NEW URBANISMS IN CELEBRATION, FLORIDA AND GREENWICH VILLAGE, NEW YORK: THEORY AND PRAXIS OF RESOLUTION

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ABSTRACT

In this thesis, I apply a critical urban geographic lens to examine the history and fundamental principles of New Urbanism along with the application of these principles in Celebration and Greenwich Village. After providing historical contexts for both neighborhoods, along with some background on New Urbanism's foundations, I apply my counter argument and theoretical lenses. The concept and application of New Urbanism are contentious topics in geographic discourse and therefore require thorough background information. After a counter argument comprised of geographic literature and some of the most frequent critiques of New Urbanism from within the academy, my stance on New Urbanism becomes clearer.

Meanwhile, one of the theoretical lenses I utilized originated from British-born Marxist economic geographer, David Harvey, and his concept of Accumulation By Dispossession (ABD). I apply Harvey's ABD to the tumultuous history of Celebration, Florida. My other theoretical lens employs Marxist political economist and professor, Raju Das' pragmatic revitalization of Primitive Accumulation (PA) as a methodology for rectifying the generalizations of ABD. My interpretation of PA in the context of Greenwich Village attempts to refute Harvey's dim view of the working-class role. Instead, I view the working-class/proletariat role as one of unity and power. My conclusion contextualizes this empowered role in the New Urbanist community of Celebration, Florida, and poses future urban development plans for the community.

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Additionally, I would like to send love and positivity to my parents. I realize that it was difficult for you to let your little boy leave for college thousands of miles away. I appreciate every phone call we exchanged, every package you sent me, and every bit of parenting that made me the man I am today. Both of you have the highest expectations for Claudia and me (almost unrealistically high at times). Although those expectations made me aspire to bring the best out of myself in any situation. Before I could even speak, I hated to fail, look stupid, or feel inadequate. The pressure that I put on myself was due in part to the way you both raised me. Obviously, I would fail, look stupid, or fall short of expectations, but I would learn from those mistakes.

Similarly, I am certain that this paper is imperfect and brimming with mistakes, but I am passionate about everything I wrote, read, and observed in preparation for this thesis. I hope to receive feedback, learn, and grow as both a student, but also as an adult. This thesis might be the crescendo of my academic career as I embark on adulthood, but I dream that the music maintains its volume or amplifies as I continue my ballet across the sidewalk.

CHAPTER ONE. HISTORIES AND CHAPTER OUTLINE

The Gulf of Mexico shined like an alluring green emerald, fixating any passerby to enter its depths. I gazed at its waves as my feet sunk into the powdery white sand. The gulf breeze blew past, swaying the plethora of blue umbrellas lining the shoreline. Everyone around me appeared to be in a moment of bliss, entirely separated from the world around them, rooted in their sun-bleached beach chairs. The consensus opinion was that no one wanted to leave Seaside Beach, and why would they? Seaside was built in the ideal setting for beach lovers and designed in a way that fosters community, personal interaction, diverse businesses, and by all accounts, a comfortable life. But who does this town really serve? Is Seaside built for community members to enjoy, to increase the reputation of its architects, and to accumulate wealth for residents or businesses?

For those unfamiliar with the film, *The Truman Show* takes place in Seaside, Florida. Seaside is a late-20th-century New Urbanist community designed by the esteemed architects and urban planners, Andrés Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk. The film follows the protagonist, Truman Burbank, played by Jim Carrey, as he realizes that he is unwillingly the central character in the world's most popular reality TV show. Truman Burbank gains self-awareness and embraces his ability to leave the only town he has ever known, Seahaven. Both mentally and physically, Truman resides in a master-planned community developed by the TV show producer, Christof. Despite police chases, life-threatening storms, and a capsized boat, Truman survives his maiden voyage out of Seahaven. This feat demonstrates that Truman's volition is stronger than Christof's, undermining the omnipotent creator's script. Christof's idealism and rigidity are precisely the tenets that New Urbanism seeks to avoid. But to what extent do New Urbanist communities allow agency for their residents? How can residents of New Urbanist developments

organically create their urban fabric? In the film, Truman's successful reclamation of his free will demonstrates that regardless of master-planning, humanity should be allowed to shape its own destiny, forming its built environment as desired.

While certainly not a cinematic masterpiece, my thesis integrates historical and contemporary urban planning theory to contend that the urban design of Greenwich Village, New York City, abides by the fundamentals of New Urbanism more thoroughly than Celebration, Florida. Greenwich Village's urban design, businesses, and housing fulfill the New Urbanist model; Contrastingly, Celebration, a master-planned, New Urbanist community struggles to accomplish these tenets. New Urbanism aims to create a pedestrian-friendly, diverse, public transportation-oriented community. New Urbanism achieves these ambitions by designing holistic public spaces, practicing mixed-use development, and revitalizing previously underused or neglected places (CNU). I utilize a critical urban geographic lens to unpack how the fundamentally different foundations and histories of these two communities impacted their spatial structures, functional uses, and cultural meanings. My approach considers the various cultures of these communities, reflecting upon the role of labor, identity, and place-making.

Figure 1. Mashpee Commons in Mashpee, Massachusetts retrofitted a shopping center to fulfill New Urbanist city design. Mashpee Commons is a mixed-use shopping and living district with 100 businesses and 77 residential units -- Source: CNU

Figure 2. A New Urbanist boulevard protects the commercial or residential street edge from the high-speed roadway by catering to pedestrian movement, using stationary trees/cars as barriers, and designating frontage roads -- Source: NACTO

Theoretical Lenses

In this thesis, I employ a critical historical materialist lens. Central to this vantage is the idea that those who control the forces of production control society. Renowned British economic geographer, David Harvey elaborates upon this notion with his definition of accumulation by dispossession (ABD), a Marxian concept used to describe "the historical process of divorcing the producer from the means of production" (Das 591). Harvey adds nuance to Marx's definition by considering ABD to be a contemporary extension of neoliberalism. Neoliberalism applies free-market policies such as privatization, deregulation, globalization, and free trade to the global market. Harvey criticizes neoliberal values for fostering the unbridled individualism that popularized ABD. Revised for a contemporary context, Harvey defines ABD as the dispossession of wealth -- not generation of new wealth – from those vulnerable to the rich, from the masses of the population to a select few individuals (Das 592). ABD involves taking land, demarcating it, expelling a resident population, and then releasing the land into the privatized mainstream of capital accumulation. This sentiment and inequality of capital distribution defined by ABD are rife when discussing the formation of Celebration, Florida. Only one of the four

phases of ABD, the expulsion of a resident population, is not immediately evident but can be unearthed through research.

