

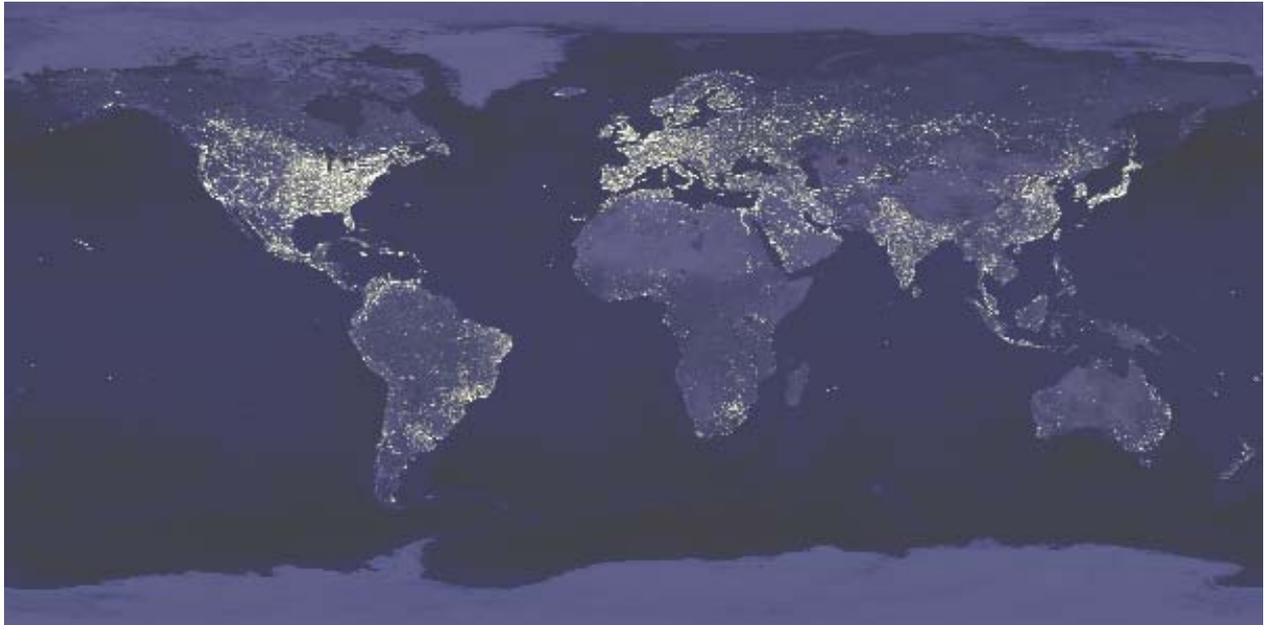
WANTED

SMART GROWTH

SMART GROWTH

REWARD

ANSWER TO URBAN SPRAWL?



Light-footprints of mankind¹

IR. HELENA C. M. HEYNING

Is the American smart growth policy an antidote or even panacea for urban sprawl? This approach contends that unfettered development of cities or metropolis (urban sprawl) is unwanted and not sustainable, either. The case study at issue reviews the roots, mechanism and effects of smart growth in the U.S.A., Canada and The Netherlands. It outlines the influence of culture, market, residents and politics on spatial planning generally speaking and smart growth reforms in the U.S. in particular; and it discusses a few excellent 'smart' projects. The case study concludes by several observations i.e. the opportunities smart growth tools offer government policies worldwide.

SMART GROWTH: ANSWER TO URBAN SPRAWL?

PREAMBULE

In 2004 I made a professional trip to Cascadia, the fast growing mega-region ² between the Cascades Mountains and the Pacific reaching from British Columbia (Canada) to north California (United States of America). The central theme of the excursion was *smart growth* or how to prevent unfettered development called *urban sprawl* (abbr. *sprawl*). We were told that the policy labelled *smart growth* was the preferred solution.

