestrians, or even

construction work. Lynch indicates that "spatial qualities" establish importance—the

---

[39] Lynch, 11.
[40] Lynch, 85.
[41] Lynch, 47.
[42] Lynch, 52.

wide highways and the narrowest of streets are those most memorable.[43] Additionally

façade improvements, such as building- and tree-lined streets are more distinguished.

Since their primary purpose is to facilitate transportation, paths must provide the

viewer a sense of direction and scale. Placing curves within a path can signal to the

observer a change in place. Another technique is to mark beginnings and end of paths

with prominent buildings, such as churches or government buildings, serving as

termini: "a shift in path direction, putting an important building on the visual axis" not

only provides directional cues, but also bolsters an area's sense of place **(Figure 4)**.[44]

Providing scale is also necessary to enhance directional cues and provide an observer

awareness of their progress along a path. This can be done through methods as simple

as ascending numerical blocks on a grid, such as in Manhattan, providing signage for

regions, or by having known landmarks along the path.[45]

       The second element Lynch describes is *edges*, "the boundaries between two

areas" that delineate an area.[46] The most successful edges are those that are "visually

prominent, continuous in form, and impenetrable to cross movement," such as natural

boundaries, like bodies of water and mountain ranges.[47] Paths and edges are not

mutually exclusive, and many times paths act as edges. Wide highways, while large

transportation corridors for vehicles, divide pedestrians and separate entire

neighborhoods, as is the case with I-75 and I-85 in Atlanta.[48] Churches and government

---

[43] Lynch, 50–51.
[44] Lynch, 55.
[45] Lynch, 55.
[46] Lynch, 62.
[47] Lynch, 62.
[48] Here in Atlanta, the construction of I-75 and I-85 are infamous for this, especially in the urban core. Neighborhoods that once seemingly flowed one another are now detached by 16 lanes of pavement, inaccessible to pedestrians.

buildings, previously mentioned that act as termini along paths, also serve as edges with their perpendicular positioning. Edges can also enhance communities; when constructed thoughtfully, they can serve as "seams" that connect areas rather than divide.[49] A wide street may serve as an edge, as previously explained, but by incorporating local stores, pedestrian-oriented streetscaping, and unique attractions, it can draw both areas together.[50] Similarly, waterfronts serve as the edge of many cities, but parks, marina, and boardwalks along them along them create some of the most distinguishing features of a city.

The third element is the *district*, which Lynch defines as "the relatively large city area which the observer can mentally go inside of, and which have some common character."[51] Though frequently synonymous with *neighborhood, district* is also the term Jacobs used when referring to Greenwich Village as well as the abstract areas in which her Conditions exist. Examples of easily identifiable, delineated districts are ethnic neighborhoods like Chinatown and Little Italy. The physical features that make districts distinguishable and cohesive are "thematic continuities" including "texture, space, form, detail, symbol, building type, use, activity, inhabitants, degree of maintenance, and typography."[52] Consistent architecture is a straightforward method to characterize a district while enabling a strong sense of place within it. Districts can also be distinguished by governmental units. Specific administrative and government services, such as police and fire forces, sanitation services, and school districts are ways people differentiate districts and also are bonds for users within it.

---

[49] Lynch, *The Image of the City*, 65.
[50] Lynch, 65.
[51] Lynch, 66.
[52] Lynch, 67.

The fourth element of cities, according to Lynch, are *nodes*: points in which individuals "can enter, typically either junctions of paths, or concentrations of some characteristic."[53] Examples of nodes include central squares, subway stations and intersections, to complete districts and entire cities. As focal points of movement—commuting, commerce, or socialization—these small spaces have great impact to the vitality of a place. The form and scale of a node depends on the type of transportation the node is associated with. For example, as a node for pedestrians, the town square serves as a center for civic activity, containing seating, greenery, possible retail and vendors, surrounded by prominent buildings, and is frequently a crossroads to the other sections of a district, while subway stations, functioning as portals to other regions of the city, serve as nodes for commuters. Lynch writes that "ordinary" street intersections are nodes, "but generally they are not of sufficient prominence to be imagined as more than the incidental crossing of paths. The image cannot carry too many nodal centers."[54] But the prominence of street intersections has increased significantly since *The Image of the City*'s publishing. Through suburban sprawl (discussed in the following chapter), residents of placeless suburbs have come to refer to areas by the names the intersection.[55] As the speed of transportation increases, so does the scale of the node. The City of Atlanta, for example, can be perceived by many as a node, via Hartsfield-Jackson International Airport, as millions of travelers connect through Delta Air Line's flagship hub.

---

[53] Lynch, 72.
[54] Lynch, 77.
[55] An anecdotal example of this is that when I'd visit relatives in Indianapolis, people would frequently refer to restaurants and shops being located at "86th and Ditch [streets]." Similarly, people colloquially refer to stores in an area north of Cincinnati being "*in* Fields Ertle," even though Fields Ertle is the name of a street in the suburb of Mason.

The final city element Lynch catalogs are *landmarks*. Landmarks are identified by and known for their "singularity" and are "unique or memorable in context."[56] To be an effective landmark, the building, statue, or monument must stand out in its context. Lynch notes that the way in which a landmark distinguishes itself can vary—from a unique architectural feature like a state house's gold dome, a differing architectural style or age from its surroundings a different directional orientation, or scale.[57] For example, in traditionally-planned Alexandria, VA, public buildings have roof gables facing the street—a common architecture feature to indicate prominence—while all private buildings must have the more modest eaves side of the roof (long edge of the gable) face the street, "creating a calm and steady background for more important civic buildings."[58] Additionally, an effective landmark must have "spatial prominence" within the district.[59] High visibility from far distances immediately elevates a structure's significance. Memorable landmarks also tend to have some sort of emotional connection for a city user. "Cultural status [and] historical associations," such as symbolic associations (i.e.: *freedom* and the Statue of Liberty or the clout of religion or governance with a cathedral or city hall) assist in the designation of landmarks. Incorporating the other elements, Lynch writes that a structure at the convergence of paths or at a district's node (such as a public square) can either establish or elevate the structure's status as landmark. Paris' iconic Arc de Triomphe capitalizes on this as a terminus at the rather unique convergence of *twelve* streets at the Place Charles de Gaulle circle. Additionally, the square itself can develop landmark distinction among

---

[56] Lynch, *The Image of the City*, 78.
[57] Lynch, 79–80.
[58] Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, "Neighborhoods and Suburbs," *Design Quarterly* 164, no. Sprawl (Spring 1995): 17.
[59] Lynch, *The Image of the City*, 80.

users. The relationship between elements, though, is symbiotic, as the landmark structure can elevate the prestige and recognition of the node.

Landmarks add value to cities for both visitors and locals alike. A city's most notable landmarks denote a city's brand. The Statue of Liberty in New York City, Big Ben in London, and the Willis Tower in Chicago all serve as striking mental icons for their respective cities. Lynch writes that landmarks visible from afar ("distant landmarks") can help users on the ground navigate throughout a city, even if "only for very general directional orientation."[60] "More frequently," Lynch adds, landmarks can enhance user orientation "in symbolic ways."[61] Here, Lynch is referring to the significant role landmarks play in enhancing the sense of place in a district. For example, the Arc de Triomphe as a terminus, visible along the entire Champs-Élysées, adds cohesion and strengthens the unique identity of the luxury shopping district. Likewise, the Tyler Davidson/Genius of Water fountain, the namesake landmark of Fountain Square, in Cincinnati, solidifies the square as a civic and cultural hub for the Downtown district; it appeals to multiple senses of users through its monumental-yet-welcoming presence, one-of-a-kind form, tranquil sounds, and refreshing aroma. Lynch finds the Duomo of Florence, Italy to be the quintessential distant landmark, checking the boxes for each criterion he defined, and truly enhancing Florence's imageability:

> Visible from near and far, by day or night; unmistakable; dominant by size and contour; closely related to the city's traditions; coincident with the religious and transit center; paired with its campanile in such a way that the direction of view can be gauged from a distance. It is difficult to conceive of the city without having this great edifice come to mind.[62]

---

[60] Lynch, 82.
[61] Lynch, 82.
[62] Lynch, 82.

Lynch emphasizes that elements are not to be considered or constructed independently. Their success is interdependent, as seen in the path-node-landmark example of the Champs Élysées, Place Charles de Gaulle, and Arc de Triomphe **(Figure 5)**. Lynch terms this interrelationship a "complex."[63] Yes, each element in Paris is outstanding on its own—the manicured-tree-lined, shop-lined boulevard, the twelve-point roundabout, and majestic, historic arch. But considering these elements as a complex in analysis is crucial, since they are experienced as such. These particular elements create a complex with a powerfully strong sense of place that today is one of the most iconic and recognizable in the world.[64]

While neither state it explicitly in their writing, the theme that ties both Jacobs' and Lynch's arguments together is that the places they see as most vibrant are those with the strongest *sense of place*. Edward Relph, a geographer specializing in sense-of-place theory, declares that it is "an innate faculty, possessed in some degree by everyone, that connects us to the world."[65] In areas where there is coherence throughout, established by both architectural themes and the natural environment, a place is able to form an identity that's experienced by its users. Jacobs' four conditions each enhance a district to have a stronger identity and sense of place. Likewise, sense of place is closely linked to imageability, which is enhanced when a place integrates Lynch's five elements. Relph writes that geographers see sense of place as "a thread that ties each of us to our surroundings."[66] When people have a greater attachment to their physical surroundings,

---

[63] Lynch, 85.

[64] It must be noted that this complex's sense of place was created by Napoleon III via Georges-Eugène Haussmann with an authoritarian mindset. The uniform architectural style that Haussmann made Paris famous for largely enhances the complex's identity.

[65] Edward Relph, *Place and Placelessness* (London: Pion Limited, 1976), 4.

[66] Relph, 5.

they are more likely to feel connected to and involved with the social community attached to their place, and most importantly, are happier. But for a place to have a strong identity, its assumed to have a unique character with "local idiosyncrasies."[67] Many times, these qualities come organically, over time and through usage and changes of uses of spaces. I will consider Jacobs' four conditions, Lynch's five elements, and Relph's sense-of-place theory as analytical tools to evaluate my two New Urbanist mixed-use development case studies. This thesis will explore later if sense of place can be newly and immediately created.

America Deviates from Traditional Urbanism—Setting the Landscape for New Urbanism

Both Jacobs and Lynch wrote in an era where the structure of American city centers was already changing. Jacobs accurately foresaw the nationwide demise of the vibrant, well balanced urban cores. In the same comparison of Midtown and Downtown Manhattan discussed in her "Primary Mixed Uses" section, she wrote, "few downtowns have reached (yet) the degree of unbalance to be found at the lower tip of Manhattan. Most have, in addition to their working people, a good many day-time shoppers during work hours and on Saturdays. But most [downtowns] are on their way toward this unbalance and have fewer potential assets than lower Manhattan for retrieving themselves."[68] The American city began to evolve following the end of World War II, when urban cores experienced disinvestment and diverse neighborhoods began to

---

[67] Relph, 10.

[68] Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, 165.

decay. Today, the majority of Americans living in metropolitan areas live outside of the urban core, in the suburbs.[69]

While modern commuter suburbs date back to the mid 1800s, these "pastoral" escapes from the urban were at first for the wealthy. As transportation technologies improved towards the turn of the 20th century, the new modes allowed for workers to live further from their jobs and commute—a trend that continues. This resulted in more suburbs, frequently referred to as *inner-ring suburbs* or *streetcar suburbs*, nicknames that come from their location on the near edges of city limits with links to public rail transit.[70] In Atlanta, these include neighborhoods like Druid Hills, Inman Park, and Virginia Highlands.[71] As such, these "pastoral" urban escapes for the wealthiest still remained in close connection to the urban core.[72] After World War II, affordable, mass-produced housing developments and sprawling office parks and shopping malls started appearing on the outskirts of cities and significantly changed the course of growth of metropolitan areas across America.

While swatches of homogeneity do not sound appealing for many today, the growth and appeal of single-use zoned suburbs can be better understood by considering historical context. The first phase of Post-World War II suburbia built housing, much needed after a 15-year construction lull during the Great Depression and Second World War. Once soldiers returned home, many were forced to live with extended family

---

[69] Bernadette Hanlon, *Once the American Dream: Inner-Ring Suburbs of the Metropolitan United States* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2010), 12.

[70] Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 119.

[71] The latter two today have vibrant business districts with their own unique identities.

[72] Leigh Gallagher, *The End of the Suburbs: Where the American Dream Is Moving* (New York, NY: Penguin Books, 2013), 31.

because there was such a housing shortage. As many started marrying and having families—the Baby Boomer generation—demand for housing grew.

A philosophical shift in urban planning and architecture contributed to the rapid rise of suburbia. The city-user's experience was central to both Jacobs and Lynch's ideologies. Cities were built too with this attitude, as "town planning, until 1930 [was] considered a humanistic discipline, based upon history, aesthetics, and culture," all central components of both theorist's texts.[73] By the mid-20th century, with the proliferation of new modern convivences such as the automobile, the planning field evolved and "became a technical profession based upon numbers. As a result, the American city was reduced into the simplistic categories and quantities of sprawl."[74]

The first mass-produced suburban development that capitalized on this new housing demand and technological advances was Levittown, NY, built between 1947 and 1951, that sparked an architectural and cultural paradigm shift in the United States for half a century. A four-thousand-acre, 17,466-house greenfield project **(Figure 6)** built on a potato farm on Long Island, New York, the neighborhood-development is named for its developers, Levitt & Sons Co.[75] The techniques the Levitts applied to home building was revolutionary. Employing skills that William learned through rapidly building military barracks while serving in the Navy during World War II, Levitt & Sons commodified houses. Mimicking Henry Ford's revolutionary production process that transformed the auto industry, Levittown "tract" houses were built identically in a 26-

---

[73] Andres Duany, Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, and Jeff Speck, *Suburban Nation: The Rise of Sprawl and the Decline of the American Dream*, 2nd ed. (New York, NY: North Point Press, 2000), 11.
[74] Duany, Plater-Zyberk, and Speck, 11.
[75] Hanlon, *Once the American Dream: Inner-Ring Suburbs of the Metropolitan United States*, 3.

step assembly-line process.[76] Unlike Ford though, rather than the product moving on a conveyor belt, specialized subcontractors moved from house to house working on the same specific element on each house **(Figure 7)**. Rectangular concrete slabs would be laid by one team, another would erect walls, a third would install built-in cabinets. Parts that could be were pre-fabricated offsite and installed, saving money and time on site. To streamline production, the Levitts controlled every step of production: they purchased a lumber farm and mill plant in California and built a concrete plant in New York, and by 1950, manufactured everything down to the nails.[77] The system was so efficient that at the peak of construction, a new 800-square foot house was completed every fifteen minutes.[78]

Levittown is the epitome of cookie-cutter sprawl. In its first phase, only one type of house was available for sale—the Cape Cod, akin to a stereotypical house a child might draw. Duplicate tract houses were lined up on contiguous rows. When Levittown expanded in 1949, the company introduced a second, larger Ranch House option, and more house designs were later available in their catalogue. Levitt & Sons mapped the 17,400 houses across 4,000 acres in a repetitive zig-zag street pattern whose streets converged at three-way intersections.[79] The swerves throughout the property calmed traffic to protect children playing in the streets, but more importantly they illusively reduced homogeneity because each uniform house was at a slightly different angle from its neighbor.

---

[76] Richard Longstreth, "The Levitts, Mass-Produced Houses, and Community Planning," in *Second Suburb: Levittown, Pennsylvania*, ed. Dianne Harris (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2010), 139.

[77] Barbara M Kelly, *Expanding the American Dream: Building and Rebuilding Levittown* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1993), 27.

[78] Hanlon, *Once the American Dream: Inner-Ring Suburbs of the Metropolitan United States*, 4.

[79] Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States*, 235.

The federal government implemented new Post War policies that also encouraged suburban development. The 1944 Servicemen's Readjustment Act, better known as the GI Bill, gave veterans low-interest, zero-down-payment loans to buy houses. While suburbs used to be sanctuaries for the rich, Levittown created a new standard for middleclass housing. A Levittown Cape Cod could be rented for an attractive $60 per month or purchased for $7,990 (ranches were unavailable for rent and were sold at a pricier $9,500).[80] [81]

It is no surprise that Levittown was replicated almost instantly across the country. Success led Levitt & Sons to build six more Levittowns across the world—including in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia, as well as in Puerto Rico and Paris. Additionally, tract houses were replicated on greenfields around the United States, with thousands of such developments existing by the end of the 1960s.[82] According to historian Kenneth Jackson, the "Levitt house was as basic to post World War II suburban development as the Model T had been to the automobile."[83] President Eisenhower's Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1956 created 41,000 miles of interstates, which made suburbs even easier for developers to build and more appealing for homeowners to move to, as farther commutes for residents living in suburbs became even easier. Yet everyday needs became far less convenient than in mixed-use neighborhoods. Now, "grocery shopping [became] a planned adventure."[84] Parking-

---

[80] Gallagher, *The End of the Suburbs: Where the American Dream Is Moving*, 38.
[81] $60 per month in 1947 equated to $683 per month in 2018; $7,990 in 1947 is $91,615 in 2018; $9500 in 1949 is $97,177 in 2018—these houses are very affordable in today's standards too. Source: dollartimes.com
[82] Hanlon, *Once the American Dream: Inner-Ring Suburbs of the Metropolitan United States*, 4.
[83] Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States*, 236.
[84] Jackson, 236.

dominated indoor shopping malls rose within driving distance of the houses, following single-use zoning.

The 1950's was also an era of consumption and conformity. Owning your own 800 square-foot house, with a private lawn, space for your car, and white picket fence was what Hanlon writes as "owning a material piece of the American Dream," and was a response to the lack of consumption throughout the Depression and War.[85] Residents of Levittown were as homogenous as the houses. Homeowners were young white military veterans, and around half of residents were Catholic in the 1950s. African Americans were banned initially from purchasing a house in Levittown, on what William Levitt deemed was a business decision: "As a Jew, I have no room in my heart for racial prejudice. But the plain fact is that most white people prefer not to live in mixed communities. This attitude may be wrong morally and some day it may change. I hope it will."[86] Despite being Jewish, Levitt & Sons also did not allow Jews to move into Levittown for the first couple of years.