York University Geographer, Raju Das provides a detailed critique of David Harvey's use of ABD. Das voices his qualms with Harvey's ABD and proposes using Marx's conception of Primitive Accumulation (PA) with an optimistic perspective. Das criticizes Harvey's ABD as being too reliant on the confines of modern capitalist thought and neglecting the history of the proletariat's role. Das believes that focusing on a traditional Marxian understanding of Primitive Accumulation (PA) can empower the proletariat and galvanize other oppressed groups such as women and ethnic/racial/religious minorities. Das's work can help us consider the role of capital in Celebration's urban planning. Das's revitalization of the Marxist definition of Primitive Accumulation aids the reader in contextualizing how Celebration's land was released into the privatized mainstream of capital accumulation. Das does emphasize that the proletariat – represented by working residents of Celebration– can synergize with the semi-proletariat, such as community board members or decision-makers within the urban fabric to create democratic change and social movements. Understanding the role of Celebration's residents as members of the proletariat, disenfranchised to privatization and employment outside their realm of residence, complicates the relationship between residents and the community. Examining worker/developer relationships can help the reader see why New Urbanist communities that are driven by profit motives oftentimes are unable to represent a viable alternative to conventional urbanism. In sum, Das's refined definition of PA can guide towards theorizing a more equitable, bottom-up model of laborer governance in Celebration, thus providing an optimistic model for reformed New Urbanist communities.

History

The initial phase of Celebration's residential development began with Celebration Village in the summer of 1996. Somewhat paradoxically, Celebration was intended to be the antidote to the unabashed consumerism and suburban expansion that the Disney theme parks and other international attractions bore in Central Florida. In fact, Disney hired celebrated New Urbanist architects and modeled Celebration after the actual setting of *The Truman Show*, Seaside, Florida. Celebration was also motivated by a sense of nostalgia. The developers of Celebration yearned to recreate the glory days of America's pre-war small towns and community-oriented urban neighborhoods. The founders hoped that they could sell this idea of nostalgia to families who grew up hearing stories about this time of splendor. An excerpt from Celebration's original sales brochure in 1996 reads "There once was a place where neighbors greeted neighbors in the quiet of summer twilight. Where children chased fireflies. And porch swings provided easy refuge from the cares of the day… Remember that place?" (Guardian). Yet, from its foundation, nothing in Celebration was nostalgic or organic. Celebration struggled to deliver its intended effect. New York graphic design powerhouse, Pentagram, designed everything from business and amenity signage to manholes and fountains. Pentagram was utterly unfamiliar with the desires of Celebration's residents and did very little to implement their input in the design. Adding to this eerie inauthenticity, salespeople and retail workers were called "cast members" as is practiced at the Disney theme parks (Hitt).

Figure 3. A manhole cover in Celebration. Designed by Pentagram – Source: Pinterest

Figure 4. A lamppost, park sign, and town entrance sign designed by Pentagram – Source: Bloomberg

Alongside the questionable physical features in Celebration, the social structure of the community proved unwelcoming. A product of the Disney Development Company in 1996, Celebration struggled to support a racially and economically diverse resident base since its inception. Despite advertising efforts that sought to publicize Celebration as welcoming Black and Hispanic demographics, Disney's decision to forego building subsidized housing inside the community deterred minority groups. This neglect was a blessing in disguise because Celebration would soon fall victim to the volatility of the real estate market as property values dropped. Potential homeowners with financial constraints were able to avoid boarding the sinking ship. This policy of avoiding subsidized housing encapsulates a trend in Celebration's governance that evades democratic, bottom-up city building in favor of a top-down, profit-oriented approach. Namely, the Celebration Company, Celebration's commercial developer, dedicates unelected members of important governing committees, like the Celebration Residential Owners Association, the ability to dictate governing decisions. This governing dictatorship is possible because of Celebration's arbitrary designation as a census-designated place, not an incorporated town. Hence, democratic elections of governing officials are few and far between. These owner's association members conspire or even independently plan the urban

development of Celebration despite all members paying homeowners association and membership fees. Often this group is criticized as autocratic or unrepresentative of community interests (Njoh 6).

Furthermore, ABD also occurred in Celebration through secretive nefarious means. The Disney Development Company stepped away from outright control of Celebration's business center, selling it to a private firm called Lexin Capital. The popular business center began to fall into disrepair soon afterward. Businesses of Celebration's Town Center proceeded to sue Lexin, alleging chronic negligence, breach of fiduciary duty, and damages of $15 million to $20 million. The financial crisis was exacerbated by Lexin's calamitous mismanagement when considering that their ownership of the downtown business center meant that residents, not solely businesses, were also falling victim to negligence. In this situation, the framework for ABD: taking land, demarcating it, expelling a resident population, and then releasing the land into the privatized mainstream was in full effect. Lexin bought the Town Center from Disney Development Company, delineated the mixed-use business/residential as their own, expelled the businesses and residents through structural neglect, and collected monetary compensation by zapping the equity of the refinanced Town Center (Hitt). Perhaps a saving grace, or at least the lesser of two evils, Walt Disney World still operates two utility companies, Smart City Telecom and Reedy Creek Energy Services, that provide services to the town. Due to Disney's heightened public image and subsidiary association with the two utility companies, Celebration's residents can receive some modicum of security by knowing that their basic utilities and internet services are stable. Some fundamental security within a living situation is necessary when considering the empowerment of the proletariat. This basis is key when considering our next theoretical concept.