This case study is based on the desk research I took to after the excursion.³ It explores the roots, the mechanisms and effects of *smart growth* in three countries: the United States of America, Canada and The Netherlands.⁴ An extended comparison of the legal spatial planning systems in question is of minor importance for the Dalian congress – a concise fact sheet will do (below).⁵ The focus of the case study is on the influence of culture, market, politics and residents on spatial planning generally speaking and *smart growth* in particular. The case study targets *smart growth* in two ways: (1) containing urban *sprawl* (*Greenfield land*) and (2) promoting urban renaissance (redevelopment *brownfield land*). Questions asked are: where does *smart growth* ‘works’ and where not and ‘what’ works and ‘why’, and is it an antidote or even panacea for other countries to prevent *sprawl*?

FACT SHEET: PLANNING SYSTEMS COMPARED

	area of land in km ²	residents x million	density of population per km ²
Canada	9.958.319 including 755.109 km ² water	31,9 ¹	3,1 residents per km ²
U.S.A.	9.372.610 including 2,2% water	293 ²	31 residents per km ²
The Netherlands	41.526 including 7800 km ² water	16,29 ³	481 residents per km ²

¹ Census 2001 ² Data from the 2000 U.S. census ³ CBS 2004

The three tiered Canadian National Planning Act derives from Great Britain. This land use planning act and regulations apply for the whole country, its 17 provinces/*territories* and thousands of municipalities. The government of Canada, like the Dutch government, maintains at all levels a close relationship with divers non - (for) profit planning and environmental bodies and one issue movements. Dutch government often subsidies these bodies; notwithstanding -or may be on the very purpose of- its ‘dust in the jacket’. What is even more important is the tradition in both countries that policy and plans made by the government be it national, regional or local authorities are considered helpful and needful and instructions / decisions are for the greater part accepted and abided.

The Dutch planning system is similar to the Canadian system. At all three levels (state, province, and municipality) legalized plans exist that are (should be) updated on a regular base.

The U.S.A. has a four tiered legal planning system (federal, state, county, municipality/community) but not every level is of equal merit (dichotomy local autonomy and national/regional management and control). Land use planning in the U.S. enacts chiefly on the local level i.e. the autonomous municipalities/communities –if there is any planning at all. Only small part of the counties and states do have valid spatial plans, acts and ordinances. Federal acts are not automatically accepted by the states and counties –there is a great measure of freedom in adoption and frame ones own rules. Note that even the Federal Smart Growth Areas Act (1992) was not incorporated automatically by all states, counties or municipalities abiding that ruling and taking action. There was a follow up though in some places when the federal government in 1998 introduced subsidies for Mass Transit and Brownfield Redevelopment projects providing the county or municipality produced the official plans and documents –the ‘stick and carrot’ principle.

In all countries there is a higher level of authority –the courts.

The U.S.A., Canada and The Netherlands are western democracies, have a predominantly free market and have freedom of (place of) residence and business. In many situations immigration is the largest source of population growth.

1. SMART GROWTH: DEFINITION AND ORIGIN

In many countries there is a growing concern that urban development patterns – dominated by what is called *suburban sprawl* or just *sprawl* – are no longer in the long-term interest of the metropolitan areas, cities and villages and their citizens, nor in the interest of the environment. Managing growth has become a balancing act, a choice between new employment locations in the suburbs or in the city, the abandoning of *brownfields* versus eating up open land including rural areas and nature, so called *Greenfield land*.

In the U.S., where sprawling growth patterns have characterized the spatial development of cities since the advent of the automobile the answer to this dilemma is the policy of *smart growth* (Ann. 1980, America had officially become a 'suburban nation'; the first country where more people lived in the suburbs than in the rural and urban areas combined.).

DEFINITION SMART GROWTH

Smart growth in U.S. literature is defined as ... **to encourage development, redevelopment and economic growth in locations that are well situated, with respect to present or anticipated public services and facilities, and to discourage development where it may impair or destroy natural resources or environmental qualities.**

In the mega-region Cascadia with up to the present a robust population growth one tries to give a smart answer to the question how to accommodate this growth in order that ... **development serves the economy, community and the environment.**

ORIGIN OF SMART GROWTH

The Smart Growth movement follows The (Congress for) New Urbanism c.s. CNU is an American initiative of the eighties that promotes ... **diverse, walkable, compact, vibrant, mixed-use ... complete communities as antidote to (sub) urban sprawl.** That comes as **Creating Liveable Sustainable Communities.** Today after twenty-five years CNU and Smart Growth are kicking and alive. Both movements launch non – stop new ideas and initiatives, like the recent TOD, Transit Oriented Development Program.⁶ TOD propagates a better public transportation system in combination with high - density building near stations in order to manage the growth of the agglomeration, to push back pollution etcetera –in summery: *smart growth*.