That is not to say that everyone liked suburbia, which completely altered the entire American landscape in a single generation. The 1963 Pete Seeger hit "Little Boxes" pokes fun of tract homes that are made of "ticky-tacky." Sociologist Louis Mumford, a humanist like Jacobs and Lynch, wrote that the conformity of Levittown airs an eeriness. He described the paradox of being "a collective effort to live a private life." [87] Mumford continues on his critique of conformity to the minute lifestyle details

---

[85] Hanlon, *Once the American Dream: Inner-Ring Suburbs of the Metropolitan United States*, 3.
[86] Hanlon, 3.
[87] Gallagher, *The End of the Suburbs: Where the American Dream Is Moving*, 46.

inside their uniform houses of "witnessing the same television performances, eating the same tasteless pre-fabricated food from the same freezers."[88]

The 1950's were only the start of the creation of a suburban metropolitan America. Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk (hereafter DPZ) the husband and wife architecture and planning duo and co-founders of The New Urbanism movement, wrote with co-author Jeff Speck in their book *Suburban Nation: the Rise of Sprawl and the Decline of the American Dream* that suburban sprawl is truly an American problem, and that traditional town planning continues to flourish in other parts of the world.[89] Perhaps it is because of the association of owning private property with American values that have been present since the country's independence. Or because of the sheer size of the continental United States, with so much "developable" land, sprawl is something that smaller countries do not have the capability of "affording."

Just as Jacobs identified four positive characteristics of neighborhood diversity, DPZ and Speck outline five negative "components" of sprawl found in suburbs across the country: *housing subdivisions, shopping centers, office parks, civic institutions,* and *roadways.* While aspects of all five components—housing, retail, offices, civic institutions, and roadways—exist in traditional neighborhoods as well, it is the organization—separation—and implementation in suburbs—the housing *subdivisions*, shopping *centers*, office *parks*—most notably the low density, single-use zoning, that Duany and Player-Zyberk criticize.

---

[88] Gallagher, 46.
[89] Duany, Plater-Zyberk, and Speck, *Suburban Nation: The Rise of Sprawl and the Decline of the American Dream*, 4.

Commercial uses followed their customers and employees into the suburbs. Cheaper land and its vast availability meant that retailers could have larger, single story spaces of their own. Big box stores, strip malls, and indoor shopping malls were thus born—havens that replicate the conglomeration of retailers that dense business districts have but which protect shoppers from the elements. But while shops in traditional neighborhoods are accessible by foot—some directly below one's residence—this is not possible in single-use suburbia, where the shopping center is surrounded by a sea of parking.[90] Rather than concealing surface lots behind buildings that line the street, a form found in traditional neighborhoods and which promotes walkability, lots frequently are situated between the road and the building, and have more spaces than necessary, to show drivers the convenient access to and availability of parking.

Companies also followed their employees out to the suburbs—specifically their C-suite executives.[91] Following early- and mid-century modernist planning trends of connecting the built environment with nature, notably Le Corbusier's Towers in the Park model, these office spaces were built on low density, campus-like designs, giving them the name "office parks."[92] Though, ironically, their "natural" features, such as ponds, were manmade when the office building was constructed.

Like their traditional neighborhood counterparts, suburbs have civic institutions, including government buildings, schools, and churches, but the spatial relationships of community hubs to the rest of the neighborhood fabric greatly differs. While these institutions are "neighborhood focal points" in traditional neighborhoods—both socially

---

[90] Duany, Plater-Zyberk, and Speck, 6.
[91] Duany, Plater-Zyberk, and Speck, 6.
[92] Though many times there is more parking space than green space.

and physically, as seen in Alexandria, VA—they follow the suburban trend of all other building types by being isolated and in a sea of parking.[93] Suburban civic structures also tend to be plain, whereas historically, civic institutions physically manifest their weight through their inspirational architecture.

This lack of character in newer suburbs may be because they did not have a budget to invest in grand physical spaces. They may also simply reflect the era of architecture they were built in, that preached simplicity. But the blame cannot be fully placed on modernism, as the movement did produce inspiring buildings. Another, more influential contributor to the uninspiring architecture of suburban civic institutions is the limited funding available from governments.[94] Key institutions of new suburbs, including police, fire, and schools, became the responsibility of the county or a special purpose government if the area was not incorporated. Communities that were incorporated were frequently newly-formed suburban municipalities—also known as satellite cities—that did not have the abundance of funds to invest in extraordinary buildings.

DPZ's fifth component of suburbia is distinctive roadways— "the miles of pavement that are necessary to connect the other four disassociated components."[95] That main thoroughfare that connects each component is labeled by DPZ as the *collector*.[96] Frequently the collector is very wide, with multiple lanes for each direction, and sometimes it has a tree-lined median. Built for automobile efficiency, collector roads tend to have higher speed limits than a neighborhood's Main Street, making the

---

[93] Duany and Plater-Zyberk, "Neighborhoods and Suburbs," 7.
[94] Duany, Plater-Zyberk, and Speck, *Suburban Nation: The Rise of Sprawl and the Decline of the American Dream*, 6.
[95] Duany, Plater-Zyberk, and Speck, 7.
[96] Duany, Plater-Zyberk, and Speck, 23.

roads far more dangerous for pedestrians and bicyclists. Yet despite the intentionality towards efficiency, "residents in suburbs spend an unprecedented amount of time and money moving from one place to the next."[97] Congested collector roads are inevitable when they serve as the singular access route for commuters, each driving in his or her own vehicle because of inadequate mass transit alternatives.

The movement of middle and upper-class residents, retail, and businesses to suburbs led to the major disinvestment in the urban core so loved by Jacobs and Lynch. Yet even when sprawled metropolitan areas did try to implement policies and initiatives typically viewed as "urban" rather than "suburban," such as public transit systems, they tended to fall short for all users due to sprawl. A perfect example of this is the Metropolitan Atlanta Rapid Transit Authority (MARTA). When the MARTA rail system was constructed in the 1970s, it reflected the trends of white flight and suburbanization. Rather than building an intricate rail system within the city limits, the four rail lines run north-south and east-west, mimicking and running roughly alongside the region's major interstates, I-75, I-85, I-20, and State Route 400. In this "+ shaped" network **(Figure 8)** lines only intersect at one point—Five Points Station in the heart of Downtown Atlanta.[98] The lines were built solely with the intention to shuttle (white) commuters between the suburbs and the central business district. As a result, MARTA is an inadequate system for those who remained in Atlanta's core; those who would benefit most from a comprehensive transit system. Just as DPZ stated in *Suburban Nation*, the embrace of sprawl in Atlanta led to corporate and retail growth in areas further north

---

[97] Duany, Plater-Zyberk, and Speck, 7.
[98] This confusingly-named station is named for the five-point intersection of surface roads above the station.

such as Buckhead and Cobb County, causing a decrease in business activity in the central business district.

The MARTA rail system was not utilized by its intended suburban users due in large part to stigmas stemming from racism. Additionally, it is quite difficult to build an efficient and comprehensive transit system for sprawled suburbia, with such far distances between different components. MARTA's rail system does not reach enough places nor allow enough mobility throughout the urban core and region to serve as a legitimate alternative to a car to either city-dwellers or suburban commuters.

New Urbanism Recreates the Vibrant Neighborhood

Modern development policies have been shaped by suburbia to incentivize the development of huge chunks of land instead of small scale, incremental development, with the mindset that 'all growth is good growth'. But DPZ writes that "the fact that policy and planning can be blamed for our cities' problems is actually encouraging—it implies that better policy and better planning can produce better cities."[99] Despite many viewing suburbs as less aesthetically-pleasing than traditional neighborhoods, DPZ emphasizes that "the problem with suburbia is not that it is ugly. The problem with suburbia is that, in spite of all its regulatory controls, it is not functional: it simply does not efficiently serve society or preserve the environment."[100]

In 1993, in response to the frustrations with suburbia they outlined in *Suburban Nation*, Duany and Plater-Zyberk cofounded the New Urbanism planning and

---

[99] Duany, Plater-Zyberk, and Speck, *Suburban Nation: The Rise of Sprawl and the Decline of the American Dream*, 154.
[100] Duany, Plater-Zyberk, and Speck, 14.

architectural movement through the creation of the Congress for the New Urbanism

(CNU), an international organization that stands "for the restoration of existing urban

centers and towns within coherent metropolitan regions, the reconfiguration of

sprawling suburbs into communities of real neighborhoods and diverse districts, the

conservation of natural environments, and the preservation of our built legacy."[101] Their

manifesto, titled *Charter of the New Urbanism*, proclaims their mission, built upon to

understanding that "disinvestment in central cities, the spread of placeless sprawl,

increasing separation by race and income, environmental deterioration, loss of

agricultural lands and wilderness, and the erosion of society's built heritage as one

interrelated community-building challenge."[102] The Charter outlines 27 principles to

guide urban public policy, planning, and development organized by scale: "*The region:*

Metropolis, city, and town," "*The neighborhood, the district, and the corridor,*" and

"*The block, the street, and the building.*"[103] Notable principles include No. 4., within

"the Region" category, which integrates the philosophies and terminology of both

Jacobs and Lynch:

> 4) Development patterns should not blur or eradicate the edges of the
> metropolis. Infill development within existing urban areas conserves
> environmental resources, economic investment, and social fabric, while
> reclaiming marginal and abandoned areas. Metropolitan regions should
> develop strategies to encourage such infill development over peripheral
> expansion.[104]

At the neighborhood scale, CNU echoes Jacobs' voice even more explicitly,

stating in Principles 11-13 that "neighborhoods should be compact, pedestrian friendly,

and mixed-use" where "many activities of daily living should occur within walking

---

[101] "The Movement," Congress for the New Urbanism, 2019, cnu.org/who-we-are/themovement.
[102] Congress for the New Urbanism, "Charter of the New Urbanism," 2001, 1, cnu.org.
[103] Congress for the New Urbanism, 2.
[104] Congress for the New Urbanism, pt. 4.

distance," and that "within neighborhoods, a broad range of housing types and price levels can bring people of diverse ages, races, and incomes into daily interaction."[105] At the block and building scale, there is an emphasis on civic buildings and public spaces, that "individual architectural projects...seamlessly link to their surroundings," and that "architecture and landscape design should grow from local climate, topography, history, and building practices."[106] DPZ is adamant that there is no preferred architectural language of New Urbanism, however the codes and guidelines of the Charter allow for little leeway from neo-traditionalism, and DPZ is fond of the style.[107]

Jacobs' four conditions have largely influenced the New Urbanism. Jacobs and New Urbanists both have a formal city planning philosophy, in which buildings adjacent to the street and tight-gridded streets at the front of their platforms to result in a pedestrian-centric city.[108] Similar to Jane Jacobs' conditions for vibrant cities, historian and New Urbanist Suzanne Rhees outlines the guidelines to successful New Urbanist developments:

1. Interconnected but variable street pattern

2. An open space system

3. A hierarchy of street designed with shade trees and sidewalks

4. A town or neighborhood center

5. A separation of industrial uses from the rest of the community

6. The use of "revival" or art deco architecture[109]

---

[105] Congress for the New Urbanism, pts. 11–13.
[106] Congress for the New Urbanism, pts. 19–20, 24.
[107] Duany, Plater-Zyberk, and Speck, *Suburban Nation: The Rise of Sprawl and the Decline of the American Dream*, 208.
[108] William Futton, "The Garden Suburb and the New Urbanism," in *From Garden City to Green City* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 160.
[109] Futton, 161.

A key tenant to New Urbanism, heavily enabled by mixed-use communities, is the design approach for all components of a neighborhood to be within a 5-minute walk, a radius known as a *pedestrian shed*.[110] Approximately a quarter mile, DPZ notes that the concept is one that has been articulated since the 1920s but innate in neighborhood planning since Ancient Rome. The "live-work-play" moniker attached to MUDs is a more marketable synonym for "pedestrian shed."

As American cities experience in-migration again, developers have realized that they can capitalize on this movement. Live-work-play communities based on New Urbanist guidelines appeal to both baby boomers and millennials—both key demographics currently in the market for apartment houses as baby boomer empty nesters look to downsize and millennials look for a place after finishing school.[111] In a MUD currently under construction in a northern suburb of Cincinnati, Ohio, the developer told a local news station that the project was inspired by the vibrant neighborhoods of Cincinnati's urban core, but "plopp[ed] into the comfort of a suburb" and designed to be "Instagram-worthy," seeking to provide an experience not found in suburban shopping malls to adapt to the changing retail landscape.[112]

Experiencing New Urbanism--Case Studies of Mixed-Use Developments

New Urbanism projects are built at all three scales the *Charter* categorizes CNU's principles—at the entire town level, like DPZ's Seaside, Florida (1985) and Disney's

---

[110] Duany, Plater-Zyberk, and Speck, *Suburban Nation: The Rise of Sprawl and the Decline of the American Dream*.
[111] Futton, "The Garden Suburb and the New Urbanism," 161.
[112] Karin Johnson, "'Instagram Worthy' Entertainment District Coming to Deerfield Township," *WLWT Cincinnati*, March 13, 2018, https://www.wlwt.com/article/instagram-worthy-entertainment-district-coming-to-deerfield-township/19423362.

Celebration, Florida (1996); at the neighborhood level, like Atlantic Station, Atlanta, GA (2005) and Avalon, Alpharetta, GA (2014); and at the block and building level, such as Emory Point, Atlanta, GA (2013), and U Square at the Loop, Cincinnati, OH (2013).

This analysis focuses on New Urbanist-inspired mixed-use developments at the neighborhood scale. These projects are large enough to establish their own sense of place, and to have residences, retail, entertainment, and office tenants, yet are still situated into the context and fabric of an established urban environment. The two following case studies are both situated in metropolitan Atlanta because of the greater in-depth analysis that can be provided by having convenient access to the developments. Atlantic Station is located within the city of Atlanta, has established itself as a retail and entertainment hub for the city, and represents the revitalization of a contaminated, industrial brownfield site, that fulfills CNU's emphasis on infill development.[113] Avalon, the second case study, is a development with close ties to Atlantic Station, but built a decade later in the northern suburb of Alpharetta, GA. Built on previously undeveloped land, Avalon is a greenfield site, a common and attractive type of site for new developments, given that the land is cheaper and is a blank canvas.

Brownfield Case Study: Atlantic Station

Atlantic Station, a MUD located in Midtown Atlanta, is a quintessential case study to examine and critique the New Urbanist live-work-play community. Developed on a brownfield site, it is located just under four miles north of Atlanta's central business district. The development was the site of the former Atlantic Steel Mill from 1901 to 1998. The steel mill was a significant operation for Atlanta—a city that was

---

[113] Congress for the New Urbanism, "Charter of the New Urbanism," pt. 4.

established on the terminus of the Western and Atlantic Railroad. At its peak in the 1950's the mill employed over 2,100 workers.[114] Following the closing of the mill in the late 1990s, real estate developer The Jacoby Group acquired the site and proposed a redevelopment.

As a former industrial site, the land was contaminated and required a major site clean-up, or remediation. Jacoby worked closely with the US Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) to ensure the site was safe to develop. By revitalizing a former industrial site, Jacoby reasoned that the development was "an opportunity to shift some of [Metro Atlanta's rapid] growth inward, increasing regional convenience and accessibility, and reducing future driving."[115] When Atlantic Station was conceived in the late 1990s, Atlantans drove the most miles on average out of any metropolitan areas' residents in the nation, with an average daily commute of 34 miles.[116]

The development is referred to as a 138-acre mini city—with a population larger than many towns in the state of Georgia.[117] It has three office towers totaling six million square feet of office space, 5,000 residential units with options for a wide range of incomes, a 26-story luxury hotel, two million square feet of retail and entertainment space, eleven acres of greenspace, and an eleven acre, 7,000-space garage—the second largest in the US behind the Mall of America in Minnesota **(Figure 9)**.[118] The

---

[114] Franklin M. Garrett, *Atlanta and Environs: A Chronicle of Its People and Events 18800s-1930s*, vol. II (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1969), 414.

[115] EPA Urban and Economic Development Division (2127), "Project XL and Atlantic Steel Supporting Environmental Excellence and Smart Growth," Summary (United States Environmental Protection Agency, September 1999), 2, https://nepis.epa.gov/Exe/ZyPDF.cgi?Dockey=P1009QPS.txt.

[116] EPA Urban and Economic Development Division (2127), 2.

[117] Martin Sniderman, "Developers Refine Live/Work/Play Concept," *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, November 11, 2016, https://www.bizjournals.com/atlanta/news/2016/11/11/developers-refine-live-work-play-concept.html.

[118] Lisa Chamberlain, "Building a City within the City of Atlanta," *The New York Times*, May 24, 2006, https://www.nytimes.com/2006/05/24/realestate/commercial/24atlanta.html; "26,000 Ft–8,666 Yards–Nearly 5 Miles of EMSEAL Expansion Joint Knit Together Atlantic Station–Atlanta's Mega,

masterplan envisions 10,000 people living in the Atlantic Station community and 30,000 people working there.

As the largest brownfield development in the country at the time of opening, Atlantic Station was widely viewed as a national model for mixed-use developments and *smart growth*.[119] The 7,000-space garage is hidden from plain sight, with the retail portion of the development built on pads above it, to promote a pedestrian-focused culture on the street level **(Figure 10)**. Sidewalks on the retail level are well landscaped to create a town center feel.

The Jacoby Group's original zoning masterplan **(Figure 11)** was not as mixed-use as one might expect for a New Urbanist community. The right half of their design was deemed the "mixed-use" and retail-only zones, laid out in a traditional grid spanning two-by-three blocks. The leftmost side of the development was zoned for office space, while multi-family housing was in between the mixed-use and office zones. This is a classic example of functional zoning separation, a modernist planning hallmark. Additionally, there are two noticeable collector-style roads—one bisecting the development into north and south sections and another on the southernmost boarder of the development—that resemble suburban developments more than traditional neighborhoods.

As the developers worked with the EPA, the Agency hired none-other than New Urbanism founders DPZ as consultants to see how "the site design could be improved to reduce driving and emissions."[120] DPZ's design **(Figure 12)** is almost entirely zoned

Mixed-Use Success Story," EMSEAL Expansion Joints and Precompressed Sealants, April 4, 2017, https://www.emseal.com/project/expansion-joints-atlantic-station/.

[119] EPA Urban and Economic Development Division (2127), "Project XL and Atlantic Steel Supporting Environmental Excellence and Smart Growth."