Comparatively, Greenwich Village's history varies greatly from Celebration. The land now known as Greenwich Village was previously home to the Lenape, Manhattan's original inhabitants. In the early 17th century Dutch settled in what would later become New York City and founded the city of New Amsterdam in 1964. Both parties cultivated tobacco fields in the area of present-day New York City, but land relations were contentious as the Dutch sought to contract land from Lenape tribal chiefs. The land was later cleared and turned into pasture by freed African settlers and Dutch settlers, who named their settlement Noortwyck. Greenwich Village was named and founded in 1664 when the English conquered the Dutch settlement of New Netherland.

Consequently, Greenwich Village was founded to the north as a hamlet separate from the more populous New York City. From its establishment, Greenwich Village has supported diversity and underrepresented groups. Namely, in 1644, when eleven Dutch African settlers received land parcels in what is today known as Greenwich Village. These Black settlers were soon freed after the first Black legal protest in America. From 1797 until 1829, Greenwich Village was a pastoral village that hosted New York's first state penitentiary. Despite the prison, a yellow fever epidemic in Lower Manhattan during 1822 inspired cautious New Yorkers to relocate up north to the healthier air of Greenwich Village. Migration and the area/population growth of New York City stretched northward into Greenwich Village. During this time, many new residents of the neighborhood bought land plots and built homes that remain part of Greenwich Village's urban fabric today. Greenwich Village's urban fabric was complicated by the Commissioners' Plan of 1811, which sought to incorporate a grid pattern in Manhattan above Houston Street. Greenwich Village residents would vehemently cling to their existing street pattern, remaining unique while making gradual compromises with the grid. Even in the early

19th century, the residents of Greenwich Village were resilient in maintaining the fabric of their neighborhood.

By the mid-1900s Greenwich Village gained a reputation as a hub for American bohemian culture. Greenwich Village fostered progressive cultural, political, and artistic values while businesses such as small printing presses, art galleries, and experimental theater thrived. New York's gay community embraced the district's notoriety for acceptance and tolerance. Greenwich Village hosted the Stonewall Riots in 1969. These were a series of riots from the gay community against the police, serving as a prelude to the modern LGBTQIA movement. Also, during the mid-century, Greenwich Village became the East Coast center of the Beat Generation. The non-conformity and spontaneous creativity of writers like Jack Kerouac and Allen Ginsburg made them welcome in the liberal neighborhood. (Village Preservation)

Sadly, in the present day, the bohemian days of Greenwich Village are waning. The high housing cost in the neighborhood created significant demographic change in the area as lower-income residents encounter difficulties paying for rent. Although remaining residents of Greenwich Village have made a conscious effort to support a narrative of preservation within the neighborhood. Namely, in 1969, the New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission (LPC) designated Greenwich Village as a historic district. With this title, many Federal Style Row homes with Colonial Revival façades were preserved. These homes were largely built during the mid-1800s as they lined the areas surrounding the newly established Washington Square Park. Contemporary desires to pursue the goal of additional historical preservation designations have positioned the neighborhood residents at odds with nearby New York University (NYU). While the university is advantageous when considering mixed-use aspirations, NYU seeks to expand its campus and renovate some historical buildings. Residents have qualms with the expansion and

renovation plans to modify the historic buildings' federal-style row facades. These residents also understand the benefits of NYU student patronage at local businesses. Ultimately, Greenwich Village residents still have a unified community identity and take pride in their neighborhood's distinctive history.

Figure 5. Federal Style Row Houses in Greenwich Village with all red brickwork and Greek Revival touches. Disclaimer: All uncited images are my own

Widely regarded as an archetype of traditional urbanism, Greenwich Village contains walkable, mixed-use neighborhoods, and well-connected networks of streets, blocks, and plazas. Greenwich Village is walkable because most amenities needed for daily life: grocery stores, health services, recreation, and leisure, are all located within a quarter-mile or a five-minute walk

from residences. Mixed-use neighborhoods blend residential, commercial, cultural, institutional, or entertainment uses into one walkable space. A well-connected network of urban passages means that a variety of routes exist to travel from one destination to another. Depending on the desired interests of the traveler, one can pass a coffee shop en route to their destination or alter their route to pick up clothing from the dry cleaner while still spending roughly the same amount of time to arrive at their destination. Greenwich Village's small blocks add navigational possibilities and facilitate more diverse businesses by increasing the sheer number of shops. Although, Greenwich Village's resilience and successful urbanity did not come without conflict. (Ballot Montenegro)

Petty bourgeois and working-class bottom-up community development occurred in traditional neighborhood developments such as Greenwich Village in response to conflict with figures in power. Famed Canadian-American journalist, author, theorist, and activist, Jane Jacobs, praises Greenwich Villages' urban design and resilience in her celebrated book, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities.* Jacobs explained that the Manhattan Borough of Engineers planned on removing ten feet of Greenwich Village's sidewalk width for vehicular road widening. After their petition against the widening received thousands of signatures, the construction plans were halted (Jacobs 164). Similarly, when a highway was intended to be built across Washington Square Park, most local residents voiced displeasure. A minority of prominent district representatives still endorsed the highway until a vocal district representative, Raymond Rubinow, called attention to the majority's disapproval. From there, a district organization called the Joint Emergency Committee was formed and prompted many districts to cooperate and voice dissatisfaction, thus thwarting the highway expansion. This successful legal action elicits back the power of cooperation between the proletariat and semi-proletariat in

creating a discourse with decision-makers ensuring that their collective opinion is heard. (Jacobs 165-166)