Embracing these themes many divers' private and governmental - subsidized organisations came into being promoting themselves extensively on internet etc.⁷

In the nineties the Federal Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) introduced the collective noun of **smart growth** thus creating **an umbrella** for the various initiatives. It was followed by the Federal Smart Growth Act (1992). Only a few states adapted their legislation to this Act.

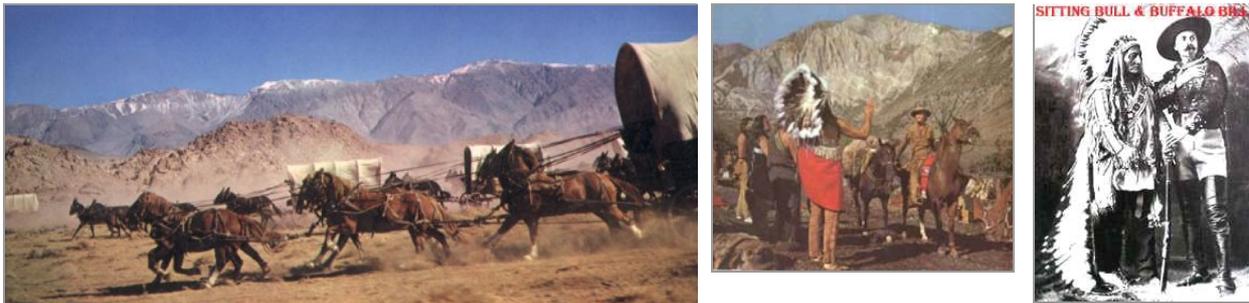
2. CULTURE AND SMART GROWTH

In theory the spatial planning systems (abr. planning) in the U.S., Canada and The Netherlands are alike; in reality the outcome is quite different. One has to go after the history and culture of the countries to understand the origin of these differences.

A concise black-and-white portrait:

Up to this day in the U.S. the old pioneer spirit echoes –the frontier society. *How the West was won* and *Buffalo Bill* represent the freedom and the self management of the individual and his (small) community, including of course the free enterprise spirit.

Strong expressions like ...*Americans' legal right to choose where to live and work...* and ...*Developers should be free to build where homebuyers want to live...* are to account for in this context. Regulations are seen as oppressive and hinder a free market. Self-management is on high standards because *we don't expect much from government*. Within the U.S. itself the states and counties often have different practises and different laws. The origin of these disparities can be traced back to the period of colonisation and the Civil War (independence states). Every colonizator (Great Britain, France, Spain, etc.) introduced his own culture and it's DNA. So one has ... *to think of America as a collection of small societies with very different sets of values and aspirations. Some communities are more progressive and give much higher priority to conservation and environmental issues (taking precedence over the rights of the individual) than others. So planning decisions reached in Seattle would perhaps not be made in Texas for example.*



MGM: *How the West was won*

In The Netherlands (Low Lands) for a long time past the common interest in planning prevails guarded by *civil society* (citizens bonded in smaller and bigger groups). The Dutch have a soft spot for planning its origin being their delta situation and the always lurking danger of flooding (sea and rivers alike) and the irreversible drop in ground level (caused by draining by digging innumerable ditches and canals). Already in the early middle Ages the notion of water management and spatial planning emerged in order to 'keep dry feet'. Farmers, villages, towns and the local nobility joint forces in the so called Water Boards⁸ to build dikes and dams, to finance the waterworks and to maintain them. In time this millennium old principle of common interest developed into the present fine tuned comprehensive (hierarchical) Dutch planning system with local planning agencies accountable to higher levels of government.⁹

In (British tuned) Canada there is a comparable tradition of law and order and of common interest, of long term policy and planning at all levels, obedience to higher governmental instructions, etcetera. It started maybe with the 'Utopia' of Sir Thomas Moore (1516) and stems foremost from the period of industrialization and the uncontrolled growth of the city followed by Ebenezer Howard's proposals for the Garden City¹⁰ and the early introduction of the much needed policy of urban regeneration (1969).