[120] EPA Urban and Economic Development Division (2127), 6.

mixed-use, with only three proposed sub-parcels (non-greenspace) to be zoned for single uses. While Jacoby's original site plan had some sections resembling a grid and others with little-to-no pattern, DPZ redrew the site to be on a consistent radial grid with narrower roads, with the bisector remaining the widest (though still narrower than the bisector in the original Jacoby plan). DPZ also added a linear park stemming from the central water feature. While the water feature was present in Jacoby's original design, there was very little proposed greenspace, with only a small plot between retail and apartments at the northern edge of the site—understandable if the goal is to maximize profit.

It is interesting to examine which aspects of DPZ's recommendations the Jacoby Group implemented in their redesign submitted to the EPA **(Figure 13)**.[121] There is more greenspace in this updated version, with the linear park seeming to have been well-perceived (albeit in a skinnier rendition adjacent to the water feature that fully divides the site east and west). The developers disregarded the radial grid layout in DPZ's proposal. The right half of the site maintains a traditional grid, but it is slightly adjusted from their initial masterplan. This version has narrower streets as well—except for the bisector, which still acts as a collector, feeding into an interstate overpass just off-site. This version has the largest quantity of irregularly-shaped parcels, both unusually small and large relative to the scale of other parcels. This redesign has a much higher percentage of mixed-use zoned regions, but Jacoby maintained the middle section of the development residential. The EPA was satisfied with Jacoby's compromise, stating that it "improve[s] the mix of uses on-site by integrating them

---

[121] The site boundaries between all three versions do vary slightly—it is unclear if Jacoby had control and/or could acquire the parcels of the site in DPZ's version that are not present in their renderings.

more closely…provide[s] better connectivity on- and -off site…[and] enhance[s] the pedestrian environment through street design and slower traffic."[122]

The final masterplan of Atlantic Station **(Figure 14)** still differed from the proposed redesign featured in the EPA report. The street layout is near identical, but zoning did slightly change. When Atlantic Station initially opened, the development was divided into three neighborhoods: The District, which contains the main concentration of office towers, retail, and entertainment for the site; The Commons, a high-rise residential neighborhood; and The Village, comprising townhouses and big-box stores. While it still has suburban-style stores, Atlantic Station holds true to the guidelines of New Urbanism as the big box stores, IKEA and Target, are located on the edge of the development, away from the rest of the community. Additionally, the IKEA is built with an underground parking garage to be more compact. While The Commons and The Village are zoned towards residential use more than The District, it is noteworthy that residential use is a primary use throughout all three neighborhoods. The community-oriented neighborhood names of *The District*, *The Commons*, and *The Village* no longer seem to be used in the branding of Atlantic Station.

During the planning phases of construction, Jacoby prioritized attracting residents and office tenants before retail to form a permanent organic community and reduce a dependency on transient consumers.[123] In 2007, Atlantic Station LLC's Vice President of Design and Development, Brian Leary, told the *Atlanta Business Chronicle*

---

[122] EPA Urban and Economic Development Division (2127), "Project XL and Atlantic Steel Supporting Environmental Excellence and Smart Growth," 8.
[123] Christin Van Dusen, "Atlantic Station Retailers to Open--Intown-Style Shopping District to Debut Oct. 20," *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, October 2, 2005.

(ABC) that "Atlantic Station is a genuine community. Babies have been born here."[124] A spokesperson from another investor of Atlantic Station, Carter USA, reiterated Leary's statement— "This is a genuine destination for corporations, retailers, and residents."[125]

The need to brand the development as 'genuine' should raise red flags. Just how genuine is Atlantic Station? One of New Urbanist MUDs' most noticeable efforts, and often greatest short falls, are their effort to construct a strong sense of place. This is seen in many ways at Atlantic Station. One of the New Urbanism guidelines is "the use of 'revival' or art deco architecture."[126] The architecture of Atlantic Station certainly adheres to this guideline. There is an effort to recreate Lynch's imageability of a Main Street with the qualities Jacobs praises.

It is only fitting that the original conceiver of Atlantic Station, Atlanta developer James Jacoby, has a name is so similar to his inspiration's. Rather than actual aged buildings Jane Jacobs lauds though, the buildings in Jacoby's project are new with an "aged" appearance. The retail town center (formally The District) is made up of brick buildings with traditional Federal architecture **(Figure 15)**, while the Regal Cinema is an Art Deco revival **(Figure 16)**. The streets are lined with brick pavers and gaslight-esque street lamps. While there is an attempt at architectural variety, the "traditional styles [are used] as ornamentation, and [New Urbanists] do not take those styles seriously." This thin application of traditional architectural details creates a falseness to

---

[124] Doug DeLoach, "Project Still a Work in Progress in Many Phases," *Atlanta Business Chronicle*, February 19, 2007, sec. Atlantic Station Market Report.
[125] DeLoach.
[126] Futton, "The Garden Suburb and the New Urbanism," 161.

the buildings that resembles Main Street, USA in Disneyland **(Figure 17)** rather than actual Main Street.[127]

Users continue to receive additional cues of artificiality as they walk throughout the retail town center. Every once in a while, a visitor will stumble across a metal or rubber strip that runs across the sidewalk and through the roads, seen in **Figures 18 and 19**. These are expansion joints that span across massive structures to "literally tie the entire complex together" and protect the development from damage caused by settling and weathering, and erosion.[128] But because the "ground level" of the retail district is actually the rooftop of the parking structure, the streets in Atlantic Station contain these joints as well. A public relations piece written in the form of a news article on the website of the expansion joint subcontractor, EMSEAL, states that 26,000 feet— nearly five miles—of expansion joints are placed throughout Atlantic Station.[129] The rubberized, synthetic joints that also dominate the façade of buildings—colored with an attempt to match the brick—and street surfaces add to the Frankenstein aura of the place.

Perhaps this artificiality is due in large part to the buildings' newness. After all, the old buildings Jane Jacobs states as a prerequisite for diversity were new at one time. Susan Fainstein, the director of Urban Planning at Columbia University, explains that "it's hard to create texture when everything is brand new."[130] Texture takes time.

---

[127] Charles Siegel, *The Humanists versus the Reactionary Avant Garde: Clashing Visions for Today's Architecture* (San Bernardino, CA: Omo Press, 2016), 89.
[128] "26,000 Ft–8,666 Yards–Nearly 5 Miles of EMSEAL Expansion Joint Knit Together Atlantic Station– Atlanta's Mega, Mixed-Use Success Story."
[129] "26,000 Ft–8,666 Yards–Nearly 5 Miles of EMSEAL Expansion Joint Knit Together Atlantic Station– Atlanta's Mega, Mixed-Use Success Story."
[130] Sniderman, "Developers Refine Live/Work/Play Concept."

Additionally, there is less flexibility for brownfield developments to be built

incrementally, because cleanup is a one-shot effort.

A large part of Jacobs' argument for aged buildings in neighborhoods was rooted

in economics. She argued in *Death and Life* that developments "built at one time are

inherently inefficient for sheltering wide ranges of cultural population and business

diversity."[131] Sure enough, the retail portion of Atlantic Station is comprised of chain

stores such as GAP, H&M, and Target. Leary told the *ABC* in 2007 that "we'll be

focusing on locally and regionally based retail and commercial entities, which will

complement the national brands already here."[132] Yet in 2019, 46 of the 65 current

restaurant and retail tenants in the "District" portion of Atlantic Station are national

chains **(Appendix A)**.[133] [134] Only sixteen of the retailers at Atlantic Stations are new-to-

market, while fourteen retailers in Atlantic Station are also located at Lenox Square in

Buckhead, Atlanta's premiere indoor shopping mall. These national retail stores see the

"neighborhood" of Atlantic Station as no different than any other shopping center in

which they have locations. A retailer like GAP does not have investment in the

community as a locally-owned store would, which further creates a placeless commercial

environment. Only eleven tenants are independent stores, while an additional six are

locations of a locally-owned chain.[135] There is no pharmacy at Atlantic Station, but the

property does have a Publix grocery store; Jill Grant, Director of the School of Planning

at Canada's Dalhousie University, explains that "residents want a hardware store, not

---

[131] Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, 191.
[132] DeLoach, "Project Still a Work in Progress in Many Phases."
[133] As of February, 2019
[134] AtlanticStation.com, "Atlantics Station," 2018. Original research was conducted on tenant profiles based on source's online directory.
[135] AtlanticStation.com. Original research was conducted on tenant profiles based on source's online directory.

gift shops."[136] These statistics put Atlantic Station, and many other mixed use developments like Avalon, as we shall see, in a predicament: their retail tenants are too much of the "destination" type to support the everyday lifestyle of residents of the community—prohibiting a genuinely self-supportive or pedestrian shed community, and also too ordinary and repetitive with other nearby retail centers to be a true destination that attracts shoppers from around the region. Nevertheless, of this retail, or "play," component of the MUD, the criticism of the accuracy of the 'live-work-play' community persists, as it appears that not many people living at Atlantic Station are also working there. According to the US Census Bureau, only 4.8 percent of those living within the zip-code of Atlantic Station walk to work.[137] [138]

Returning to the imageability of Atlantic Station's architecture, the facades have an artificial, cookie-cutter look. The buildings in the retail town center are sterilely geometric with minimal ornamentation. Although architectural diversity was attempted—different architectural firms were hired for different portions of the development for that very reason—the aesthetics are repetitive and monotonous.[139] On the taller retail buildings, four of which are identical, there are odd two-story indented extensions on top of the building with gambrel roofs, plain window frames, and unfinished grey facades that do not match the brick or aesthetics of the surroundings **(Figure 20)**. Other architects built modern glass office towers, that give the

---

[136] Jill Grant, *Planning the Good Community: New Urbanism in Theory and Practice* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2006), 98.
[137] "American Fact Finder," US Census Bureau, 2019, https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?src=bkmk.
[138] While there is not a one-to-one correlation of those walking to work and those who might work at Atlantic Station, the development is isolated enough to assume that not many who work off of the property walk to work, and it would be quite disappointing and counterintuitive of the New Urbanism concept to live on site and still drive a block or two to the office's parking garage.
[139] Sniderman, "Developers Refine Live/Work/Play Concept."

appearance of a modern central business district, to form an edge of the retail district,
which also serve as Lynch-esque termini along paths for pedestrians and provide a sense
of enclosure **(Figure 21)**. The glass towers juxtaposed with the pedestrian-scaled brick
retail buildings are an attempt to age the brick buildings and emulate time-lapse and
long-term, incremental development of the site.

Some of the residential buildings located in the former Commons, like Seventeen
West Apartments **(Figure 22)** have multiple facades with a mix of building heights on a
single building to give the perception that the one building is a row of skinnier
buildings—a common strategy in New Urbanist architecture. Charles Siegel, contributor
to the Congress of New Urbanism journal *Public Square*, coins this strategy the "break-
up-the-box style," which he goes on to say, "is probably the most common style of new
residential buildings today."[140] The Element apartments **(Figure 23)** use a similar
technique with a post-modern two-dimensional façade roof that creates the illusion that
the roof heights extend across the building. Siegel cites contemporary architecture
schools as the source of the shortfall in New Urbanism products, explaining that few
schools teach traditional design today, and thus architects "do not know its basic
principles...they do not know that traditional architecture uses a nested hierarchy of
scales, with a ratio of about three-to-one between each element and its sub elements."[141]

The faux-traditional architecture is not the only design aspect of Atlantic Station
that developers had hoped would create a sense of place but that has actually created
more disorientation than identity. Relph, the sense-of-place theorist, described the Las

---

[140] Siegel, *The Humanists versus the Reactionary Avant Garde: Clashing Visions for Today's Architecture*, 89.
[141] Siegel, 90.

Vegas Strip as "a place made of other places and other times, of fantasies where the real and artificial slide easily into one another."[142] This observation is very much applicable to live-work-play communities and particularly Atlantic Station. The architecture and street décor are undoubtedly meant to appear from another time, to evoke nostalgia amongst visitors. Many features do not fit in with surrounding context of Midtown. The water feature at the center of the development masterplans is an artificial lake with a pedestrian bridge to enhance the walkability of the development. The well-manicured event lawn in the center of the Retail Town Center, which hosts an ice rink in the winter, is known as "Central Park."[143]

Gimmicky or not, Atlantans have embraced the open space enough that Atlantic Station's Central Park has managed to live up to the reputation that comes with the name. In addition to the popular ice rink, the park has become the host of Atlanta's largest annual Christmas tree lighting, which draws hundreds of people. In November 2018, the park also held a well-attended watch party for Atlanta United FC, Atlanta's Major League Soccer team, during their away Eastern Conference Championship playoff match (ironically) played in New York, home to the original, more famous Central Park. Whether due to the lack of other truly public spaces in Atlanta's urban core or strong advertising from Atlantic Station, Central Park at privately-owned and operated Atlantic Station has filled the void to become Atlanta's "public" square.[144] The space is currently undergoing a renovation that will modernize the space and "nearly double [the park] in

---

[142] Relph, *Place and Placelessness*.
[143] Jacoby Development, "Atlantic Station," Jacoby Development, Inc, 2017, http://jacobydevelopment.com/atlanticstation.html.
[144] I personally wish that Woodruff Park in Downtown Atlanta, operated by public-private development agency Central Atlanta Progress, is activated more to become Atlanta's true public square. At a focal node of downtown Atlanta, along the streetcar route, and with beautiful contrast historic (Flat Iron Building) and modern architecture, and just off Georgia State University's campus, it is ripe with potential.

size," by pedestrianizing the streets bordering the park.[145] It has filled Atlanta's public

space void to such a degree that the City of Atlanta's Planning Commissioner Tim Keane

seemingly forgot that the space is privately-owned, saying about the renovations, "any

chance we have to improve a public realm of the city through architecture, public spaces,

activity, and vibrancy is a step in the right direction."[146]

New York City is not the only city alluded to at Atlantic Station. The most bizarre

feature at Atlantic Station is a miniaturized Arc de Triomphe replica erected in The

Commons **(Figure 24)**. The 82-foot "Millennium Gate" was completed in 2008 as part

of an effort to bring more public art to the City of Atlanta and is supposed to represent a

"Gateway to Atlanta's future".[147] It is perplexing, though, to choose an Ancient Roman-

inspired arch as a symbol of moving into the future. The 82-foot, $18 million mini-

monument features an observation deck, event space, and a small art gallery.[148] Jacoby's

naïve statement that "this is something we could do for the culture of Atlanta," reaffirms

Atlantic Station's identity crisis.[149] Yet his intention might not have been fully-

communicated to the public. Alan Balfour, then-Dean of the Georgia Tech School of

Architecture, half-jokingly told *The New York Times,* "I don't think anyone even knows

why it's there. It arrived from another planet, I think."[150] The architects took Lynch's

"landmark" guidelines and simply installed the most quintessential urban landmark,

with the logic that if it works in Paris, it can work in Atlanta, too. Like in Paris, the

---

[145] Sean Keenan, "Renderings: Atlantic Station's Central Park to Look Drastically Different Soon," *Curbed Atlanta*, October 31, 2018, https://atlanta.curbed.com/2018/10/31/18045670/renderings-atlantic-station-central-park-renovation-hobnob.
[146] Keenan.
[147] Walter Woods, "Piece of Paris Planned for Midtown," *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, October 14, 2004.
[148] Shaila Dewan, "An Elaborate Arch, an Opaque Significance," *The New York Times*, accessed February 20, 2019, https://www.nytimes.com/2009/04/30/us/30arch.html.
[149] Woods, "Piece of Paris Planned for Midtown."
[150] Dewan, "An Elaborate Arch, an Opaque Significance."

Millennium Gate serves as a visual terminus seen in the horizon along the wide boulevard of 17th Street. The absurdity of the Gate reaches another level when one considers that Washington Park in Jane Jacobs' vibrant Greenwich Village has a similar arch. One parallel between the Millennium Gate and the Arc de Triomphe is that the Millennium Gate was built in congruence with a massive singular-developer planned community, just as the Arc de Triomphe was built shortly before Eugene Haussmann's massive re-design of Paris commissioned by Napoleon III. While Atlantic Station is a much smaller scale project than the City of Paris, the Millennium Gate is a scaled down replica of the Arc de Triomphe.

While it appears that the developers of Atlantic Station follow Jacobs' and Lynch's playbook to replicate the success of the traditional urban fabric, Jacobs was very clear that her criteria were the recipe for a "*diverse* neighborhood."[151]. It is helpful for the purpose of this research that Jacoby was able to secure an exclusive zip code for the development: 30363. According to the 2013-17 American Community Survey (ACS) intra-census estimates made available through the US Census Bureau's American Fact Finder, just 3,165 residents live within the zip code a decade after the opening of the development, much lower than the 10,000 envisioned. With one apartment building, The Flats, built as dedicated student housing (Georgia Institute of Technology is one mile away and Georgia State University is three miles away), 30 percent of residents at Atlantic Station are between the ages of 20-24 and the development-community has a median age of 28.7 years old.[152] Fifty-eight percent of residents are between the ages of

[151] Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, 150.
[152] "The Flats Homepage," The Flats Atlantic Station, 2019, https://www.theflatsatlanticstation.com; "American Fact Finder."

25-54, while only 6.1 percent are under the age of 20, and 5.6 percent between the ages of 55-74.[153] There are no residents over the age of 75.[154]

Examining other key demographics to assess diversity, the racial and ethnic make-up of Atlantic Station is sufficient: 47.6 percent of residents identify as White, 31.6 as Black or African American, and 22.6 percent as Asian.[155] Additionally, 6.7 percent of residents identify as Hispanic or Latino.[156] When considering education and income, 71.9 percent of residents living over the age of 25 (2,015 people) have a bachelor's degree or higher. The income diversity is also more diverse than one might expect. One quarter (446) of the 1,782 households in Atlantic Station have a reported income of under $35,000. Fifty-five percent (981) of households have incomes ranging between $35,000 and $149,999, while the remaining 20 percent earn $150,000 or more—showing that Atlantic Station is not a luxury-oriented development. It is unclear if/how much full-time students not earning incomes who live in the student housing affect this breakdown. When comparing Atlantic Station to Avalon, Atlantic Station is surprisingly impressive in these measurements, upholding Jacobs' demand for diversity.

Atlantic Station's identity struggles to balance public community and private development. On its website, a hip marketing pitch invites viewers to come to 'the 30363.' It advertises itself as a "city within a city" and Jacobs-esqe slogans line the pages advertising aspects of live, work, and play: "shop around the corner" for retail, "eat across the street" for dining, "work one flight up" for work, and "live right next door" for residential.[157] But the "About" section at the bottom of the website is listed under

[153] "American Fact Finder."
[154] "American Fact Finder."
[155] "American Fact Finder."
[156] "American Fact Finder."
[157] AtlanticStation.com, "Atlantics Station."