Jacob's brilliant influence has superseded her life. Greenwich Village and many similar urban communities have been preserved due to the influence of Jacob's writing and activism. Throughout her book, Jacobs critiques the oversimplified and idealist tendencies of urban planners such as Robert Moses and Le Corbusier. Jacobs favored dense mixed-use development, walkable streets, and neighborhood safety and interaction, called *eyes on the street.* The latter of the three is an interesting phenomenon that I seek to explore in greater detail. *Eyes on the street* imply that the perceived risk of being caught serves as the strongest deterrent for committing a crime. The physical neighborhood structure and community relations can increase the effectiveness of *eyes on the street.* I am curious to explore how this design concept was applied in Celebration because Jacobs outwardly commends its effectiveness in Greenwich Village. Additional comparative studies between Greenwich Village and Celebration analyze businesses and business diversity within the communities. New Urbanist communities should include necessary amenities for daily life within walking distance. This means that businesses such as grocery stores, doctors' offices, dentists, hairdressers, craftsmen, and more should be within a walkable radius from home. Yet these policies do not specify who should own these businesses. Ideally, business owners should be local community members; therefore, the disposable income spent by clients in the community returns to the community as business owners reinvest their profit in fellow local businesses.

Jacobs' *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* was published long before the popularization of New Urbanism. In fact, New Urbanism utilizes many of the urban design characteristics advocated for by Jacobs. Since this thesis utilizes a critical geographic lens, I

would hesitate to conclude that Jacobs would have wholeheartedly supported the ideals of New Urbanism; at the least, she would have been skeptical of top-down master-planned urban communities such as Celebration. Greenwich Village was Jacobs's home and a prized example of urban development, yet Greenwich Village differs significantly from many New Urbanist communities planned in the late 1990s to early 2000s. I examine these differences in a case study of successful New Urbanist practice. After extensive comparative studies, I harken back to Raju Das' and his Marxian theory related to Primitive Accumulation. His empowering conclusion emphasizes the power of the proletariat and influences my suggestions for alterations within Celebration's community. Fundamentally, synergistic proletariat and semi-proletariat advocacy along with the investment of community members' disposable income back into the community increases societal cohesiveness and can birth essential neighborhood groups such as the Greenwich Village Society. Through literature review and eventual first-person experience, I compare how the histories of Greenwich Village and Celebration influenced their contemporary structure, how these structures align with New Urbanism, and what can be done to improve both communities as equitably functioning New Urbanist communities.

Methodology

Since the nature of this study is a comparative analysis with a critical geographic lens, I intend to analyze both cases through an equally attentive approach. This approach is balanced and involves primary and secondary sources. These sources can be highly acclaimed literary pieces, such as Jacob's and Caro's books about New York City, or unique, less acclaimed studies such as Njoh's article about Celebration. Along with historic resources, contemporary sources are applied for both case studies. The *Greenwich Village Report* and Scott Larson's *Building Like Moses with Jacobs in Mind* offered beneficial information regarding New York City

administrative redevelopment strategies and actions. Similarly, Andrew Ross' *The Celebration Chronicles: Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Property Value in Disney's New Town* provided a contemporary, first-person perspective on the contradictions between modern urban planning and corporate interests. Films such as *The Bubble - A Documentary Film About Celebration, Florida* provide keen insight into many taboos of Celebration's community. The documentary ranges from portraying mundane everyday activities to exposing corruption, sexual promiscuity, and even murder within the "ideal" community. These resources provide a solid framework for me to understand the history, perspectives, and contemporary lives of community residents.

Academic resources should also be accompanied by a humanistic approach to gain a well-rounded understanding of context. I walk, take, and engage with residents of both communities, inquiring about their relationships with their homes, communities, governing/administrative officials, and more. I intend to be cognizant of the dynamic between the researcher and the subject. Assuredly, the subject of the interview must consent to any information they provide and approve of their information being documented in my thesis. I intend to interact with people diverse in age, race, income, and socioeconomic standing so I can develop an understanding of all stakeholders within the community. Ideally, most of these interactions would be conducted in person, but traveling to these neighborhoods from school may prove difficult. Both Greenwich Village and Celebration are within traveling distance from my hometown and college respectively. I would be particularly curious to engage in conversation with business owners and laborers in the neighborhoods to understand how they patronize local businesses and spend their surplus income. These interactions could provide advantageous insight into unpacking how some of the complicated and abstract Marxian concepts manifest in

real life. In due course, this personal research should not be on people in these communities, but for the people of these communities.

Chapter Outline

Chapter **two** outlines the history of New Urbanism and how successful New Urbanism appears in practice. I begin with some background on the renowned architects, Peter Calthorpe, Michael Corbett, Andrés Duany, Elizabeth Moule, Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, Stefanos Polyzoides, and Daniel Solomon. These architects agreed on these fundamental principles of New Urbanism and founded the Congress for the New Urbanism in 1993. Plater-Zyberk and her husband, Duany eventually put their ideas into practice by planning communities such as Seaside, Florida, and Kentlands, Maryland. The partners, along with Jeff Speck, wrote the fundamental New Urbanist book, *Suburban Nation: The Rise of Sprawl and the Decline of the American Dream*. The book provides initial insight into how Celebration and Greenwich Village fulfill or neglect to meet ideal New Urbanist criteria in design, housing policy, and sense of community. Most New Urbanist communities are generally regarded as success stories in New Urbanist discourse, but communities like Seaside and Celebration have struggled with claims of inauthenticity, social stratification, and isolation. (Fujiwara) (LGC)

I continue to address these claims and the skepticism of University of South Florida Geography professor Ambe Njoh and York University professor Jill Grant. Grant's *The Ironies of New Urbanism* eloquently unpacks some of the paradoxes of New Urbanist planning. Some of Grant's arguments include how New Urbanism appeals to traditional forms and values while adopting modernist tactics, supports enhancing the public realm while advancing the private realm, and advocates urban forms while building suburban enclaves. Refuting Grant's claims

with tangible examples of successful New Urbanist community development forms a nuanced argument. Njoh's New Urbanist strategy report helps the reader understand how Grant's critical claims can be applied to Celebration, and what the Celebration can do to rectify such flaws.