How do these differences in cultural background affect suburban sprawl and what is today's status of *smart growth* in the three countries? Some observations:

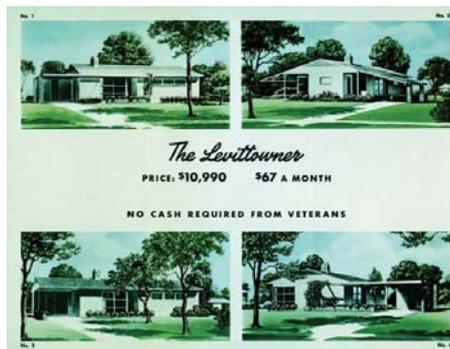
In The Netherlands the concept of *smart growth* is unknown save for a few professionals, so there is hardly any impact. On the Canadian internet sites there is also little to read. In both countries developers, housing corporations and individuals have to build according to plans approved by the local and provincial authorities -often preceded by an environmental impact assessment (EIA). In both Canada and The Netherlands the notion of *sustainability* is prevailing. *Sprawl* is the assumption has no place in Dutch vocabulary -although nowadays 'charity begins at home'.¹¹

In the U.S. *smart growth* does have an impact on individuals, their communities, market and politicians and their policy. How comes?

3. MARKET, INDIVIDUALS AND SMART GROWTH

Sprawl in the U.S. began when the first successful American city dwellers built themselves houses on the edge of the city in the 18th century –it became a potent aspiration for many (the American dream) and a challenge for private investors and developers. Sprawling growth patterns including office, commercial and retail facilities (jobs!) have characterized the spatial development of U.S. cities since the advent of the automobile.¹² Major federal and state spending programs enhanced this sprawl phenomenon, for example expansion of road capacity at the fringe of metropolitan areas and beyond.¹³ It has taken –and still takes- its toll on *Greenfield* land.

In 1955 Levitt and Sons, Inc. purchased almost all of Willingboro Township, New Jersey, a sparsely settled agricultural area seventeen miles from Philadelphia. They would build 1200 homes; three basic house types would be erected; ten or twelve neighbourhoods would emerge.¹⁴



'Levittowners' was the name given to the young, post WWII families, like my parents Dick & Betty Wagner, who moved out of a row house in Northeast Philly in search of the American dream of owning their own single family home with a yard. In post-WWII America, Levittown, PA represented a new lifestyle, in a 'modern suburban planned community', and Levitt was the pioneer, offering affordable homes to ordinary people.¹⁵

Shorthanded for critical and top-down strong government decrees one needs other mechanism and tools to put a halt to 'it's build wherever you want'. The Smart Growth movements (grass root, bottom up) offered the much needed tools and arguments and consequently managed to turn around the mindsets of many individuals and their communities. The movements' credos, small-scale and human-size with the community in the limelight and *Creating Liveable Sustainable Communities with ... walkable distances*, matched the American 'frontier' culture perfectly.

In the past the most important reason to accept *smart growth* notion was the freedom to embrace it, nobody was enforced –there being hardly any laws and ordinances. Secondly, the concept of *smart growth* does not decide on the 'yes or no' growing question, but rather focuses on 'how and where' if development is needed (residential area, industrial site); for most Americans the sting in the tail is gone with this *smart* formula. Third: the various parties, from developer to environmental activist, are free to recognize their specific goals in *smart growth* and turn it to their own good account.

Of course this freedom is also its weak point and some take advantage of the opportunity. *Smart growth* then becomes the chameleon of urban planning, changing its appearance depending on the need of the real estate developer, investor or even municipality quieting angry geographical neighbours or their own neighbourhood leaders. Some consider *smart growth* an elitist effort to deny working-class people the privileges enjoyed by the middle class; some say CNU is merely 'back to tradition'.

In theory bottom up *smart growth* can tackle and mitigate market failures and/or policy failures enhancing the 'suburban nation' provided it is applied on a regular and long term

base (great persistence is required) and nationwide, above all in the densely populated areas and those areas that need environmental protection. Institutionalization has to follow anyhow to address the large-scale and cross county or state-border challenges. The victories do not come easily as *smart growth* often represents an assault on existing powers and privileges who claim 'business as usual'.