"Company," reminding people that the entire 30363 is part of a private development. Likewise, scattered along roads and sidewalks throughout Atlantic Station are aluminum signs adorned with Atlantic Station's corporate-looking logo. The development company has a privately-operated Atlantic Station bus line that shuttles users throughout the property, parking meters—typically associated as a public tax collector—along storefronts that incur funds for the private property, and a private security team in charge of policing the property.[158]

While Atlantic Station is still in Atlanta's urban core, it is located at the northern end of the I-75/I-85 Connector. When the project first opened, analysts were enthusiastic about the features of Atlantic Station. One analyst said it is "everything that downtown should be but isn't," referring to Atlanta's struggling central business district.[159] Consistent with Atlanta's history of sprawl, another analyst projected Atlantic Station to be the "rebirth of 'main street' downtown—just relocated."[160] Atlantic Station hosts functions that a downtown normally would, like fireworks, ice skating, and the lighting of the Christmas tree.

Although Atlantic station has attempted to recreate a pedestrian-centric environment, there are still many aspects of the design that are aligned with suburban sprawl. It is important to remember that under the gild of walkable streets and the Jane

---

[158] One security officer drove up to me on her golf cart while I was there for an observation and photography visit for this thesis in November 2018. She told me she couldn't help but notice the numerous photographs I was taking on my "extremely high-quality iPhone X camera." She explained to me that "we, here at Atlantic Station, are very protective of the property and want to ensure a safe environment for all our visitors." She said she did not want to accuse me, but the detail that my phone-camera could capture could be very useful if I were to "come back on a later date to plant a bomb." Dumbfounded, I explained to her that I was a senior at Emory University writing my honors thesis on Atlantic Station, and her mood instantly changed, exclaiming, "well then, you can take as many photos as you'd like, honey!"
[159] Van Dusen, "Atlantic Station Retailers to Open--Intown-Style Shopping District to Debut Oct. 20."
[160] Van Dusen.

Jacobs-esque vibrant community is a 7,000-space parking garage. In Atlantic Station's

defense, Atlanta is still a car-centric region and large-scale parking must be

accommodated. There is shuttle access to a MARTA rail station, but the layout of

Atlantic Station is insular and disconnected to the surrounding fabric. The ACS states

that only 3.2 percent of residents take public transit (bus or rail) to work, while an

overwhelming 66.2 percent commute alone in their personal vehicle (an additional 6.8

percent carpool)—a figure that is even understated given that 17 percent of residents

work from home and require no commute.[161] Along with architectural differences from

the surrounding neighborhood, the fine-grained street fabric—a principle of New

Urbanists—exists only within the development, while wide collector-like roads and cut-

off side streets show distinct borders. There is genuine attempt to try to integrate the

development with the rest of Midtown through its road network by continuing

Midtown's numerical latitudinal street naming convention—adding 17th, 18th, and 19th

streets to the established partial-grid.[162] But Google Maps illustrates that 17th Street, a

collector, is the widest latitudinal street in Midtown, and the fact that I-75/I-85 is one of

Atlantic Station's edges further isolates the development from the surrounding

neighborhood.

Greenfield Case: Avalon

Atlantic Station deserves credit as the largest brownfield redevelopment project

at the time of its completion and its role as a model for revitalizing other contaminated

sites. Criticism aside, it is an infill project that brought density, jobs, housing, and

[161] "American Fact Finder."
[162] These streets are 17, 18, and 19 blocks, respectively, from North Street, the southern edge of Midtown.

entertainment to a former industrial mill located in the urban core. DPZ state that

brownfield and urban infill sites are their number one priority area for new

developments, while suburban infills are their second-highest priority site type.[163] These

projects are a form of *greenfield developments*, the "creation of new neighborhoods" on

previously undeveloped land.[164] Greenfields are significantly easier to develop, given the

typically larger size, the cheaper land, and the lack of the need for any remediation. They

are most commonly found in the suburbs and urban peripheries, where large swaths of

land are most available.

Regardless of brownfield or greenfield, DPZ states that sites should be treated

with the same nostalgic approach—that "in both cases, new growth is modeled on the

old patterns that people cherish."[165] While these New Urbanist greenfield developments

are just as dense as their urban counterparts, they are still contributing to ex-urban

sprawl and growth outside of the core. The criticisms I previously stated for Atlantic

Station are heightened on principle for Avalon, a greenfield New Urbanist development.

A highly successful greenfield development in the Atlanta region is Avalon, the

first phase of which was completed in 2014. Avalon is located in Alpharetta, an affluent

northern satellite city of Atlanta, 26 miles north of Downtown (and 23 miles north of

Atlantic Station). A satellite view on Google Earth will quickly show that Alpharetta's

landscape fits perfectly into the suburban mold DPZ outlined; most visible are the

residential subdivisions with their signature twisting streets punctuated with cul-de-

sacs. Avalon, in turn, is an urban oasis. The development emphasizes their multiple

---

[163] Duany, Plater-Zyberk, and Speck, *Suburban Nation: The Rise of Sprawl and the Decline of the American Dream*, 145.
[164] Duany, Plater-Zyberk, and Speck, 223.
[165] Duany, Plater-Zyberk, and Speck, 223.

primary uses, describes themselves as an established community, and illustrates how

you can join their community in their brochure:

> Avalon is a walkable, seamlessly connected community of shopping, dining, entertainment, living, and working. It's more than just another place to go, it's a place to be—a hub of local art and activity that delivers the luxury of the modern South.
> This is a place where memories are made, new traditions emerge, families gather, and community happens. Take a stroll down the Boulevard, make a wish at the fountain, catch a concert, play some lawn games with the family, and drink in the beauty of every season while you experience the ultimate in shopping, dining, and just enjoying.[166]

While not as large as Atlantic Station, statistics for Avalon **(Figure 25)** are

impressive, too: the original phase of the 86-acre development (compared to Atlantic

Station's 138 acres) was 2.3 million square feet (500,000 square feet of retail) costing

$600 million, bringing retail, office spaces, a movie theater, apartments, and

townhomes.[167] In 2018, additional phases of the development brought an additional 1.3

million square feet of retail, apartments, two Class-A office towers, a 330-room luxury

hotel, and 65,000 square foot conference center and pushed the overall cost to over a

billion dollars.[168] The developer is Cincinnati-based North American Properties (NAP),

who has familiarity with both the Atlanta region and MUDs. In 2010, they acquired the

retail district of Atlantic Station from Jacoby after it struggled following the 2008

Recession.[169] While today's Avalon was fully constructed by NAP, the property too was

acquired by NAP after a different New Urbanist project called Prospect Park stalled in

---

[166] "Avalon: The Timeless Art of Living Well" (Brochure and Directory, Winter 2018).
[167] Martin Sniderman, "Avalon Stakes Claim as Successful 'Urbanburb,'" *Atlanta Business Chronicle*, September 11, 2015, https://www.bizjournals.com/atlanta/print-edition/2015/09/11/avalon-stakes-claim-as-successful-urbanburb.html.
[168] Sniderman; "Places: Avalon Redefines Mixed-Use," North American Properties, 2019, https://www.naproperties.com/places/avalon/.
[169] Doug Sams, "Atlantic Station Will Become 'the Anti-Mall,'" *Atlanta Business Chronicle*, February 11, 2011, https://www.bizjournals.com/atlanta/print-edition/2011/02/11/atlantic-station-will-become-the.html.

the site-preparation phase at the Recession and was foreclosed.[170] In addition to completely redesigning the site plan, North American also rebranded the project as *Avalon,* which "build[s] off associations of luxury and the big band music that affluent, baby boomer [target] demographic."[171]

Avalon gives off the feeling of a more upscale, imageable iteration of Atlantic Station—as if North American Properties observed what did and did not work after and used that information to build Avalon. This opinion was not far off from the process NAP and architect firm Wakefield Beasley & Associates used during their ideation process. The two companies, along with local government officials, traveled across the country and evaluated fifteen similar mixed-use developments, most inspired by The Grove (2002) **(Figure 26)** in Los Angeles and Santana Row (2002) **(Figure 27)** in San Jose, California.[172]

Wakefield Beasley & Associates, whose offices are now located at Avalon, are the architects behind numerous neo-traditional New Urbanist developments around the country. They are responsible for both Atlantic Station and Avalon, as well as The Battery, a 2017 neo-traditional, mixed-use entertainment district developed by the Atlanta Braves adjacent to their new Sun Trust Park in Cobb County, GA, which shares many of the same characteristics as Atlantic Station and Avalon.

Bordered by three large, suburban roadways—GA 400 highway to the east, Old Milton Parkway (GA 120) to the south, and Westside Parkway to the north and west—the interior of Avalon is laid out on a traditional grid **(Figure 28)**. North-south streets

---

[170] "Avalon Case Study," *Urban Land Institute*, ULI Case Studies, October 2016, 2.
[171] Doug Sams, "Alpharetta's Prospect Park Gets a Name Change," *Atlanta Business Chronicle*, October 17, 2011.
[172] "Avalon Case Study," 3.

are numerically named, ascending east to west, each terminating with multiple lanes and medians feeding into Old Milton Pkwy.[173] The East-West streets do not have such a recognizable naming pattern. The main thoroughfare at the center of the development is fittingly named Avalon Boulevard, but others like Parkdale Lane, Grand Crescent, and Esplanade have no clear association or specificity. Avalon Boulevard's intersection with the numbered streets provides the scale and progression along the path that Lynch writes provides a stronger sense of place to users.[174]

The majority of buildings throughout Avalon have multiple primary uses. There are eight major retail buildings along Avalon Boulevard, named Building 1000 (farthest northwest) through Building 8000 (farthest southeast). Buildings 1000-4000 and 7000 have three to four stories of apartments above the street-level retail **(Figure 29)**, while Buildings 5000 and 6000 **(Figure 30)**, located at the center of the development, are shorter, with one story of office space above the street-level retail. Building 8000 is a nine-story office tower, with retail occupying the first story as well **(Figure 31)**. West of the mixed-use buildings are luxury single family attached and detached residential units laid out in a quarter-circular grid. East is the Marriott Autograph Collection luxury hotel, connected to the 65,000 square foot conference center.

Avalon Boulevard and the buildings lining it do not sit directly off of Old Milton Parkway though, and in fact, are significantly removed from the collector road. South of the buildings lining Avalon Boulevard are sizable parking lots, spanning more than 100 yards in length, the equivalent distance of one block along Avalon Blvd. These lots are in

---

[173] This was done in Phase 1 though, which seemed to have created an issue when a street east of 1st Street was constructed in Phase 2. While mathematically it would be 0 Street, it is called Avalon Way.
[174] Lynch, *The Image of the City*, 55.

addition to six above-ground parking garages on site. In an effort to shield the surface

lots from the plain sight of drivers along Old Milton Pkwy, additional retail parcels were

designated and built on, lining the edge of the development's property against Old

Milton. It is noteworthy that, in suburban fashion, these retailers include big box stores,

such as Whole Foods Market and The Container Store, and fast food chain Chick-fil-A

(Figure 32). Additionally, while Avalon's property line reaches the street, all of these

retailers are set back from the street. There is a wide landscaped barrier between the

street/sidewalk and buildings, mimicking the suburban strip-mall developments across

the street, decreasing the pedestrian-friendliness of the already intimidating parkway.[175]

Walking down Avalon Boulevard, 'luxury' is communicated by the detailed

ornamentation and materials chosen, especially compared to Atlantic Station. A lot of

effort was rightfully put into the streetscape and appearance of the Boulevard, as Lynch

notes that an imageable path is crucial to a place's overall identity.[176] While Atlantic

Station has a noticeable cookie-cutter appearance in its retail district with four identical

buildings lining Central Park, Avalon tried to vary building height and materials on the

mixed-use buildings. Building section facades alternate between rustic-style brick, to

stucco in various shades of brown and grey, to modern wood siding **(Figure 33)**. The

first story facades vary greatly in appearance, as retailers were given liberties to

customize their storefront exterior (with approval from NAP and the City of Alpharetta),

---

[175] This barrier is likely an open-air easement for storm water drainage, leading to a catch basin that is in the southeast corner of the property. Upon reading the City of Alpharetta's Site Engineering Design Plan Requirements, it states that a "minimum 20' wide emergency drainage easement shall be given on all drainage systems (open/closed), which lie outside the normal right-of-way. City of Alpharetta. "Site Engineering Design Checklist," 2019. https://www.alpharetta.ga.us/docs/default-source/planning-zoning/site-engineering-design-checklist.pdf?sfvrsn=63dff5ab_6.

[176] Lynch, *The Image of the City*, 52.

as seen in **Figure 34**.[177] The sidewalk material, primarily a pebbled concrete composite

squares at 45° angles and accented in places with brick pavers laid on a zig-zag pattern,

slate tiles, and cobblestone, changes frequently as one walks down Avalon Blvd to

enhance aesthetic diversity. The sidewalk is extra-wide, at 20 feet, allowing plentiful

room to congregate and for seating areas. Roads are one-way for much of the stretch,

thanks to the parklets that act as medians in the boulevard. Known as "Living rooms,"

(Figure 35) these parklets are well-landscaped with mature trees, have attractive

seating areas and swings, bocce courts, small fountains, and a firepit, as well as cafés

interspersed **(Figure 36)**.[178] These features, in the middle of the road, mimic and aim

to provide the pedestrian experience one might find on a street like La Rambla in

Barcelona, Spain **(Figure 37)**.

Though there are no civic institutions at Avalon, the development culminates at

the intersection of Avalon Blvd and 2nd Street, with the node signified visually through

the architecture. Seen in **Figure 38**, at each of the four corners of the intersection,

building corners are softened as *chamfers*—'cut' at 45° angle, or *fillets*—rounded—using

a technique frequently found in European cities such as Barcelona or Paris that open up

the intersection to feel more inviting. The building corners on all four building also have

an accent at the roof to elevate the intersection's prominence as a landmark in the

'neighborhood.' High-capacity clothing retailers J. Crew, Banana Republic, Lulu Lemon,

and Anthropologie occupy the corner spaces. At the north end of the intersection is a

Concierge pavilion, known as Club Avalon—which is the closest equivalent to a civic

institution. The Urban Land Institute (ULI), an industry professional association, notes

[177] "Avalon Case Study," 5.
[178] "Avalon," 2019, Living Room, experienceavalon.com.

that the concierges are trained by the Ritz Carlton—the luxury hotel chain known for its customer service—and Avalon's website claims that "there's no convenience, amenity, detail or desire that Club Avalon can't thoughtfully and expertly fulfill."[179][180]

Behind the concierge pavilion is Avalon's primary green space, called 'the Plaza'. Smaller than Atlantic Station, the developers intentionally wanted the space that is used for leisure and programming to be "intimate."[181] An extensive calendar of programming available to the public, including weekly yoga classes called 'AvalOM,' live music performances, game nights, and holiday celebrations—all organized by North American Property's management staff—takes place at the Plaza, and like Atlantic Station's Central Park, the Plaza has an ice rink in the winter months.[182] Aside from being inorganic, this top-down, privatization of programming and public space has both extended and limited the freedoms of users of Avalon Boulevard. Avalon has an open-container policy, where diners can take their alcoholic drink to-go in a clear cup and carry it throughout the Boulevard.[183] To enact a policy on public land, replicating places like Bourbon Street in New Orleans, would require much debate and legislative changes. Standing tables are even installed sporadically **(Figure 39)** to encourage congregation while drinking. But these 'public spaces,' including the Plaza and Living Room, close at 10 pm to accommodate residents living in apartments above.[184]

---

[179] "Avalon Case Study," 9; "Avalon," sec. Club Avalon.
[180] During my trip to Avalon, I spoke with the concierges, who were very friendly, but they requested I obtain a media credential from them if I would like to take photographs, and happily gave me one.
[181] "Avalon Case Study," 4.
[182] "Avalon," sec. Events; "Avalon Case Study," 4. ULI's case study also notes that uncoincidentally, Avalon's ice rink is the same dimensions as Rockefeller Center's, perhaps the most famous outdoor ice rink in the country.
[183] "Avalon: The Timeless Art of Living Well."
[184] "Avalon Case Study," 9.

At the north end of the Plaza is a grand fountain lined by a vasiform cast-stone balustrade along the railing, evoking a Mediterranean vibe **(Figure 40)**. The "dancing" fountain is choreographed, providing viewers a casual water show.[185] This fountain seems to be directly inspired by The Grove, in Los Angeles, which also has a choreographed, balustrade-lined fountain. Behind the fountain, capping the north end of 2nd Street and serving as a terminus visible from the tip of the southern end of 2nd Street, is a Regal Cinemas theater **(Figure 41)**, designed with superficial art-deco motifs, but enough that, with its location, it has become the primary landmark at Avalon, used in promotional material and media illustrations.

Despite the attention to create an imageable, vibrant community in some areas, there are certain design elements in Avalon that project artificiality and the appearance that the development is a fantasyland instead of an actual community. Immediately eye-catching is that the greenspaces throughout the development, including at the Plaza and living rooms, are composed of artificial turf rather than natural grass. Acorns are a motif in Avalon's branding, and with such, bronze squirrels—in various action poses—are scattered throughout the Boulevard, adorned to benches and wayfinding directories. The bronze figurines go beyond squirrels though, with bronze people placed throughout the development as well: a child is sculpted flying an American flag at one corner, while a man sitting on a bench, reading the newspaper at another **(Figure 42)**. Further examination shows that the development's statistics, reviews, and social media channels were engraved into the pages of the paper, while headlines included "Avalon Arrives in Alpharetta," "Avalon Awarded Project of the Year—ULI Atlanta," and "North American

---

[185] "Avalon," sec. Plaza.