Chapter **three** contains an evaluation of David Harvey's theory of accumulation by dispossession (ABD) and Das' Primitive Accumulation (PA) and how these frameworks can be applied to Celebration. The practices of ABD include privatization, financialization, management and manipulation of crises, and state redistributions. Privatization can be applied to largely any practice carried out in Celebration, from business, schooling, leisure, and more. Financialization is represented by the various financial transfers between the Disney Development Company and outside private parties. Whether the creation of signage by private design brands or the sale of the entire business center, Celebration was wholly financialized. Management and manipulation of crises is a recent phenomenon in Celebration's history. This concept can be applied to difficulties with building construction quality and other disreputable deeds of Lexin Capital. With many homes and businesses falling into disrepair, owners are filing lawsuits and seeking compensation. Successful litigation could compensate the home and business owners, demonstrating the power of the proletariat and PA. Further research into the dynamics of Celebration's resident employment outside of the community and the plethora of timeshares could demonstrate how ABD sought to divorce residents from reinvesting in Celebration's local economy.

Chapter **four** utilizes Raju Das's revitalized Marxist theory of Primitive Accumulation (PA) in conversation with ABD to assess how Greenwich Village has withstood the pressures of ABD while building a successful New Urbanist community from the bottom-up. The Greenwich

Village case study assists the empirical understanding of theory. I place the classic geographic literary texts of Jane Jacobs's *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* in dialogue with the equally renowned Robert Caro's *The Power Broker* to explore the struggle between two opposing forces. The juxtaposition of grassroots and NIMBY neighborhood organizations in Greenwich Village faced with the authoritarian top-down approach of Robert Moses depicts a broadly applicable scenario of the power struggle in community development. I tie this analysis together with the contemporary urban design of Greenwich Village.

Ultimately, I posit my own suggestions regarding how the theoretical concepts we analyzed can be applied to future urban development. I reiterate my support of the New Urbanist building model, but also assert that there is no panacea. Every place differs physically, socially, and culturally, and these factors must be accounted for when devising planned communities. I give perceptible examples of various instances throughout the world where different planning approaches were needed. Primarily, I discuss community land trusts and their role in creating a more inclusive neighborhood focused on long-term growth. I advocate for charrettes and other bottom-up planning methodologies to be applied throughout urban planning because they offer a voice for all residents. Additional information about arising technologies such as open-source street mapping and sustainable housing features also warrant mention as we balance classic neighborhood design with modern techniques. In due course, community building should be a just, cooperative effort. All communities, regardless of their current situations, have the potential to provide enjoyable, safe, and equitable lives for their residents.

CHAPTER TWO. FOUNDATIONS OF THE NEW URBANISM

Fundamentally, New Urbanism seeks to combat sprawling, anti-urban practices that prevailed in the latter half of the 20th Century like urban renewal and suburban sprawl. Many of the shortcomings of mid to late 20th Century planning may stem from the values of the Congrès internationaux d'architecture moderne (CIAM). The congress was founded in June 1928, at the Swiss Chateau de la Sarraz, by 28 European architects organized by Le Corbusier. CIAM later hosted a series of events and congresses across Europe, welcoming some of the most prominent architects of the time. Notable invited architects include Karl Moser, Hendrik Berlage, and Victor Bourgeois. Le Corbusier championed his idea of the *Functional City* concept at a CIAM meeting; this broadened congress's scope into urban planning. The *Functional City* intended to solve social problems faced by cities through strict functional segregation and the distribution of the population into tall apartment blocks at widely spaced intervals. The *Functional City* embodied the idea of high-rise housing blocks, free circulation, and abundant green spaces which would become characteristic of Le Corbusier's work. Le Corbusier eventually left the congress in 1955, but in the 26 years between CIAM's foundation and Le Corbusier's departure, his ideals had spread throughout the architectural sphere of influence. This meant that after World War II, much of the rebuilding and greenfield development employed Le Corbusier's ideals.

Robert Moses was assuredly influenced by Le Corbusier. Author Robert Caro's *Power Broker* produces a biography of Robert Moses, the mid-twentieth century American urban planner and city official principally responsible for building highways, bridges, and multi-story housing that bisected neighborhoods and urban fabrics throughout New York. Later I elaborate on Moses's role in New York City, specifically Greenwich Village and Urbanism. For now, we

must understand that Moses' methodology of development fundamentally opposed New Urbanist ideals. Distinguishable from Moses' ideals, New Urbanism supports urban infill supporting walkable blocks and streets, traditional neighborhood development (TND), and transit-oriented development (TOD). Urban infill focuses on adaptive reuse, density, and urban design to create navigable, safe, and practical streets for pedestrians and cyclists alike. TND employs an array of housing types, mixed land uses, civic centers, and a walkable/bikeable design. TOD creates compact, walkable, pedestrian-oriented, mixed-use communities that utilize reliable, safe, and practical public transportation systems whether traveling throughout the city or metropolitan area.