What is the manifest result of almost three decades *smart growth*?

4. SMART GROWTH IN POLITICAL PERSPECTIVE

Scattered all over the U.S. are examples of *smart growth* and CNU projects many neighbourhood's size. Looking at figure 1 one wonders why *smart growth* initiatives' have a high success rate in American states like Oregon, California, Illinois en Massachusetts, and are almost non existent in other parts of the U.S. Is there a link with the political colour, more specific with the liberal and progressive ideas of the Democrats, and the international setting? Check the outcome in the 2004 presidential elections (fig. 2).¹⁶ Figure 2 shows that *smart growth* projects apparently obtained a foothold in states and *counties* where the Americans caste their votes predominantly on the Democrat party; being also the densely populated, urbanized and sometimes fast growing regions at the east and west coast and in the Lake District. These 'blue' (Democrat) states and counties are the places rich with famous training institutes and universities. Most have an international setting and a divers and tolerant atmosphere also due to the many foreign workers and students.

It is most likely that in these 'blue' regions the inhabitants and authorities realise that an excellent living environment and careful handling of landscape and nature are important issues to attract and behold the *footloose* high educated people and talented individuals. Talent and innovation are essential for the sustainability of the knowledge industry and service sector.¹⁷



Fig. 1: The number of new urbanist developments under construction or complete has grown by over 20 percent every year since 1997. Today such developments can be found in most major housing markets, helping speed acceptance of more dense walkable neighbourhoods.¹⁸

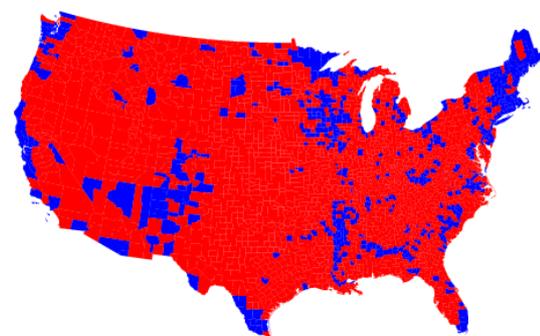


Fig. 2: Election results by county Presidential Election Polls 2004

Note: The blue may be small in area, but they are large in terms of numbers of people, which is what matters in an election.¹⁹

5. SMART GROWTH AND BROWNFIELDS

Smart growth can make the difference between *brownfield* and *Greenfield* or the other way round: *smart growth* and *brownfield* redevelopments complement and strengthen each other. Excellent examples can be seen in Vancouver (Can.), Portland (Or.) and The Netherlands -where scarce space induces reuse anyhow. One has to look at *brownfields* as real property; redevelopment or reuse may be complicated by the presence of

pollution. Cleaning up and reinvesting in these abandoned properties takes development pressures off of undeveloped open land, improves and protects the environment and induces urban renaissance. Transforming these properties also increases local tax bases, facilitates job growth and utilizes existing infrastructure. So extensive land revitalisation not only prevents the loss of valuable *Greenfields*, it also spurs recovery of the urban tissue and promotes and supports a higher standard of urban facilities.

Smart growth coupled with a *brownfield* program introduces a New Metropolitan Agenda!

SMART GROWTH AND BROWNFIELD DEVELOPMENT

The assumption is that The New Urbanism and Smart Growth movements have their roots in the British and Dutch, more general the West European planning traditions, i.e. controlled and careful growth in allocated areas. The *smart brownfield* development stems logically from this approach – look by all means for the British set of *policies of urban regeneration* starting in Scotland (Urban Program 1969) and later on, the Priority Partnership Areas (PPA's) and Social Inclusion Partnerships (SIP's).

Fine early examples of redevelopment of vast swaths of vacant land (harbour districts/industrial sites) can be seen in the London Docklands and the harbour of Boston (Mass.) –one of the most European cities in eastern U.S. Productive results started in the seventies can also be seen in Vancouver (Can.), Portland (Or. U.S.), The Netherlands (Amsterdam).