Properties' Purpose: Create meaningful value and extraordinary experiences for those we serve." Complementing these visual enhancements, Avalon pumps easy listening music, from artists such as Frank Sinatra, Michael Bublé, and Jack Johnson, through Bose outdoor speakers discretely placed within the landscaping lining sidewalks.[186]

In trend with MUDs across the country, buildings 1000-7000 employ the 'break-up-the-box' style of architecture, to impersonate a row of tenement-style buildings, which have become fixated into the collective image of what an urban 'Main Street' looks like, on buildings that span the entire block in actuality. Buildings 5000 and 6000, seen in **Figure 30**, for example, are a serious attempt at this, with all stories of the façade broken up into tenement-wide portions, each adorned with different colored brick or stucco and traditional molding. On other buildings, like 7000 **(Figure 29)** for example, the break up the 'box' in a less literal replication of tenements. Here, the façade is adorned in a mosaic of repeated thin, vertical spans of brick, stucco, and paneling, with an occasional allusion to federal architecture through a column or cornice, that together provides a muddled contemporary take on traditional architecture. But in their attempt to disguise as buildings that are smaller than these, proportions are off and exacerbates the kitschy appearance. Buildings 1000-7000 also have additional height added to some sections of the facades as a faux additional story to give the appearance of varied building heights. Yet when designing store fronts, many retail spaces awkwardly spread across two 'tenements,' as seen with Lou & Grey's (left of J. Jill) dark grey and Orvis' slate tile (right of J. Jill) store fronts in **Figure 30.**

---

[186] I also observed Atlantic Station play music throughout their sidewalks, but it was interesting to observe the difference in music choices the two developments chose. Avalon's easy listening genre enhances the luxurious/resort vibe NAP wants to portray. The music I heard at Atlantic Station was current Top 40 hits, a more mainstream selection.

Like Atlantic Station, Avalon is very much isolated from its surroundings. The development is easily identifiable on a map, as an island surrounded by state highway, GA 400, and two collector roads, Old Milton Parkway—which is eight lanes wide at its intersection at 2nd Street—and Westside Parkway, with its archetypal tree-lined median. Mark Toro, head of the Atlanta-division of NAP is not bothered by the location of Avalon and the fact that it is a greenfield. He is proud to bring the urban lifestyle to the Alpharetta, telling the *Atlanta Business Chronicle*, "we went to great lengths to assure that the resident, guest, (and) office worker experience would be urban in nature, set in one of Atlanta's most vibrant suburban communities," thus calling Avalon an "*urbanburb*"[187] Buildings like Hotel Avalon at the eastern edge and Regal Cinemas, north, act as visual termini along Avalon Blvd, which has slight turns throughout the path to change the viewer's perspective, to tie the urban space together.

Yet Avalon does not fully escape the suburbs and doesn't dismiss suburban development techniques. In some areas where there are no termini, viewers can see woods in the near distance, a quick reminder of that this urbanburb is a greenfield site. Additionally, users are required to pass by big box stores and more than 100 yards of parking spaces—reserved specifically for shoppers at those box stores—within Avalon's property, before they are able enter the urban oasis. There is one MARTA bus route that stops on Old Milton Pkwy, just west of its intersection with 2nd Street, though it would take 41 minutes to ride the bus from there to the nearest MARTA rail station.[188]

Unsurprisingly, the majority of Avalon's retail tenants as of February 2019 are national chains—63 out of the 93 shops, services, and restaurants **(Appendix B)**. Only

---

[187] Sniderman, "Avalon Stakes Claim as Successful 'Urbanburb.'"
[188] "Plan a Trip," MARTA, 2019, itsmarta.com.

one of 58 retail stores, Sage Clothing Company, is an independent business, while Boogaloos is a local store with two other locations. Of the 58 retail shops, only eight are new to metro Atlanta, while nineteen have at least three additional locations in the region. The development also shares twenty retailers with Lenox Square mall, which is 20 minutes south. The restaurant scene is where Avalon shines, in terms of local tenants. Sixteen of the 25 restaurants are either independent or a local chain, many of which are chef-driven.[189] while an additional three are regional chains, meaning that only six restaurants are national chains.

The lack of diversity among tenants and users of the development is where Avalon falls down. In addition to the negative side effects of national retailers as discussed in the Atlantic Station case study, the retail and restaurant composition at Avalon is not one that is targeted to the everyday, reducing its qualifications as a functional pedestrian shed. While Jacobs lauds the provision of daily needs in a vibrant neighborhood, this is not possible here, where two thirds (38 of 58) of shops are apparel or shoe stores, and an additional six are jewelry or accessory shops. There is no dry cleaner, hardware store, or pharmacy/drug store. The only grocery store on the property is a Whole Foods, which while providing a large, healthy selection of groceries, is reported to be fifteen percent more expensive than other conventional grocery stores.[190]

Avalon is, simply, expensive. With chef-centric restaurants and retailers including Peter Millar, Brooks Brothers, Tumi, Lulu Lemon, and Mitchell Gold + Bob Williams, high-income visitors are attracted to shop and dine at Avalon. But

---

[189] "Avalon Case Study," 8.
[190] Hayley Peterson, "Whole Foods Price Comparison," Business Insider, June 16, 2016, https://www.businessinsider.com/how-much-more-expensive-is-whole-foods-2016-6.

additionally, there is likely little economic diversity among residents at Avalon's two apartment complexes, Haven and Veranda. While Avalon is too new to have generated census data, housing prices can partially illustrate those living there.[191] In Phase I's Haven, the cheapest apartment currently available is $1,577/month for an 812 ft² apartment. Veranda in Phase II, the cheapest available is $1,644/month for a 913 ft² one bedroom-one bath apartment.[192] In both phases, the apartment housing is branded as "luxury."[193] In addition to the apartments, luxury homes are also available, with a 2 bed-2.5 bath, 2,000 ft² yard-less "cottage" for $795,000.

Determining the Ideal Development Approach

Despite the wide-ranging critique of MUDs as "places" in this thesis, many mixed-use developments, including Atlantic Station and Avalon, have been commercially successful. Though phony, the nostalgic architecture widely appeals to many. As retail has moved to a more online presence and traditional indoor shopping malls have struggled, live-work-play communities may be the future of brick and mortar retail, reflecting the growing popularity of urban revival. Liz Gillespie, Vice President of Marketing for North American Properties, notes, "what we have found is that the (mix of uses) has extended dwell time. When you increase dwell time, you naturally increase sales."[194] One scholar, Jill Grant, elaborates on this by saying that, "New urbanists have built…stage sets for 'reality' entertainment," suggesting that the over-engineering of the

---

[191] I was fortunate for Atlantic Station to have their own zip code so that I could easily analyze their census data. Unfortunately, the zip code of Avalon, 30009, and census tract are both too large to distinguish Avalon inhabitants from nearby suburbanites. The tract's block group, the smallest unit of measurement used by the census, is reflective of Avalon's size. The census block group code for Avalon is 131210116163000. However, unfortunately because block group data is only gathered from decennial census, Avalon is newer than the 2010 Census and thus no data is available.
[192] "Avalon," Live Here.
[193] "Avalon," Live Here.
[194] "Avalon Case Study," 11.

appearance and experience, and its resulting pristineness has made MUDs the urban equivalent to reality TV.[195]

There are many positive qualities of New Urbanist MUDs. They are much better than the alternative: isolating, car-centric developments that promote individualism rather than community. With an emphasis of buildings set against the street, New Urbanist developments promote pedestrianization and are frequently built sustainably. The developments are built with the best of intentions to follow the advice of Jane Jacobs and Kevin Lynch, although they do so in rather hollow ways

They also, however, carry characteristics of suburban malls that prevent them from having the diversity of Jacobs' neighborhood. The retail makeup of Atlantic Station and Avalon are not unique to these case studies. DPZ deviates substantially from Jane Jacobs in their philosophy of retail within New Urbanist communities. Part of the beauty and attributes to diversity Jacobs saw in her neighborhood is what DPZ describes as "haphazard" management of retail tenants that is "the typical [on] main street."[196] Yet DPZ argue that "in order for Main Street to compete against the mall, it must be run with all of the expertise lavished on the mall…Fortunately, many of the concepts and techniques that mall designers use can be easily adapted" on 'Main Street' and in New Urbanist communities.[197] These techniques include "*centralized management" of tenants*, *"joint advertising and merchandising"*—everything from unified wayfinding tools, to a diversity in goods offered so that the area as a whole is a one-stop shop, and "town events for all"—*"anchors"* who attract shoppers and are provided subsidized

---

[195] Grant, *Planning the Good Community: New Urbanism in Theory and Practice*, 178.
[196] Duany, Plater-Zyberk, and Speck, *Suburban Nation: The Rise of Sprawl and the Decline of the American Dream*, 164.
[197] Duany, Plater-Zyberk, and Speck, 164–65.

space in return, a *"strategic relation of anchors and parking"*—where parking is *not* adjacent to the anchor, so that the anchor is able to provide the benefit of additional shoppers to the surrounding retailers—*"proactive leasing and retail mix,"* where retail mix is monitored, *"Dimensions"* of the commercial zone, *"retail continuity"*—where banks and other service outlets do not disrupt the "attention span" of the American shopper, and lastly *"incubators"*—spaces devoted to small and start-up businesses.[198] Other than that last recommendation, many of these techniques reduce the democratic aspect of a district and can explain why New Urbanist MUDs feel so similar and carry so many "mall-like," national chain retailers.

Critics who share Jacobs' beliefs ask questions like "'whatever happened to a natural diversity' and 'are there any *real* places left?'"[199] DPZ counter by explaining that unmanaged Key West has become "an emporium of T-shirt shops" and that Rodeo Drive in Los Angeles is too expensive and also lacks diversity. They continue stating, "variety is achieved not through natural selection but through careful planning."[200] They cite Disney-built New Urbanist community Celebration, Florida as an example that has not only "restaurants for four different price ranges, but a bar that is required to stay open until the last movie gets out...Does this make Celebration any worse, or any less real?"[201]

But DPZ is not addressing the critique of the neo-traditional architecture common in New Urbanist projects. Grant finds the root for the inauthenticity to be that New Urbanists "abstract the [classical] architecture from its settings and social meaning," reiterating that Lynch's concept of imageability is not a plug-and-play

---

[198] Duany, Plater-Zyberk, and Speck, 165–69.
[199] Duany, Plater-Zyberk, and Speck, 169.
[200] Duany, Plater-Zyberk, and Speck, 169.
[201] Duany and Plater-Zyberk, "Neighborhoods and Suburbs," 169–70.

concept.[202] Relph is more blunt, stating "I suppose the process of replication and borrowing from elsewhere could be considered geographical quotation, or, less charitably, place plagiarism."[203] Ironically, these communities are almost as cookie-cutter as Levittown- and 'McMansion'-esque suburbia they are trying to counter.

Aesthetics aside, many principles of New Urbanism are too idealistic, putting both a lot of responsibility and faith on the developers and property managers. MUDs differ from the neighborhoods Jacobs praises fundamentally by their undemocratic governance. Jacobs' four conditions and desire for independent, or 'mom and pop,' shops were on the principles of grassroots action, civic engagement, and community building. Atlantic Station and Avalon are both the anthesis of that through their construction by a sole developer, corporate-organized 'community' events, and national chain retailers. While the neotraditional architecture at MUDs may resemble the old buildings Jacobs lauds, they do not share old buildings' economic advantages. By laws of supply and demand, the combination of brand-new retail spaces and all leasing controlled by a centralized property manager needing to pay off creditors lead to higher rent costs and the result is a limited profile of tenants that can afford the space. Many Developers are less likely to create many, if any, "incubator" spaces because they are not as guaranteed to be profitable.

Developer's repeated shortfalls on major CNU principles—such as an emphasis on socioeconomic diversity—in the movement's flagship products illustrates the gap between CNU's aspirations and what developers see as feasible (or just interested) in

---

[202] Grant, *Planning the Good Community: New Urbanism in Theory and Practice*, 9.
[203] Relph, *Place and Placelessness*, 20.

building.[204] The gap shows a lack of accountability for developers to follow the

guidelines, and that actions in the form of public policy might be needed to see these

principles realized. Developers cherry-pick principles of New Urbanism that they like or

can build, which give the façade of the Jacobs-esque vibrant neighborhood and allow

them to gloat on "sustainability" initiatives. They omit core components though that

prevent them from achieving socioeconomic diversity. This shows that all responsibility

cannot, and probably should not, be placed on the private developer to create diverse

communities, and that socioeconomically diverse communities are dependent on

affordable housing and small business provisions brought forth by policy.

 Illustrated by the difference in aesthetics luxury-oriented developments can offer

through the Atlantic Station-Avalon comparison, Peter Calthorpe, a founding member

of CNU, notes that social diversity and sustainability initiatives in New Urbanist MUDs

could come at a cost of aesthetics. "But do I care? Not really," he proclaims as he

reminds what the priorities of New Urbanism are.[205] Jacobs-esque, he adds, "What I

care about is that 20 percent of the housing is affordable; what I care about is that the

ground floor is retail and active," and that these projects can diminish the

environmental impact of sprawl and revive the urban core.[206]

 That is not to say that Jacobs' argument for diversity is flawless. Much of her

advocacy is to maintain the status quo. She describes the characteristics that make

---

[204] While Atlantic Station and Avalon are commercially successful, not all developers have been able to cash out from the premium price of retail leasing space. The high price has yielded a high turnover rate at MUDs, including Atlanta's Emory Point. That development currently has fourteen vacant spaces out of the 35 available. Their lone grocery store—a staple for a vibrant, sufficient community—closed March 2018, and their latest two closures, Francesca's and Marlow's Tavern, occurred just a day before this footnote was written (March 31, 2019).

[205] David Walters, *Designing Community: Charrettes, Masterplans, and Form-Based Codes* (Oxford: Elsevier, 2007), 144.

[206] Walters, 144.

existing vibrant neighborhoods successful, but with "Aged Buildings" as a core determinant to diversity, she offers no advice on how to create new spaces that share these qualities. Obviously, every building has to be new at one point; the aged buildings she praises once were new. While preservation is important, especially in upholding and projecting a district's sense of place, growth and progress are not possible with stagnant real estate. The solution can't be to just stop building. New technology and architectural innovation have to be recognized through new structures and as neighborhood communities grow, so must the built environment. Frequently investment in a neighborhood is automatically associated with negative gentrification, but the truth is that neighborhoods can (and should) continue to build and grow, and that growth can be good when policies are put in place to ensure aesthetic and economic diversity. Jacobs' neighborhood analysis is also tied to a very particular setting—there is no city in America as dense as Manhattan—and because of such, her advice is not appropriate to be exactly replicated in a city like Atlanta that has a completely different evolution and fabric.

Ironically DPZ writes that "unlike the traditional neighborhood model, which evolved organically as a response to human needs, suburban sprawl is an idealized artificial system."[207] Yet the developments that are products of their New Urbanist movement are just that—idealized and artificial built in a short period of time, lacking the "organic-ness" that DPZ praises. A limitation to the movement is its overemphasis that design yields a sense of place. And ironically, many of the buildings at both Atlantic

---

[207] Duany, Plater-Zyberk, and Speck, *Suburban Nation: The Rise of Sprawl and the Decline of the American Dream*, 4.

Station and Avalon, like Building 7000 at Avalon, are so generic and placeless that they can fit on a street corner in numerous neighborhoods and cities.

Despite the artificiality, I am much more tolerant of brownfield redevelopment sites than greenfield. It is hard to be against the effort to put wasteland, especially in the core, back into productive use. But in creating 'urbanburbs' like Avalon on greenfield sites, it is impossible to look at an 'urbanburb' in a closed system. While the site itself contains urban components, it is still part of the suburb of Avalon in the larger context of metro Atlanta and is contributing to the same issues of sprawl that fueled the creation of the New Urbanism to begin with.

Aside from brownfield and greenfield, there is a third site type, *greyfield*, that is recently emerging and can serve as a key player in creating better neighborhoods in the future. The term, coined by CNU in 2001 refers to sites that previously were light urban uses, "often derelict shopping centers and strip commercial sites surrounded by seas of asphalt."[208] Researchers Michael Gamble and Jude LeBlanc write that there is "very little architectural discourse on how to systematically refashion greyfields."[209] Yet as the presence of greyfields increase in America through the changing retail landscape, largely affected by ecommerce, it is almost better that there is no formula for greyfield redevelopment. We have seen how New Urbanism's guidelines have become prescriptive for brownfield and greenfield sites across the country, and the repeated implementations of suggestions on how to create imageability or a sense of place with these developments are the ironic cause of their placelessness. Though all sites are

---

[208] Julie Kim, "Review: Incremental Urbanism - The Auto and Pedestrian Reconsidered in Greyfield Reclamation, Atlanta, Georgia," *Places* 16, no. 3 (2004): 18.
[209] Michael E. Gamble and Jude LeBlanc, "Incremental Urbanism: New Models for the Redesign of America's Commercial Strips," *Harvard Design Magazine*, no. 21 (Fall 2004): 53.

different, greyfields, which typically will have smaller lot sizes than their brown and green counterparts, are already within an urban fabric (albeit not always a dense or vibrant one) and development should utilize the opportunity to contribute to or enhance the existing sense of place and better connect the area to the existing urban fabric.

Measuring the success of MUDs can vary greatly depending on the criteria for success and who the intended audience for success is. No matter who's measuring, a consensus can be made that high foot traffic at the development is a positive. But as seen through their motivation of having expensive residential units and luxury-oriented and chain stores at Avalon, developer's view of success is likely to be profit-oriented. This view doesn't always align with a community's view of success, which may be dependent on a positive impact to the community that a MUD is erected in. Communities might, and should, be more critical of *who* makes up the foot traffic—are the residents of the community benefiting? Factors that might determine success in a community development perspective include whether new housing is offered at a comparable price that already exist in the neighborhood, whether the development brings new or needed amenities to the neighborhood and its residents, if it successfully integrates physically with the neighborhood fabric, if it employees people living nearby, and if it allows small/local businesses to thrive there. A development's site type and history are another factor determining success. New Urbanist planners should be skeptical of calling developments like Avalon—or Liberty Center, a greenfield development in a suburb north of Cincinnati, OH that has an uncanny resemblance to Avalon **(Figure 43)**—a success due to their suburban, car-oriented location and layout that does not contribute to the mitigation of sprawl and is not well-connected to transit, even if the development itself is walkable. On the contrary, viewing Atlantic Station

through the lens of revitalizing a vacant, contaminated brownfield is a reason in itself for the project to be deemed successful, especially in the eyes of public officials. Had the same project been built on undeveloped land, its evaluation might look quite different.

But if the mixed-use developments that were critiqued in this thesis are not the solution, what is? Specific policies and tools need to be implemented to prevent developments from being a guised shopping mall or strip center and ensure that future development better reflects the smart, thoughtful principles of New Urbanism and are assets to the communities in which they are a part of. Many of these projects, especially larger ones, are made possible by public incentives, such as tax subsidies or abatements. If these incentives are to continue, developers need to be held more accountable for benefits they may be promising, such as strengthening the sense of place or community of a neighborhood, and any promises of jobs and affordable housing. If developers fall short of their promises, any public incentives or subsidies should reflect such. Many of these subsidies are billed as 'public-private partnerships' (PPPs). PPPs can be a wonderful tool for development, as they provide more public input and scrutiny, which in theory can produce a better product. But to be truly effective, municipalities or counties should move beyond the role of purely financer and be a true co-developer, having more say in the design, vision, and execution of projects to improve their potential. Similarly, the citizens of the communities should have the opportunity to provide input in the vision of new developments, especially if the project is publicly subsidized. This can be realized through various scales, from small forms of engagement at public meetings asking what the public is interested in having, to partnering with citizen-led neighborhood councils or planning units (NPUs), to binding community benefits agreements (CBAs) between the developer, city, neighborhood council, and

other entities that may be impacted by the development. In CBAs, developers can agree to incorporate a specific number or percentage of units that are considered 'affordable' and having a minimum number of local, minority, and/or women-owned businesses.