In need of a coherent concept to advocate for the aforementioned principles, Greek American architect and urban planner, Stefanos Polyzoides coined the phrase "New Urbanism", and subsequently created the Congress for the New Urbanism in 1991. Initial meetings were held between architects Andres Duany, Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, Elizabeth Moule, Stefanos Polyzoides, Peter Calthorpe, and Daniel Solomon. These individuals became known as the "founders of the CNU". At the congressional meetings, the architects focused on three scales of development: the neighborhood, the block/street, and the region. The first executive director of the CNU, Peter Katz was monumental in publishing the group's first book, *The New Urbanism: Toward an Architecture of Community (1994)*. Similar to the aforementioned CIAM, the book allowed New Urbanist ideals to spread across the larger architectural community. From 1994 onwards, the CNU became a cooperative, multidisciplinary organization that enlisted design practitioners, builders, public officials, writers, nonprofit leaders, and citizens focused on human-scale communities. The CNU began to advocate for wholesale changes to the built environment, from downtown to the countryside. Some historical phenomena stimulated the New Urbanist

discourse. For example, the market for mixed-use, walkable has steadily grown over the past ten years, mostly due to the preferences of the emerging millennial generation and empty nester Boomers. The 2008 housing crash halted many predatory lending tactics and considerably slowed the rate of suburban expansion. Suburban infill/retrofit projects have also gained headway in recent years. Overall, these circumstances opened the door for creative collaborative efforts that establish New Urbanist developments.

Despite New Urbanism's growing niche in society, there are still skeptics about New Urbanism's scope, intentions, and overall effects. To build a nuanced argument, I apply the works of such a skeptic, Jill Grant, whose article The *Ironies of New Urbanism* eloquently unpacks some of the paradoxes of New Urbanist planning. Grant's arguments include how New Urbanism appeals to traditional forms and values while adopting modernist tactics, supports enhancing the public realm while advancing the private realm, and advocates urban forms while building suburban enclaves. She supports many of Ambe Njoh's qualms with the master-planned, profit-oriented development of Celebration, Florida. I plan to refute Grant's claims by elaborating how traditional forms and modernist tactics do not have to be mutually exclusive. (Grant 161)

For example, the New Urbanist policy of Traditional Neighborhood Development (TND) supports mixed-use commercial, residential, and industrial. These traditional forms and values synergize with modernist tactics. TND is a subset of New Urbanism that is limited to the scale of neighborhood or town and should not be confused with New Urbanism. New Urbanism encompasses all scales of planning and development, from building to region. A notable example of a successful TND occurs at Baxter Village in Fort Mill, South Carolina. The Clear Springs

Development Company broke ground on the initial 6,200-acre village development in 1998. The development company was founded by descendants of the family that established the Fort Mill-based textile company, Springs Industries. Therefore, the developers and initials planners were historically invested in the local community. Therefore, it makes sense that Baxter Village did not deviate from tradition and created a modernist community. Instead, Baxter Village caters to nostalgia and employs traditional forms through street layout with shorter blocks that enhance connectivity, differing lot sizes, and architectural character for historical interest. It must be noted that the Clear Springs Development Company sought assistance related to design guidelines from the famed master planning and architecture firm, LandDesign. The planning firm was tasked with modifying the county's zoning ordinance to meet Baxter's intended vision. LandDesign had to interact with the York County zoning overlay district to amend laws that supported suburban sprawl. Instead, the planners advocated for obtaining inspiration from traditional street and public realm standards, housing typologies, and diversity of land uses that resulted in the creation of Baxter's thriving community. LandDesign collaborated to create a master plan and design guidelines for Baxter Village that would guide the next 15 years of development.

This master plan harnessed nostalgia via an ambiance of southern charm and hospitality, a compact community, and a bustling Town Center. This Southern Upcountry style is encapsulated by white picket fences, rear-load garages, front porches complete with rocking chairs, and shared public spaces that foster daily interaction and reinforce a feeling of community. Simultaneously, Baxter Village planned for the future by locating retail near housing, with a walkable streetscape and charming public spaces. These features ensure that Baxter Village remains stimulating for its residents and that local capital is reinvested into the

community. The traditional architectural character and a scenic, tree-lined streetscape encourage walkability. Overall, Baxter Village demonstrates how traditional forms and values can successfully be synergized with modernist tactics.

Figure 6. Walkable streets with Southern Upcountry columns and porches. – Source: Landdesign

Figure 7. Mixed-use Downtowns with vibrant business and nightlife to facilitate a close-knit community. – Source: Landdesign

Furthermore, Jill Grant argues that New Urbanism is contradictory because it enhances the public realm while simultaneously strengthening the private realm. While this is certainly the case in all commercially successful New Urbanist developments, the success of the private realm is not mutually exclusive from creating a vibrant public realm. For example, many New Urbanist developments have made a conscious effort to integrate local resident-owned businesses. New Urbanist communities such as Mashpee Commons in Massachusetts host a few flagship locations for national chains, while also integrating many local businesses owned by community residents. Cape Cod Coffee, Rory's Market, and E for All – Cape Cod Fashionista are just a few of the locally-owned restaurants and boutiques in Mashpee Commons.

Mashpee is a town of 15,000 residents on the southern coast of Cape Cod. The town is located on the historical land of the Mashpee Wampanoag people. The Mashpee Wampanoag Tribe is one of two federally recognized tribes of the Wampanoag people. In fact, Mashpee is the

site of the Mashpee Wampanoag Tribe headquarters and many tribal members. Before interactions with colonists in the mid-1600s, Mashpee Wampanoag built a cohesive and prosperous civilization while living in harmony with their natural endowments. This was soon to change in the year 1763, when the British Crown designated Mashpee as a plantation, against the will of the Wampanoag. Designation as a plantation meant that the area governed by the Mashpee Wampanoag was integrated into the colonial district of Mashpee. Wampanoag could elect their own officials to maintain order in their area but were still subjected to colonial government. Additionally, increasing numbers of colonial residents began to arrive in the surrounding area, and encroachment upon colonial land ensued. As colonial residents began to settle in the Mashpee area in the early 1800s, they envied the natives' prosperous logging, fishing, and game. Therefore in 1870, the state approved the incorporation of Mashpee as a town, and the violent encroachment of colonists dispossessed the Wampanoag of their land and self-government. In 1970, the Mashpee failed to reacquire land claims from the state of Massachusetts. Thankfully, the Mashpee were resilient as an organized community and gained federal recognition as a tribe in 2007.