It is known that the dedicated and consistent long term policy of an enthusiastic Mayor or Commissioner in combination with an excellent planning team makes the difference in promoting and realizing a *smart* mix of *smart growth*, *brownfield* redevelopment and good public transportation!



*False Creek, 2004
Brownfield development
Vancouver (BC)*



*Pearl District, 2004
Brownfield development
Portland (Or.)*



*Java Island, 2007
Brownfield development
Amsterdam (Neth.)*

6. SMART GROWTH AND SENSE OF URGENCY

The philosophy of bottom up *smart growth* brings close careful planning and *brownfield* redevelopment. Nonetheless to counter *sprawl*-like developments on a large scale and to promote *brownfield* redevelopment, residents' awareness and voter's sense of urgency need a real *boost!* Consumer's wishes can have a multiplier effect and are an important *push* factor for the market to build *smart* and for authorities to enact *smart*. What is the state of the art?

Extensive research in the U.S. has shown that low-density, haphazard development (a.k.a. *sprawl*) causes numerous deleterious impacts on communities. Communities and individuals are beginning to recognize the consequences of sprawling development patterns and wish to shift those patterns to more sustainable land-use, economics, ecologies, human settlements, and human relationships. Research also made clear that many residents are weary of the daily hours spent in traffic jams –both in the morning and the evening. Asked for these residents nowadays want a house in the vicinity of a station even though the car is deeply embedded in the American culture. *Smart* TOD (Transit

Oriented Development) thus got a firm base in some regions. Of the New Economy firms in the U.S. 70% thinks a good public transportation system is important for their business. It even becomes obvious that more and more people are willing to sell their suburban house and move back to the city –which can be an asset for *brownfield* redevelopment. These entire debates also triggered the emerging awareness about the costs of *sprawl* at all levels of government!²⁰

By marketing and widely distributing these *smart* favourable research results awareness in a growing circle of consumers gets an impetus (boost). *Smart* tools contribute their share toward this awareness.

Of course criticasters will tell the opposite or even state that ‘to control development is unconstitutional’; and not every developer or investor sees purpose in building near a station nor do all authorities want to change the ‘rules of the development game’.



Suburban sprawl Chicago, 2004
5 – 10 houses/ha



Morello Place, Hillsboro (Or.), 2004
Smart growth – dense (15-20 houses/ha), walkable ‘Intel City’



Station Beaverton (Or.), 2004
Smart growth TOD: light rail MAX

7. SMART GROWTH TOOLS

Countries with a long-time awareness of good planning developed and still promote all kinds of concepts and tools to repel *sprawl*. Look for the recent Livable Region Strategic Plan (1999), TransLink’s Transportation Plan (2000) and CityPlan in Vancouver (1995) limiting the amount of new highway infrastructure and promoting more people living on the Downtown peninsula where they are close to jobs and services. In The Netherlands the age-old poly nuclear city pattern around the Green Heart, the green buffer zones (1957) as well as the policy of so called *concentrated deconcentration* (1958, ‘60, ‘66, ‘74) might be interesting. In both countries tools like subsidies to make housing and new employment within the city’s growth boundaries and in *brownfield* places more attractive are part of the modern *stick and carrot* system. From the nineties on comparable subsidy tools were introduced by the U.S. Federal government like PFA (Priority Funding Areas) en UGB’s (Urban Growth Boundary) in some situation coupled with a 60 – 40% ruling (60% of the new houses has to be build within the existing urban boundary preferably on *brownfield* land).

In the past two to three decades the widespread frustration across the U.S. with sprawling development patterns precipitated an explosion in *smart* innovative thinking and pilots. Successful TOD is just one out of many. Innovative *smart growth* tools come in various ways like communication and marketing, awareness and education, market based techniques, strategies, policy code, zoning audits and incentive matrix; cruise the abundance of internet -examples at large.

Next to the already mentioned tools a few others are lightly touched upon below:

The way *smart growth* is handled in the U.S. qua communication, education and marketing deserves admiration. Developers can process *smart growth* in their leaflets and flyers –because *smart* is commercial successful! Citizens believe in *smart* because

... *everybody wants to be smart*. *Smart growth* for that very reason is a shining perspective with 'something in it for everybody'. Local authorities integrate their *smart* successes (best practises) in their city-region branding and marketing.