Co-Developing through PPPs can also remove the ambiguity between 'public' and 'private' spaces that many MUDs cause. While this might sound contradictory, MUDs like both Atlantic Station and Avalon have private security patrol their property and operate 'public' spaces that are actually private and the city has willingly forfeited civic events, such as the Christmas Tree lighting and Atlanta United Watch Party in Atlantic Station's case, to occur on private land. This is problematic on many levels; it relocates civic events from public spaces, decreasing the usage and status of true public spaces as well as adding the risk of the private owner legally controlling certain who can attend the event. A PPP, where a public entity owns and managing infrastructure and services typically viewed as 'public', including roads, sidewalks, parks, and policing/security, will better integrate the development with its surrounding and ensure that its amenities are for the community.

A more comprehensive solution is to many problems sole-developer MUDs face is incremental development, where areas for redevelopment are subdivided into smaller plots and developed by multiple developers over a longer period of time, This method would address many of the criticisms of this thesis. Artificiality, for example, stems from over-planning, uniformity from a singular developer and/or architect and contrived neotraditionalism. Smaller plot size and different developers would enable a diversity in form and would prevent block-long buildings that require "breaking up" from being built. It would also address the limited diversity, the result of expensive new-construction spaces and singular control of leasing. The presence of multiple developers

would enable buildings and spaces to be conceptualized and constructed differently and offer a wider range of price points.

 If combined with looser zoning codes that still uphold New Urbanist principles, including a pedestrian shed, a sense of place will be able to exist—yet developed organically—and neighborhoods can be built to better reflect the ideals of Jane Jacobs. Unfortunately, projects with smaller lot sizes, less control over a site, and longer timelines, are not as attractive projects for developers, especially large ones, such as NAP. But, as such, incremental neighborhood development could unlock opportunities for smaller, local developers that—like local tenants—would be more connected and invested in the success of the larger community. In the wise words of Jacobs, "cities have the capacity of providing something for everyone, only because, and only when, they are created by everybody."[210]

---

[210] Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, 238.

Appendix A: Retail Directory of Atlantic Station

Store Name	Category	Sub Category	Retail Type	Number of Stores in Region	Also at Lenox Square (LS) or Avalon (AV)?
BB&T Bank	Banking		National	10+	
Wells Fargo	Banking		National	10+	
Regal Cinemas 18	Entertainment	Movie Theater	National	3	
Bodies the Exhibit	Entertainment	Museum Exhibit	National	1	AV
LA Fitness	Fitness/Wellness	Health & Beauty	National	9	
LUSH Nail Bar	Fitness/Wellness	Health & Beauty	Independent	1	
Tony's Barber Studio	Fitness/Wellness	Health & Beauty	Independent	1	
19th Street Dental	Medical		Independent	1	
Atlanta Dermatology & Aesthetics	Medical		Independent	1	
Gyn Care	Medical		Local Chain	2	
Piedmont Physicians Grouo	Medical		Local Chain	10+	
Vein Clinics of America	Medical		National	2	
Rising Roll	Restauraunt	Café	Regional	9	
BGR The Burger Joint	Restauraunt	Casual	National	1	
Paris Bistro	Restauraunt	Casual	Independent	1	
Pho 24	Restauraunt	Casual	Local Chain	6	
Land of a Thousand Hills	Restauraunt	Coffee Shop	Regional	5	
Starbucks	Restauraunt	Coffee Shop	National	10+	LS, AV
Great American Cookie	Restauraunt	Desserts	National	9	LS
Kilwins	Restauraunt	Desserts	National	2	
California Pizza Kitchen	Restauraunt	Fast Casual	National	3	LS
Chick-a-Biddy	Restauraunt	Fast Casual	Independent	1	
NaanStop	Restauraunt	Fast Casual	Local Chain	3	
Poke Bar	Restauraunt	Fast Casual	National	10+	
Salata	Restauraunt	Fast Casual	National	4	
Which Wich	Restauraunt	Fast Casual	National	7	
Subway	Restauraunt	Fast Food	National	10+	
Meehan's Public House	Restauraunt	Irish Pub	Local Chain	4	
Gyu-Kaku	Restauraunt	Japanese BBQ	National	1	
Allora	Restauraunt	Modern Italian	Independent	1	
Pig & Pearl	Restauraunt	Smokehouse	Independent	1	
Atlantic Grill	Restauraunt	Sports Bar/Grill	Independent	1	
Yard House	Restauraunt	Sports Bar/Grill	National	2	
Eye Gallery	Retail	Accessories/Jewelrey	National	3	
Pandora	Retail	Accessories/Jewelrey	National	5	LS
Athleta	Retail	Apparel/Shoes	National	2	LS, AV
Banana Republic	Retail	Apparel/Shoes	National	7	LS, AV
DSW Shoe Warehouse	Retail	Apparel/Shoes	National	5	
Express	Retail	Apparel/Shoes	National	3	LS
Fab'rik	Retail	Apparel/Shoes	National	10+	
Forever 21	Retail	Apparel/Shoes	National	3	LS
Francesca's	Retail	Apparel/Shoes	National	4	
GAP	Retail	Apparel/Shoes	National	6	LS, AV
H&M	Retail	Apparel/Shoes	National	3	
Jos. A. Bank	Retail	Apparel/Shoes	National	5	
Journeys	Retail	Apparel/Shoes	National	4	
LOFT	Retail	Apparel/Shoes	National	4	LS
Old Navy	Retail	Apparel/Shoes	National	5	
PINK	Retail	Apparel/Shoes	National	6	
Tervis	Retail	Apparel/Shoes	National	2	
The Athlete's Foot	Retail	Apparel/Shoes	National	6	
Victoria's Secret	Retail	Apparel/Shoes	National	6	LS
Dillard's	Retail	Department Store	National	3	
Target	Retail	Department Store	National	9	
AT&T	Retail	Electronics	National	10+	LS
Cellairis	Retail	Electronics	National	5	LS
Fuji Florist	Retail	Florist	Independent	1	
Publix	Retail	Groceries	National	10+	
Bath and Body Works	Retail	Health & Beauty	National	3	LS
Dermalogica	Retail	Health & Beauty	National	1	
Z-Gallerie	Retail	Home Décor	National	2	
Atlanta Falcons/United Team Store	Retail	Specialty	Local Outpost	2	
IT'SUGAR	Retail	Specialty	National	1	
Bright Horizons Daycare	Services	Childcare	National	3	
Liz Cleaners	Services	Dry Cleaning	Independent	1	

A.1 Atlantic Station Store Directory

Categorical Breakdown	Count	Percentage	Tenant Size Breakdown	Count	Percentage (rounded)
Banking	2		Independent (Company's only store)	11	17%
Entertainment	2		Local Chain (Company has multiple stores, all in metro Atlanta)	6	9%
Fitness/Wellness	3		Regional Chain (Company has stores in a few states other than Georgia)	2	3%
Medical	5		National Chain (Company has a significant prensence across the country)	47	71%
Resturaunts	21				
Retail	30	**100%**			
Accessories/Jewelrey	2	7%			
Apparel/Shoes	17	57%			
Department Store	2	7%			
Electrionic	2	7%			
Florist	1	3%			
Groceries	1	3%			
Health and Beauty	2	7%			
Home Décor	1	3%			
Specialty	2	7%			
Services	2				
Total	65				

A.2 Atlantic Station Categorical Summaries

Appendix B—Retail Directory of Avalon

Store Name	Category	Sub Category	Retail Type	Number of Stores in Region	Also at Lenox Square (LS) or Atlantic Station (AS)?
PNC Bank	Banking		National	10+	
Regal Cinemas	Entertainment	Movie Theater	National	3	AS
Club Pilates	Fitness/Wellness	Fitness	National	10+	
Flywheel Sports	Fitness/Wellness	Fitness	Local Chain	3	
Boardroom Salon for Men	Fitness/Wellness	Health & Beauty	Regional Chain	2	
Dry Bar	Fitness/Wellness	Health & Beauty	National	2	
Parisian Nail Salon	Fitness/Wellness	Health & Beauty	Local Chain	3	
Van Michael Salon	Fitness/Wellness	Health & Beauty	Local Chain	8	
AYA Medical Spa	Fitness/Wellness	Spa	Local Chain	3	
The Woodhouse Day Spa	Fitness/Wellness	Spa	National	2	
Antico Napoletana Pizza	Resturaunt	Pizza/Causal	Local Chain	3	
Barleygarden Kitchen & Craft Beer	Resturaunt	Casual/Bar	Independent	1	
Bocado Burger	Resturaunt	Casual/Bar	Local Chain	2	
Branch & Barrel	Resturaunt	Casual/Bar	Independent	1	
Brine Modern Seafood Shack	Resturaunt	Seafood	Independent	1	
Café Intermezzo	Resturaunt	Café	Local Chain	3	
Caffè Antico	Resturaunt	Dessert	Local Chain	3	
Chick-fil-A	Resturaunt	Fast Food	National	10+	LS
Colletta Italian Food and Wine	Resturaunt	Italian	Independent	1	
Crú Food & Wine Bar	Resturaunt	Casual/Bar	Regional Chain	2	
District III	Resturaunt	Vietnamese	Independent	1	
Farm to Ladle	Resturaunt	Café	Local Chain	2	
Goldberg's Fine Foods	Resturaunt	Deli	Local Chain	7	
Jeni's Ice Cream	Resturaunt	Dessert	National	4	
Kona Grill	Resturaunt	Casual/Bar/Sushi	National	1	
Kremo Ice Cream	Resturaunt	Dessert	Local Chain	2	
Marlow's Tavern	Resturaunt	Casual/Bar	Regional Chain	10+	
MF Bar	Resturaunt	Sushi	Independent	1	
Oak Steakhouse	Resturaunt	Steakhouse	Regional Chain	1	
Rumi's Kitchen	Resturaunt	Persian	Local Chain	2	
South City Kitchen	Resturaunt	Southern	Local Chain	4	
Starbucks	Resturaunt	Coffeeshop	National	10+	LS, AS
Ted's Montana Grill	Resturaunt	Bar/Grill	National	10+	
The El Felix	Resturaunt	Tex-Mex	Local Chain	2	
True Food Kitchen	Resturaunt	Casual	National	2	
Kendra Scott	Retail	Accessories/Jewelrey	National	3	
LensCrafters	Retail	Accessories/Jewelrey	National	10+	LS
Sunglass Hut	Retail	Accessories/Jewelrey	National	10+	
Tumi	Retail	Accessories/Jewelrey	National	4	LS
American Threads	Retail	Apparel/Shoes	National	3	
Anthropologie	Retail	Apparel/Shoes	National	4	LS
Athleta	Retail	Apparel/Shoes	National	3	LS, AS
Banana Republic	Retail	Apparel/Shoes	National	7	LS, AS
Bonobos	Retail	Apparel/Shoes	National	2	
Boogaloos	Retail	Apparel/Shoes	Local Chain	3	
Brooks Brothers	Retail	Apparel/Shoes	National	3	LS
Columbia PFG	Retail	Apparel/Shoes	National	1	
Everything But Water	Retail	Apparel/Shoes	National	3	
Fab'rik	Retail	Apparel/Shoes	National	10+	
Francesca's	Retail	Apparel/Shoes	National	4	
Free People	Retail	Apparel/Shoes	National	3	LS
GAP	Retail	Apparel/Shoes	National	6	LS, AS
Gymboree	Retail	Apparel/Shoes	National	5	
Hammer Made	Retail	Apparel/Shoes	National	2	
J. Crew	Retail	Apparel/Shoes	National	4	LS
J. Jill	Retail	Apparel/Shoes	National	5	
J. McLaughlin	Retail	Apparel/Shoes	National	3	
Janie and Jack	Retail	Apparel/Shoes	National	2	
Johnny Was	Retail	Apparel/Shoes	National	2	
Kinnucan's Specialty Outfitters	Retail	Apparel/Shoes	Regional Chain	2	
Levi's	Retail	Apparel/Shoes	National	1	
Lou & Grey	Retail	Apparel/Shoes	National	1	
Lucky Brand	Retail	Apparel/Shoes	National	3	
Lululemon	Retail	Apparel/Shoes	National	6	
Madewell	Retail	Apparel/Shoes	National	4	
Marine Layer	Retail	Apparel/Shoes	National	2	
Marmi	Retail	Apparel/Shoes	Regional Chain	2	
Orvis	Retail	Apparel/Shoes	National	2	
Peter Millar	Retail	Apparel/Shoes	National	1	

Cont.

Sage Clothing Company	Retail	Apparel/Shoes	Independent	1	
Scout & Molly's Boutique	Retail	Apparel/Shoes	National	1	
Soft Surroundings	Retail	Apparel/Shoes	National	3	
South Moon Under	Retail	Apparel/Shoes	National	3	
Sundance	Retail	Apparel/Shoes	National	1	
Tommy Bahama	Retail	Apparel/Shoes	National	2	
Urban Outfitters	Retail	Apparel/Shoes	National	4	LS
Vineyard Vines	Retail	Apparel/Shoes	National	2	LS
Apple	Retail	Electronics	National	4	LS
Whole Foods Market	Retail	Grocery	National	9	
L'Occitane	Retail	Health & Beauty	National	3	LS
The Cosmetic Market	Retail	Health & Beauty	Regional Chain	1	
Arhaus	Retail	Home Décor	National	2	
Crate & Barrel	Retail	Home Décor	National	2	
Mitchell Gold + Bob Williams	Retail	Home Décor	National	2	
Pottery Barn	Retail	Home Décor	National	4	LS
Pottery Barn Kids	Retail	Home Décor	National	2	LS
The Container Store	Retail	Home Décor	National	3	
West Elm	Retail	Home Décor	National	3	
Williams-Sonoma	Retail	Home Décor	National	5	LS
Fuzzwig's Candy Factory	Retail	Specialty	National	2	
Paper Source	Retail	Specialty	National	3	
Posman Books	Retail	Specialty	Regional Chain	2	
Tesla	Retail	Specialty	National	5	LS

B.1 Avalon Store Directory

Categorical Breakdown	Count	Percentage	Tenant Size Breakdown	Count	Percentage (rounded)
Banking	1		Independent (Company's only store)	7	8%
Entertainment	1		Local Chain (Company has multiple stores, all in metro Atlanta)	15	16%
Fitness/Wellness	8		Regional Chain (Company has stores in a few states other than Georgia)	8	9%
Resturaunts	25		National Chain (Company has a significant presence across the country)	63	68%
Retail	58	100%	Total	93	
Accessories/Jewelrey	4	7%			
Apparel/Shoes	38	66%			
Electrionic	1	2%			
Groceries	1	2%			
Health and Beauty	2	3%			
Home Décor	8	14%			
Specialty	4	7%			
Total	93				

B.2 Avalon Categorical Summaries

Appendix C: Atlantic Station and Avalon Retail Comparison Charts

Atlantic Station Retail Type Breakdown

Banking · Entertainment · Fitness/Wellness · Medical · Restauraunt · Retail · Services

C.1 Visual breakdown of retail tenant categories at Atlantic Station

Avalon Retail Type Breakdown

Movie Theater 1
Fitness 2
Spa 2
Health & Beauty 4
Bar/Grill 1
Casual 1
Casual/Bar/Sushi 1
Coffeeshop 1
Deli 1
Fast Food 1
Italian 1
Persian 1
Pizza/Causal 1
Seafood 1
Southern 1
Steakhouse 1
Sushi 1
Tex-Mex 1
Vietnamese 1
Café 2
Dessert 3
Casual/Bar 5
Electronics 1
Grocery 1
Health & Beauty 2
Accessories/Jewelrey 4
Specialty 4
Home Décor 8
Apparel/Shoes 38
Banking 1
Fitness/Wellness
Resturaunt
Retail