From an initial population of 242 residents in 1920, Mashpee has gradually grown and amassed a significant population. The town followed a similar growth trajectory to most post-WWII suburban municipalities as it faded into the obscurity of a strip mall landscape in the 1960s and 1970s. The primary point of origin that birthed Mashpee Commons was the New Seabury Shopping Center. Mashpee Commons was designed to be an environmentally friendly response to the suburban sprawl that plagued the United States during this time. The initial property included a bank, hardware store, florist shop, movie theater, small market, post office, and one restaurant. Yet the owner of the Shopping Center, Buff Chace, procured the radical idea

to convert the shopping center into a diverse, mixed-use town center surrounded by residential neighborhoods. Chace hired Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk of DPZ Partners to manifest his ambitious vision. In the mid-1980s, the name was changed from the New Seabury Shopping Center to Mashpee Commons. Initially, Mashpee Commons contained approximately 10 businesses. Now, Mashpee Commons accommodates over 100 businesses, of which roughly 70 are locally owned. Residential units are oftentimes located above the shops. This style of mixed-use development is conducive to Mashpee residents patronizing local businesses, as well as allowing the possibility for live-work units. Similar to Baxter Village, Mashpee Commons also utilized the traditional architecture of historic New England towns within their neighborhood. This caters to the nostalgic feeling that retains residents, while also drawing in outsiders who are curious about colonial New England history and identity.

Figure 8. Pedestrian friendly squares and outdoor seating between an abundance of business makes Mashpee Commons lively and diverse. – Source: Capecodlife.com

Figure 9. Traditional New England architecture with modern twists creates a visually appealing scene. Abundant seating for patrons allows plenty of income for local business while facilitating a colorful social fabric. – Source: Mashpee Commons

The New Urbanist suburban retrofit was implemented by adopting progressive zoning codes that added internal streets and more, dense building arrangements. The neighborhood also utilized liner buildings to cover parking lots from view. Liner buildings are very thin buildings that line the edges of streets, plazas, squares, or other public spaces. Mashpee Commons is not

just commercially successful, but also socially vivid as recreational spaces have been strategically designed to serve as communal gathering areas. The town planning board also granted 300-plus residential units, including affordable housing to be built in the near future. These measures balance the commercial success of Mashpee Commons with social prosperity, creating a hospitable, diverse environment for residents and business owners.

Additionally, Grant suggests that New Urbanist communities are solely suburban exclaves that promote sprawl and are heavily reliant on individualized methods of transportation. While this unfortunate trend may occur far too frequently, especially in failed New Urbanist communities, an emphasis on the subset of New Urbanism called Transit Oriented Development (TOD) can remedy the isolation and profligacy of suburban New Urbanist developments. TOD, founded by Peter Calthorpe, intends to connect New Urbanist suburbs with larger metropolitan areas. American urbanist, architectural theorist, and urban philosopher Michael Mehaffy worked as a project manager with PacTrust -- the pension fund partnership and master developer – to redevelop Orenco Station in 1997. The relationship between Orenco Station and Portland, Oregon epitomizes the successful connection of urban areas to suburbs via TOD. Orenco Station is a suburb 15 miles to the west of Downtown Portland. Before Orenco Station, Mehaffy states that “there were no real precedents even for attached product in that suburban market, let alone the kinds of radical densities and other features proposed” (Planetizen). Initial steps in the transformation of Orenco Station rezoned land adjacent to the existing light rail stations to establish new mixed-use, transit-oriented development. The light rail line at Orenco Station is connected to Portland’s transportation system as a node. This connectivity facilitated relatively high transit ridership of 22%, compared to about 6% in the region overall. Orenco Station also utilized various scales of transportation with the light rail line, supplementing with electric

scooters, bicycles, and walking paths to allow workers to commute to Portland without automobiles. PacTrust also became a pivotal contributor in the creation of new zoning ordinances and envisaging the future community. Mehaffy accredits trust and pragmatic collaboration with public entities as one of the most critical elements in the decision to continue developing Orenco Station. Through extensive market research, a study of precedents, private-sector expertise, and entrepreneurial vision, PacTrust confirmed that there was and still is a demand for radically different suburban communities such as Orenco Station. While not solely related to TOD, Orenco Station is also zoned to create a walkable town center of mixed-use businesses, services, and residences. Similar to Mashpee Commons, mixed-use buildings are accompanied by liner buildings. Liner buildings are visually appealing to patrons, while limited on-street parking optimizes urban space and encourages pedestrian perusing of businesses. Generally, Orenco Station represents a successful harbinger in the New Urbanist subgenre of Transit Oriented Development. While certainly a risky model at the time it was built, Orenco Station's success has paved the way for many more TOD suburbs surrounding cities like New York City, Washington DC, Chicago, and more.

This summary of New Urbanisms and successful communities familiarizes the reader with thriving New Urbanisms that abide by key tenets like adaptive reuse, density, safe pedestrians/cycling streets, mixed-use zoning codes, architectural diversity, and many more. New Urbanist projects such as Baxter Village Mashpee Commons, and Orenco Station depict how fallacies of the urban design concept, as examined by Grant, can be combated through conscious bottom-up development. These case studies of successful community development projects, especially those created by the founding members of the CNU, demonstrate how abiding by fundamental New Urbanist policies can create successful and vibrant communities.

The foundations of New Urbanist planning and the ideals of the planners are useful in addressing our following topic, the pitfalls of Celebration, Florida. Celebration's history and development provide a cautionary tale for future ambitious urban planners, and how the allure of capital gains can compromise the fabric of a community.