Most *smart growth* processes start with awareness and education. In many situations local environmental pressure groups develop so called *Smart Project Scorecards* (SPS) to help the residents to make their choices. *Smart growth* can also generate strong coalitions and good process management at authorities' level (stewardship).

In the battle to contain *sprawl* a recommended market based technique is the American *Transferable Development Right (TDR)*. Landowners in regions that should not urbanize are compensated financially by TDR's originating in places where building new communities and/or employment areas is advisable.²¹ This TDR tool doesn't touch owners/property rights; its validity comes from the voluntary exchange of zoning privileges from areas with low population needs, such as farmland, to areas of high population needs, such as downtown areas (*brownfield*) close to jobs, shopping, schools, transportation and other urban services.²²

TIF (tax increment financing) or 'bonds' –although not a original *smart* tool- is based on value capturing i. e. a technique for financing a capital project from the stream of revenue generated by the project. It is an often-used financing strategy for municipalities in redevelopment-related *smart* projects when federal funding is cut or too limited –see Chicago.²³

8. SMART GROWTH: ANTIDOTE OR PANACEA?

Is the American *smart growth* an antidote or even panacea to secure controlled urban growth all over the world? A few observations (lessons learned):

- *Smart growth* –reforms at a slow pace

In the U.S. *smart growth* has come as called upon –a blessing. The *sprawl* problem caused by market failures and policy failures is extensive and to curb it takes a long time - maybe spans decades. In the meantime more forest land and prime farmland is lost: the environment a vulnerable prey – green cannibalism!

Over the past twenty-five years the *grass root* activists and non-profit organizations managed little by little to influence some consumers' and communities' preferences and those of corporations and developers/investors. In continuation state and county politicians couldn't ignore their voters' wishes and some started reviewing their legislation.²⁴ The emerging awareness triggered a debate and a growing recognition of true common ground on divers' issues –a paradigm shift.

- *Smart growth* –requires a long term policy and holistic approach

Joined to the much needed long term stewardship planning and execution and management of high hopes *smart growth* also requires dedicated and enthusiastic urban political leaders, for example the Mayor or the planning Commissioner. He/she in charge of a *smart* program can make the difference! Look at the revenues in Portland (Or.) where a coherent and holistic long-continued program of extensive *brownfield* development coupled with good public transportation (TOD) and *smart* growth boundaries, was launched and for decennia hold on to.²⁵

- *Smart growth* -urgently needs concerted action

The saying is 'there are no problems, just people'. Generally speaking political discussions have a tendency to become fights about 'territory' and disputes of competence –at the expense of foremost overriding objectives and results. To make *smart growth* a success the stakeholders, from federal to local authorities, should collaborate across borders sharing 'sweet and sour' interests in both thriving periods (high tide) and periods of stagnation and decline (low tide). The very moment municipal

and county politicians manage to pool their issues many interesting examples of *smart growth* are on their way -check TOD in Seattle/Puget Sound region!

- *Smart growth* -requires democracy

Needless to say that a *smart growth* movement doesn't fall on fertile soil in a totalitarian regime; most dictatorial situations are not sound media for bottom up processes or grass root movements. But neither should *smart growth* be the option in countries with an up to date planning system countering *sprawl* –never exchange a 'winning' anti-sprawl legal system for an insecure mix of 'liberty above all things cum *smart growth* policy'.

- *Smart toolbox* –cherry picking recommended

There is however an opportunity in every disaster (extensive sprawl): innovation. One should acknowledge the continuously replenishing supply of American *smart* tools and *smart* programs and how they are implemented and communicated to curb sprawl. Other governments and non-profit organisations can learn greatly from the American experiences and solutions tailored to the various U.S. regions and municipalities! Even existing anti-sprawl planning systems need updates, fresh ideas and incentives to stay attractive, don't they?

Note that one has to tailor the U.S. *smart* tools to ones proper situation as there is no 'one and the same *smart* solution' fitting the divers' cultures in countries and communities all over the world.

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CAUTION!



Countries with an emerging economy and a rising middle class should beware of the dangerous combination of: **growing prosperity (changing house preferences) + cheap automobiles (reliance on cars) + non-planning (liberty above all things).**

The kombi generates *sprawl* and enlarges the energy crisis.