■ Banking ■ Entertainment ■ Fitness/Wellness ■ Resturaunt ■ Retail

C.2 Visual breakdown of retail tenant categories at Avalon
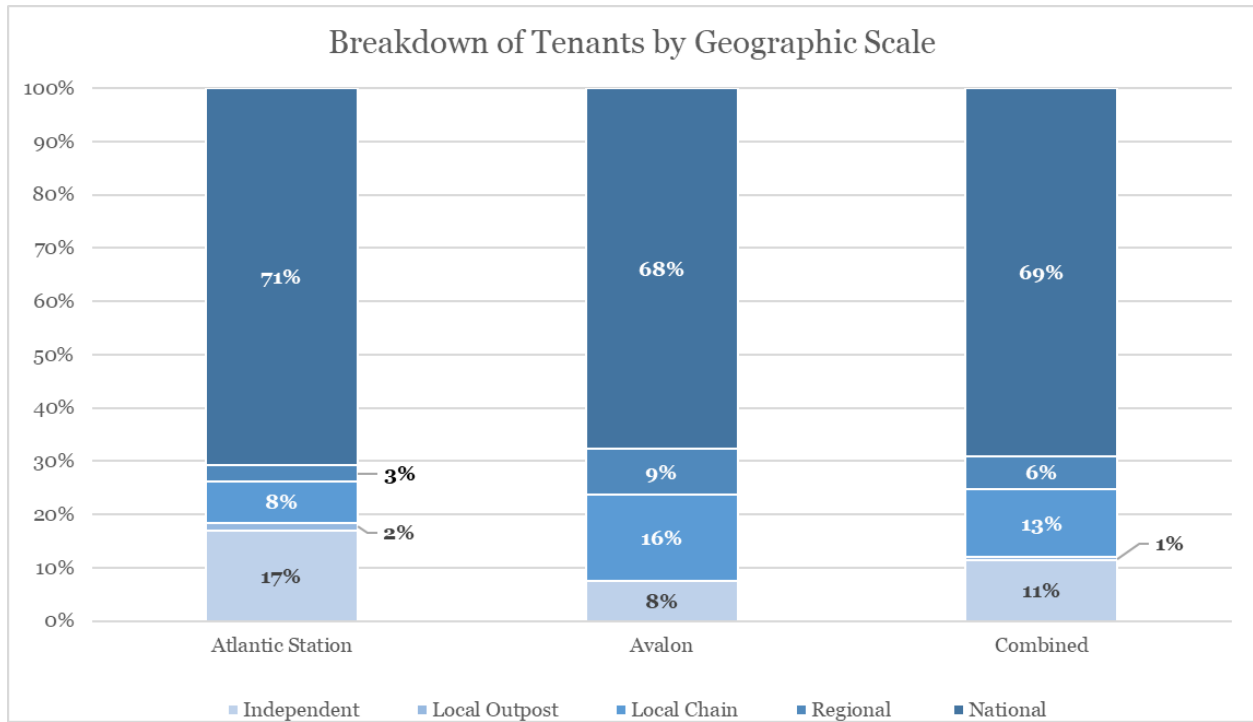
C.3 Distribution of tenants by retailers' geographic presence.
- **Independent**—Company's only location
- **Local Outpost**—Satellite retail location (Atlanta Falcons & United Team Shop)
- **Local Chain**—Company has multiple locations, all in metro Atlanta
- **Regional Chain**—Company has locations in a few states other than Georgia
- **National Chain**—Company has a presence across a significant part of the country
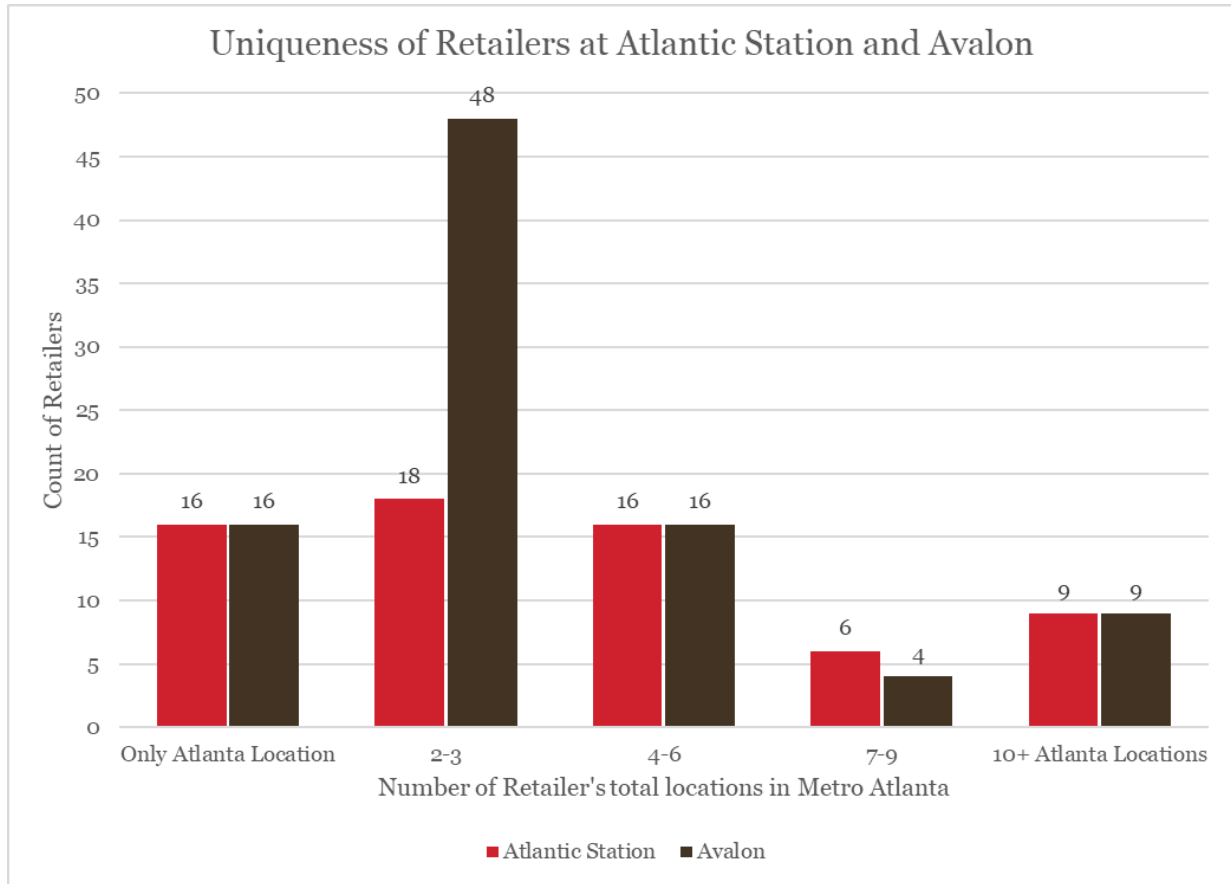
C.4 Presence of Atlantic Station and Avalon retailers in the Atlanta region.

Figures

Figure 1. A stairwell to the parking garage at Atlantic Station. These numbered stairwells are designed to replicate a subway station's entrance.
Source: Matthew Heldman, 2018.

Figure 2. Greenwich Village, New York. An example of a vibrant, organic neighborhood.
Source: W, Collin. Greenwich Village, New York City, outside 112 MacDougal Street Wikimedia Commons, 2007. This file is licensed under the
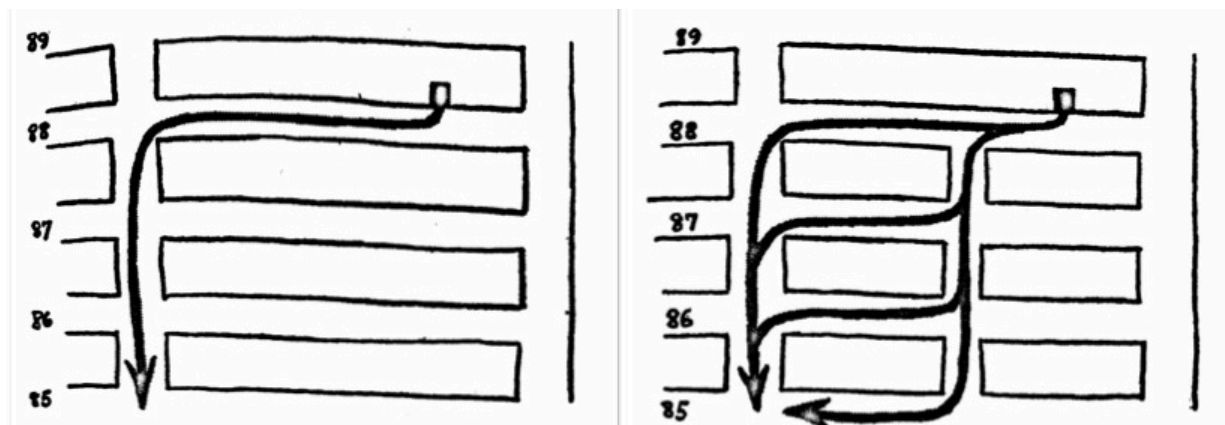
Figure 3. The difference of the connectivity between streets within a neighborhood, comparing long blocks (left) and short blocks (right). A user has four times as many options to get from point A to B on the right image than left.
Source: Jacobs, Jane. *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, 1961 (p. 179-181).

Figure 4. An example of a terminus. The Capitol functions as one for users along Pennsylvania Avenue.
Source: Smuconlaw. Pennsylvania Avenue NW seen from the Newseum, Washington, DC, USA - 20130922.jpg. Wikimedia Commons, 2013. This file is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 4.0 International license.

Figure 5. A 3-D rendering of the path-node-landmark relationship in Paris, France. The path, the Champs Élysées, converges at the Place Charles de Gaulle node, with the Arc de Triomphe landmark as a centerpiece.
Source: Google Earth, 2019.

Figure 6. Aerial View of Levittown, NY (undated). Easily seen are the endless curved and zig-zag streets and identical houses.
Source: Mark Mathosian. Levittown, Long Island, NY. Flickr, 2005. Attribution-Non-Commercial-ShareAlike 2.0 Generic (CC BY-NC-SA 2.0).

Figure 7. A specialized crew poses for a photo while installing cabinets and appliances for a Cape Cod house in Levittown, NY. Many parts, such as cabinets, staircases, and fences were pre-fabricated and assembled on site.
Source: Getty Images, 1948.
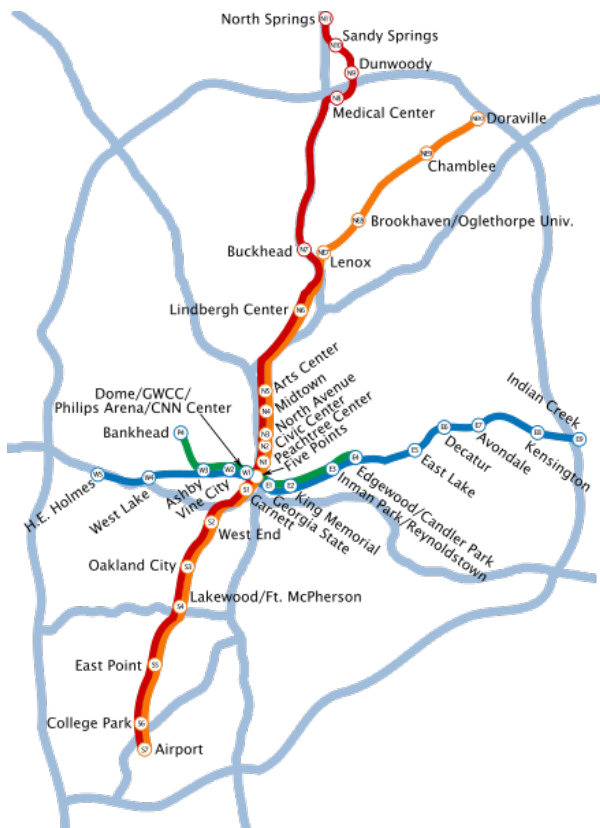
Figure 8. A Map of MARTA rail lines and stations. The plus-shaped network closely aligns with Atlanta's major highways.
Source: Pedriana. MARTA Rail Map. Wikimedia Commons, 2007. Public Domain.

Figure 9. An aerial view of Atlantic Station
Source: Google Maps, 2018, annotated by Matthew Heldman.

Figure 10. The commercial district of Atlantic Station, built on top of a 7,000-space, multistory parking deck.
Source: Carter USA, 2016.
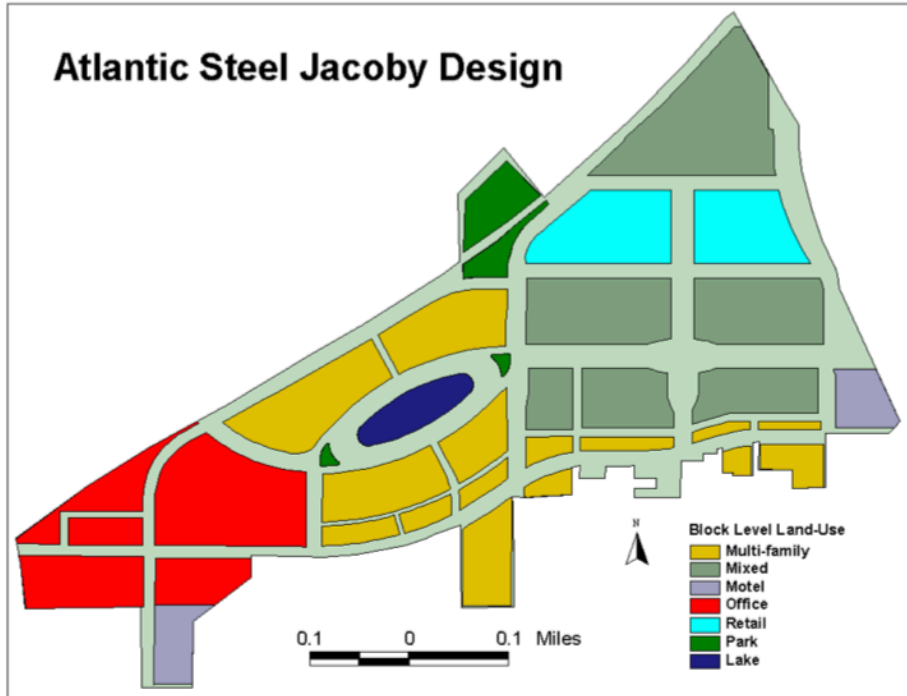
Figure 11. Jacoby Group's original zoning plan of Atlantic Station submitted to the EPA.
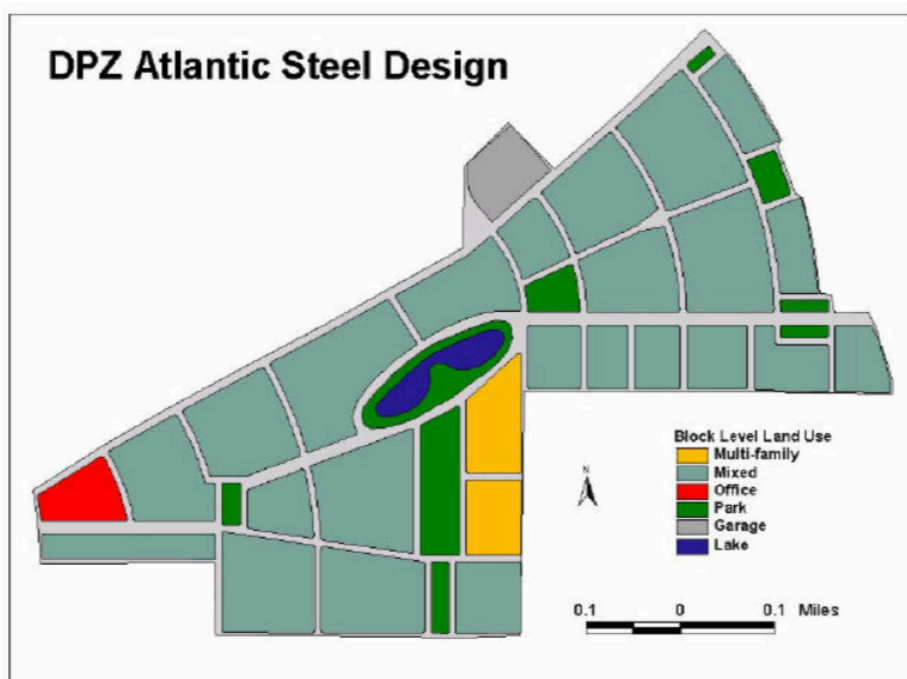Source: United States Environmental Protection Agency, 1999.

Figure 12. Duany Plater-Zybrek's suggested zoning plan of Atlantic Station. The EPA hired DPZ to provide recommendations to enhance the efficiency and marketability of Atlantic Station
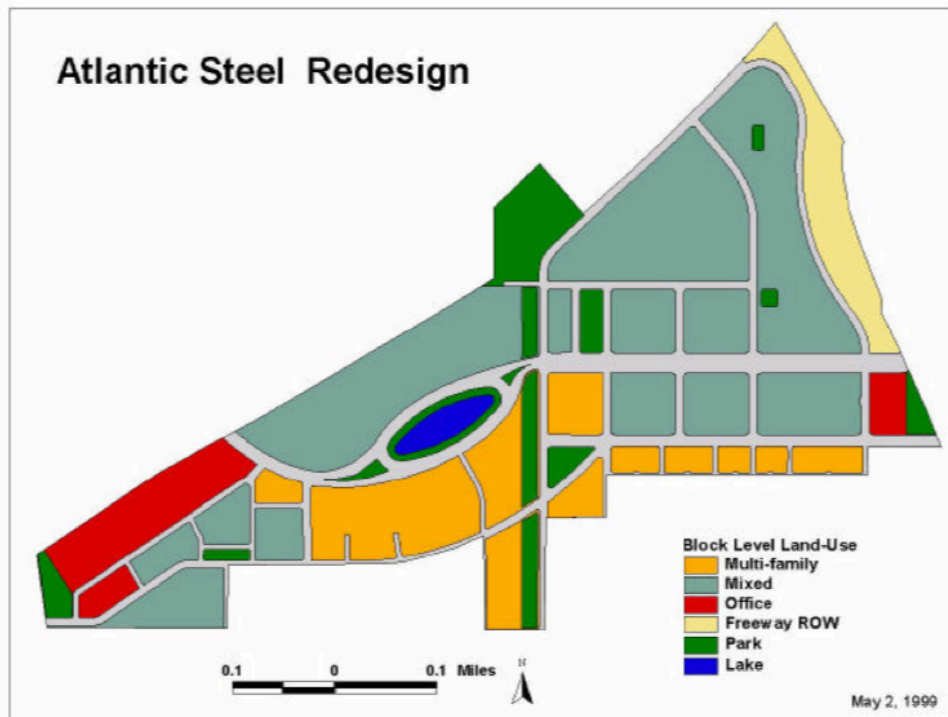Source: United States Environmental Protection Agency, 1999.

Figure 13. Jacoby Group's redesign after taking DPZ's and the EPA's feedback into consideration.
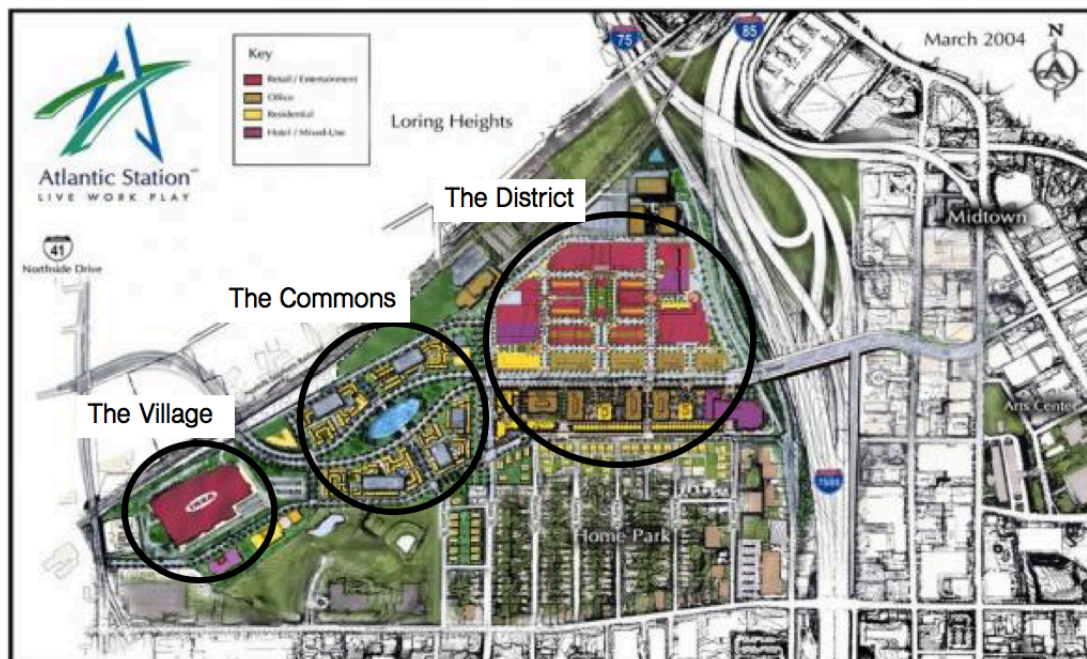Source: United States Environmental Protection Agency, 1999.

Figure 14. Atlantic Station Masterplan (2004), annotated to show the three neighborhoods.
Source: Jacoby Group, 2004, annotated by Matthew Heldman.

Figure 15. Neo traditional facades adorn the buildings of Atlantic Station's retail district.
Source: Matthew Heldman, 2018.

This image was removed for copyright reasons.

Figure 16. The Regal Cinemas at Atlantic Station, designed with Art-Deco elements, acts as both a landmark and visual terminus situated at the north end of Central Park.

Figure 17: Main Street USA, Walt Disney World, Orlando, Florida
Source: ולאד, Main Street USA.jpg, Wikimedia Commons, 2016. This file is licensed under the [Creative Commons](#) [Attribution 4.0 International](#) license.

Figure 18. A rubber and metal expansion joint runs along the sidewalk and lines the edge of buildings in the retail district.
Source: Matthew Heldman, 2018.

Figure 19. A larger expansion joint, crossing Atlantic Drive, spans across the road and adjacent sidewalks.
Source: Matthew Heldman, 2018.

Figure 20. A mixed-use building in the retail district of Atlantic Station. A boxy, concrete section sits out of place on the upper two stories of the building. Three additional, nearly-identical buildings line Central Park with this one.
Source: Matthew Heldman, 2018.

Figure 21. A glass office tower sits on the edge of the retail district at 17th and Market Streets. The height of it, along with adjacent office towers, act as visual termini for users of the retail district.
Source: Matthew Heldman, 2018.

Figure 22. Seventeen West apartment complex. The façade has a combination of neotraditional and postmodern/contemporary architectural elements, producing a cartoonish appearance. The white circles adorning the cornices make the structures pay homage to traditional clock or bell towers, yet these decorations do not show time.
Source: Matthew Heldman, 2018.

Figure 23. The Element Apartments. This complex, which sits directly across the park from Seventeen West has two-dimensional traditional ornamentation that also give off a cartoony aesthetic.
Source: Matthew Heldman, 2018.

Figure 24. The Millennium Gate arch.
Source: Matthew Heldman, 2018.

Figure 25. An aerial view of Avalon.
Source: Apple Maps, 2018.

Figure 26. The Grove, a mixed-use development in Los Angeles completed in 2002, served as inspiration for Avalon.
Source: Prayitno, Flickr, 2009. Attribution 2.0 Generic (CC by 2.0).

Figure 27. Santana Row in San Jose, CA was another MUD that inspired the design of Avalon.
Source: Cristiano Tomás, Santana Row (534642844).jpg. Wikimedia Commons, 2004. This file is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 2.0 Generic license.

Figure 28. A zoning site plan of Avalon.
Source: Urban Land Institute, 2016.

Figure 29. Building 7000, a mixed-use building with street-level retail and apartments above, built as part of Phase 2 of Avalon.
Source: Matthew Heldman, 2019.

Figure 30. Building 6000, A mixed-use building with street-level retail and offices above, built as part of Phase 1 of Avalon.
Source: Matthew Heldman, 2019.

Figure 31. Building 8000, an office tower at Avalon that has street-level retail.
Source: Matthew Heldman, 2019.

Figure 32. A standalone Chick-fil-A on the edge of the Avalon property, off of Old Milton Pkwy. The structure, which does not look like a typical Chick-fil-A, was constructed to mimic a repurposed industrial warehouse with brick and large, arched glass windows—a trendy aesthetic associated with millennial's movement back to urban areas. A closer look will show expansion joins running vertically aligned with the left edge of each window.
Source: Matthew Heldman, 2019.

Figure 33. Building 2000, which was designed with neotraditional elements and sectioned to five the appearance of multiple tenement-style buildings.
Source: Matthew Heldman, 2019.

Figure 34. The customized storefronts of each retail tenant provide a varying streetscape.
Source: Matthew Heldman, 2019.

Figure 35. Comfortable seating, mature trees, and a firepit adorn the Living Room in the middle of the Phase 2 portion of Avalon Boulevard.
Source: Matthew Heldman, 2019.

Figure 36. A café situated within the Phase 1 Living Room.
Source: Matthew Heldman, 2019.

Figure 37. The living rooms produce a pedestrian environment quite similar to the famous La Rambla in Barcelona, Spain.
Source: Stefano Mortellaro, La rambla.jpg. Wikipedia, 2005. This file is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution 2.0 Generic license.

Figure 38. The intersection of Avalon Boulevard and 2nd Avenue. The chamfered corners of buildings on each corner of the intersection provides a visual cue to produce a node at the center of the Boulevard.
Source: Matthew Heldman, 2019.

Figure 39. A standing table sits along Avalon Boulevard. This infrastructure supports the development's open container policy.
Source: Matthew Heldman, 2019.

Figure 40. The fountain at the north end of the Plaza.
Source: Matthew Heldman, 2019.

Figure 42. The Regal Cinemas at the north end of the Plaza, which serves as a landmark and visual terminus. The architecture resembles the Regal at Atlantic Station. Source: Matthew Heldman, 2019.

Figure 42. A bronze figurine reads a newspaper that is inscribed with quotes and statistics celebrating Avalon. Source: Matthew Heldman, 2019.
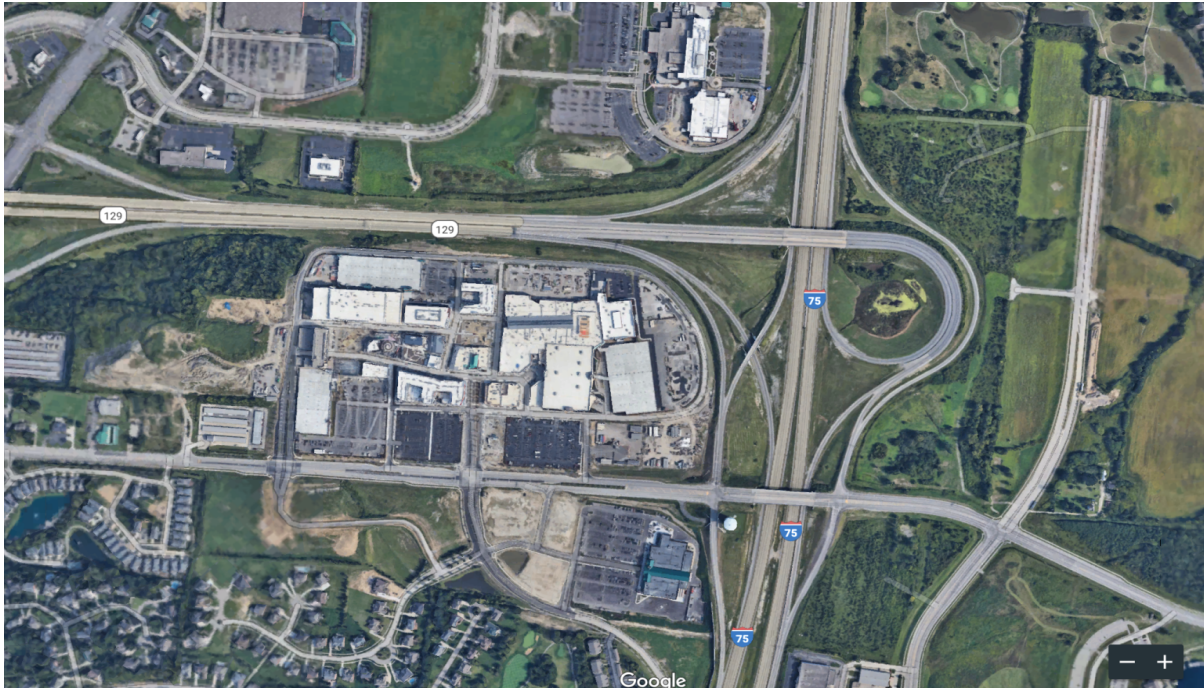
Figure 43. Noting the similarities between greenfield developments Liberty Center in West Chester, OH (top) and Avalon (bottom). The two share a similar shape and size, have the same orientation to a freeway to their east and suburban collector roads to their north and south, and have large surface parking lots along their entrance. Source (both images): Apple Maps, 2019

Bibliography

"26,000 Ft–8,666 Yards–Nearly 5 Miles of EMSEAL Expansion Joint Knit Together Atlantic
     Station–Atlanta's Mega, Mixed-Use Success Story." EMSEAL Expansion Joints and
     Precompressed Sealants, April 4, 2017. https://www.emseal.com/project/expansion-
     joints-atlantic-station/.

Adhya, Anirban. "Jane Jacobs and the Theory of Placemaking in Debates of Sustainable
     Urbanism." In *The Urban Wisdom of Jane Jacobs*, edited by Sonia Hirt and Diane Zahm.
     New York, NY: Routledge, 2012.

"American Fact Finder." US Census Bureau, 2019.
     https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?src=bkmk.

Arvidson, Adam. "Arc de Sunbelt: On a Former Brownfield, Millennium Gate Will Rise Near
     Downtown Atlanta." *Landscape Architecture* 95, no. 3 (2005): 20–22.

AtlanticStation.com. "Atlantics Station," 2018.

"Avalon," 2019. experienceavalon.com.

"Avalon Case Study." *Urban Land Institute*, ULI Case Studies, October 2016, 12.

"Avalon: The Timeless Art of Living Well." Brochure and Directory, Winter 2018.

Benfield, Kaid. "Meet Glenwood Park, Atlanta's Newest Showcase for Smart Growth and Green
     Design." Switchboard: Natural Resource Defense Council Staff Blog, 2009.

Burris, Jennifer. "The Urban Photogenie of Architainment." *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art
     Criticism* 69, no. 1 (2011): 93–103.

Caro, Robert A. *The Power Broker*. New York, NY: Knopf, 1974.

Chamberlain, Lisa. "Building a City within the City of Atlanta." *The New York Times*, May 24,
     2006. https://www.nytimes.com/2006/05/24/realestate/commercial/24atlanta.html.

Clarke, Paul Walker. "The Ideal of Community and Its Counterfeit Construction." *Journal of Architectural Education* 58, no. 3 (February 2005): 43–52.

Congress for the New Urbanism. "Charter of the New Urbanism," 2001. cnu.org.

DeLoach, Doug. "Project Still a Work in Progress in Many Phases." *Atlanta Business Chronicle*, February 19, 2007, sec. Atlantic Station Market Report.

Dewan, Shaila. "An Elaborate Arch, an Opaque Significance." *The New York Times*. Accessed February 20, 2019. https://www.nytimes.com/2009/04/30/us/30arch.html.

Duany, Andres, and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk. "Neighborhoods and Suburbs." *Design Quarterly* 164, no. Sprawl (Spring 1995): 10–23.

Duany, Andres, Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, and Jeff Speck. *Suburban Nation: The Rise of Sprawl and the Decline of the American Dream*. 2nd ed. New York, NY: North Point Press, 2000.

Durack, Ruth. "Village Vices: The Contradiction of New Urbanism and Sustainability." *Places*, November 2001.

EPA Urban and Economic Development Division (2127). "Project XL and Atlantic Steel Supporting Environmental Excellence and Smart Growth." Summary. United States Environmental Protection Agency, September 1999. https://nepis.epa.gov/Exe/ZyPDF.cgi?Dockey=P1009QPS.txt.

Florida, Richard. "Millennials Are Happiest in Cities." *CityLab*, June 29, 2018. https://www.citylab.com/life/2018/06/millennials-are-happiest-in-cities/563999/.

Futton, William. "The Garden Suburb and the New Urbanism." In *From Garden City to Green City*. Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002.

Gallagher, Leigh. *The End of the Suburbs: Where the American Dream Is Moving*. New York, NY: Penguin Books, 2013.

Gamble, Michael E., and Jude LeBlanc. "Incremental Urbanism: New Models for the Redesign of America's Commercial Strips." *Harvard Design Magazine*, no. 21 (Fall 2004): 51–58.

Garrett, Franklin M. *Atlanta and Environs: A Chronicle of Its People and Events 18800s-1930s*. Vol. II. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1969.

Gillette, Howard Jr. *Citivas by Design: Building Better Communities, from the Garden City to the New Urbanism*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010.

Glaeser, Edward L. *Triumph of the City: How Our Greatest Invention Makes Us Richer, Smarter, Greener, Healthier, and Happier*. New York, NY: Penguin Books, 2012.

Grant, Jill. *Planning the Good Community: New Urbanism in Theory and Practice*. New York, NY: Routledge, 2006.

Hanlon, Bernadette. *Once the American Dream: Inner-Ring Suburbs of the Metropolitan United States*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2010.

Harvey, David. "The New Urbanism and the Communitarian Trap: On Social Problems and the False Hope of Design." In *Sprawl and Suburbia*, edited by William S. Saunders, 21–26. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2005.

Hirt, Sonia. "Jane Jacobs, Urban Visionary." In *The Urban Wisdom of Jane Jacobs*, edited by Sonia Hirt and Diane Zahm. New York, NY: Routledge, 2012.

Hirt, Sonia. "Pre-Modern, Modern, Postmodern? Placing New Urbanism into a Historical Perspective." *Journal of Placemaking* 8, no. 3 (2009): 248–73.

"Incremental Urbanism: New Models for the Redesign of America's Commercial Strips," n.d.

Jackson, Kenneth T. *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985.

Jacobs, Jane. *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1961.

Jacoby Development. "Atlantic Station." Jacoby Development, Inc, 2017. http://jacobydevelopment.com/atlanticstation.html.

Johnson, Karin. "'Instagram Worthy' Entertainment District Coming to Deerfield Township." *WLWT Cincinnati*, March 13, 2018. https://www.wlwt.com/article/instagram-worthy-entertainment-district-coming-to-deerfield-township/19423362.

Kaplan, David H., Steven R. Holloway, and James O. Wheeler. *Urban Geography*. Third. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley, 2014.

Keenan, Sean. "Renderings: Atlantic Station's Central Park to Look Drastically Different Soon." *Curbed Atlanta*, October 31, 2018. https://atlanta.curbed.com/2018/10/31/18045670/renderings-atlantic-station-central-park-renovation-hobnob.

Kelly, Barbara M. *Expanding the American Dream: Building and Rebuilding Levittown*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1993.

Kim, Julie. "Review: Incremental Urbanism - The Auto and Pedestrian Reconsidered in Greyfield Reclamation, Atlanta, Georgia." *Places* 16, no. 3 (2004).

Levy, John. *Contemporary Urban Planning*. 9th ed. New York, NY: Prentice Hall, 2011.

Longstreth, Richard. "The Levitts, Mass-Produced Houses, and Community Planning." In *Second Suburb: Levittown, Pennsylvania*, edited by Dianne Harris. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2010.

Lynch, Kevin. *The Image of the City*. Massachusetts: The Joint Center for Urban Studies, 1960.

Marshall, Alex. "A Tale of Two Towns Tells a Lot About This Thing Called New Urbanism."

Built Environment 29, no. 3 (2003): 227–37.

Meyers, David. "Mixed Use in an Overretailed Landscape." *UrbanLand*, July 1, 2013.

Mumford, Lewis. *The City in History: Its Origins, Its Transformation, and Its Prospects*. New

York, NY: Harcourt, Inc., 1961.

Mumford, Lewis. *The Highway and the City*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World Inc., 1953.

Peterson, Hayley. "Whole Foods Price Comparison." Business Insider, June 16, 2016.

https://www.businessinsider.com/how-much-more-expensive-is-whole-foods-2016-6.

"Places: Avalon Redefines Mixed-Use." North American Properties, 2019.

https://www.naproperties.com/places/avalon/.

"Plan a Trip." MARTA, 2019. itsmarta.com.

Relph, Edward. *Place and Placelessness*. London: Pion Limited, 1976.

Sams, Doug. "Alpharetta's Prospect Park Gets a Name Change." *Atlanta Business Chronicle*,

October 17, 2011.

Sams, Doug. "Atlantic Station Will Become 'the Anti-Mall.'" *Atlanta Business Chronicle*,

February 11, 2011. https://www.bizjournals.com/atlanta/print-

edition/2011/02/11/atlantic-station-will-become-the.html.

Scherr, Richard. "Synthetic City: Excursions into the Real-Not Real." *Places* 18, no. 2 (Summer

2006): 6–15.

Sert, Josep Luís. "The Human Scale in City Planning." In *New Architecture and City Planning*,

edited by Paul Zucker. New York, NY: F. Hubner & Co., 1944.

Siegel, Charles. *The Humanists versus the Reactionary Avant Garde: Clashing Visions for Today's Architecture*. San Bernardino, CA: Omo Press, 2016.

Sniderman, Martin. "Avalon Stakes Claim as Successful 'Urbanburb.'" *Atlanta Business Chronicle*, September 11, 2015. https://www.bizjournals.com/atlanta/print-edition/2015/09/11/avalon-stakes-claim-as-successful-urbanburb.html.

Sniderman, Martin. "Developers Refine Live/Work/Play Concept." *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, November 11, 2016. https://www.bizjournals.com/atlanta/news/2016/11/11/developers-refine-live-work-play-concept.html.

"The Flats Homepage." The Flats Atlantic Station, 2019. https://www.theflatsatlanticstation.com.

"The Movement." Congress for the New Urbanism, 2019. cnu.org/who-we-are/themovement.

Van Dusen, Christin. "Atlantic Station Retailers to Open--Intown-Style Shopping District to Debut Oct. 20." *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, October 2, 2005.

Walters, David. *Designing Community: Charrettes, Masterplans, and Form-Based Codes*. Oxford: Elsevier, 2007.

Wenk, Amy. "Alpharetta's Avalon Project Snags First Tenant." *Atlanta Business Chronicle*, February 17, 2012.

Woods, Walter. "Piece of Paris Planned for Midtown." *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, October 14, 2004.