Endnotes

¹ Earth lights, NASA

² Florida, Richard; Gulden, Tim; Mellander, Charlotta (October 2007). *The Rise of the Mega-Region*.

³ Heyning, Helena C.M. (2004). *Cascadia 2004 – Planning, Politiek en Smart Growth*.

⁴ The case study does not target social or economic problems going with *sprawl*. In many countries the middle class flight to the suburbs and continuing low-density *Greenfields*' new neighbourhoods including employment decentralization is increasingly matched by concentrated poverty in the older inner city areas (social exclusion). Nor does the case study discuss the *sprawl* problems in emerging economies where a good site-and-service program can be of some help to direct and accommodate unwanted *sprawl*.

⁵ See for an extended comparison of the three legal planning systems: Heyning Helena C.M., *Cascadia 2004 – Planning, Politiek en Smart Growth*, 2004 (Google: Helena Heyning).

⁶ www.transitorienteddevelopment.org/; www.reconnectingamerica.org/;

⁷ www.smartgrowth.org/; www.cnu.org/; www.fundersnetwork.org/; www.sustainable.org

⁸ Water management administration

⁹ Introduction of the New Planning Act in July 2008 might change this situation –see endnote 10.

¹⁰ Howard, Ebenezer (1898). *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*; revised and reissued 1902 as 'Garden Cities of To-morrow'.

¹¹ Time changes and individuality in The Netherlands increases by the day, so are prosperity and better standards of life. We wonder what the consequences of the New Planning Act (Wro 2008) are as it will reduce the level of hierarchical control by central governments in spatial planning. A paradigm shift is luring –are we still in control in Holland? Note that ann. 2008 there is a wide-spread discussion going on in The Netherlands how our environments and landscapes are being 'spoiled' accepting everywhere industrial and business plants, greenhouse compounds, new motorways, mega stables, windmills etc. The Dutch 'white fungus' (*sprawl*) festers ...

¹² Suburbs are taking on a greater share of the U.S. population, coming up from 7% in 1910 to 30% in 1960 to 50% in 1980! Predictably past years the population growth was greatest in the exploding suburbanisations of the Sun Belt states.

¹³ See the example of Maryland: Knaap, Gerrit-Jan; Lewis, Rebecca (2007). *State Agency Spending Under Maryland's Smart Growth Areas Act*.

¹⁴ Gans Herbert J. (1967). *The Levittowners - Ways of Life and Politics in a New Suburban Community*. Columbia University Press.

¹⁵ www.levittowners.com/ and www.levittowners.com/community.html

¹⁶ The outcome of the presidential elections 2008 was not yet available.

¹⁷ See Florida, Richard (2002). *The Rise of the Creative Class*. Basic Books.

¹⁸ Congress on New Urbanism (2003). *The Coming Demand*. Research founded by Funders Network for Smart Growth & Liveable Communities etc.

¹⁹ This can be corrected by making use of a *cartogram*, a map in which the sizes of states have been rescaled according to their population. www-personal.umich.edu/~mejn/election/

²⁰ Katz, Bruce (July 2002). *Smart growth: The Future of the American Metropolis*. Brookings, London School of Economics.

²¹ <http://outreach.ecology.uga.edu/tools/tdr.html>

²² www.realtor.org/library/library/fg804

²³ www.gfoa.org/downloads/UrbanRevitalizationandTIFinChicago.pdf

²⁴ Institutionalization is anyhow needed as grassroots' movements are mostly focused on one or two problems of specific constituencies and are usually too small to address large-scale and cross county or state-border challenges. To enhance *smart growth* basic laws and ordinances as well as practises are to be adapted in multiple legislative different states, counties and communities. See chapter: Culture and *smart growth*.

²⁵ Note that Oregon State and Portland (Or.) have a long term BSG (*Before Smart Growth*) culture of planning with a State Land Use Planning Law (1973) and a Down Town Plan (sixties) followed by a regional chosen and mandated Metro Council in 1983 -so *smart growth* fell on fertile soil. One might ask the question what was first, good planning or *smart growth*? The same applies to Canada -see Vancouver (B.C.).