CHAPTER THREE – CELEBRATION'S CAUTIONARY TALE

When discussing Celebration's establishment, a crucial starting point is the community's goals. Understandably, the goals of a community will differ based on who you may ask. A business owner and resident may be most concerned with keeping their business profitable and afloat. A realtor would insist on selling homes and making a healthy commission whilst maintaining a trustworthy reputation within the neighborhood. An average resident may prioritize intangible aspects such as the community feeling, safety, and livability of their neighborhood. Despite these diverse goals, one aspect of Celebration was prioritized by planners and pivotal to everyone who engaged with the community: Nostalgia. Nostalgia is very difficult to define, as it is subjective. Although, Russian cultural theorist, Svetlana Boym provides a useful definition of nostalgia that is malleable enough to serve diverse inclinations. Boym describes nostalgia as "a longing for a home that no longer exists or has never existed, a sentiment of loss and displacement in a romance with one's own fantasy" (Boym). To me, this means that developing a community strictly upon a sense of nostalgia is antithetical to New Urbanism; As previously alluded to, successful New Urbanism in Baxter Village employed traditional forms and values with modernist tactics. To solely employ defunct, waning, and abstract conception as the basis of a community is equivalent to playing blackjack without ever looking at your cards. From Boym's definition, we can imagine that the artificial creation of nostalgia is no simple task and must bear in mind individual yearnings for a life that never existed. In a sorrowful poetic sense, the foundations of nostalgia begin with the act of displacement from a comfortable place. Amid Celebration's search for nostalgia, developers, realtors, and business people employed policies of privatization and financialization fundamental

to accumulation by dispossession (ABD) that would displace the same residents who supported their neighborhood. (Odenhal)

Figure 10. Early 20th-century nostalgic car on Celebration's golf course. Accompanied by a rustic windmill in the background

To reiterate, Accumulation by Dispossession is described by David Harvey as a Marxian concept used to explain "the historical process of divorcing the producer from the means of production" (Marx Capital: A Critique of Political Economy). In praxis, ABD entails taking land, demarcating it, expelling a resident population, and then releasing the land into the nexus of privatized capital accumulation. I tend to favor using ABD to describe an entrenched form of capitalism characteristic of neoliberal ideals. ABD should be applied to contemporary practices and modern histories. As our history of Celebration will describe, the search for a commercialized and profitable nostalgia invoked ABD while simultaneously disregarding the wants and needs of Celebrationites. Instead, developers sought to accommodate speculative

capital from outside of Celebration, whether in the form of visitors, investors, or possible residents. In theory, this search for nostalgia was intended to be a wholesome return to old-fashioned values that people believed they knew and loved, but in reality, it was a longing for a home that never existed, culminating in displacement that residents could have never imagined.

To fulfill what developers believed was the nostalgic fantasy of consumers, they deployed modern houses with historically themed architectural styles like Gothic, Victorian, and American plantation. Early on the town was composed of about 2,500 homes of limited styles and colors, but with some architectural diversity and leniency towards customization. Initially, some residents were skeptical that the narrow lots and alleyways were simply a ploy for developers to maximize profit by squeezing as many homes as possible into the neighborhood. Without entirely discounting such nefarious motives, the dense building style is fundamental to New Urbanism and conducive to community and social interaction. Eventually, even the skeptical residents began to enjoy the small lots and density, stating that meeting many new neighbors in a short period of time was like their first year in college. Public sociability extended beyond immediate proximity as well. Resident's also built relationships through religious organizations, schools, or community initiatives. One of these residents was Scottish social activist and analyst, Andrew Ross. Ross moved to Celebration in 1997 and wrote *The Celebration Chronicles*, based on his participant observation of the town's residents. Ross's book was the first ethnography of a New Urbanist community and provides key insights into Celebration's lived experience. Ross expresses interest in a very curious question of whether Celebration's initial sense of community should be accredited to the physical design of the neighborhood or the character of the original pioneering resident? As an aspiring urban planner, I feel inclined to commend the work of Celebration's planners, but hindsight is also a powerful

instrument and the later struggles of Celebration cause me to favor the latter – the leading character of initial residents – as the main factor behind Celebration's sense of community. Later, the decreasing role of these pioneering residents and growing focus on physical design elements that did not serve existing resident interests caused conflict in Celebration. (Ross 84-85)

For example, physical elements of design such as the aforementioned densely clustered homes surrounding a small, pedestrian-friendly shopping area were unique at the time. Celebration is novel among many New Urbanist developments because it was built around this downtown retail core. The shopping area encircles the small, man-made Lake Rianhard. Initial efforts invited stores that catered to tourist customs and nearby Disney employees, not residents' needs. Stores offered discounts to Disney employees but not residents of the community. In this situation, the disjuncture between local and outside capital becomes evident and cultivates ABD. Businesses were effectively serving Disney employees, offering them preferential treatment, disincentivized local residents, and ultimately hoped to cyclically profit off Disney's revenue as Disney's employees were the primary customers. Business owners were contracted by Disney and fined if they closed their businesses before 9 PM. Celebration residents openly supported the departure of two luxury clothing stores who eventually relocated and left Celebration in 1998 because of low profit and an inability to serve practical resident needs. Adding to the hostile sales environment, of the four restaurants in downtown, only one – Max's Café – was truly affordable for family meals. Celebration residents' daily needs were much better suited outside of town where they could shop for food, clothing, and household necessities at sensible prices. Seeing these developments, Disney gradually began to disassociate itself from Celebration, and

in 1997 the entertainment behemoth withdrew its name from “Disney’s Town of Celebration”. (Ross 83)

Interestingly enough, when considering Celebration’s resident reaction to Disney’s departure we can see a telling sign of proletariat empowerment that is generally more commonplace in Greenwich Village. Celebrationites learned that they could embarrass the Disney brand by threatening to go to the press and expose Disney for providing unsatisfactory amenities, paternalistic housing codes, inadequate mobility options, and much more. Disney is and was notoriously averse to bad press. Celebrationites used this tendency to leverage their communal power. Due to their outspoken attitude, the *New York Times* even published an article around the 1997 Disney departure questioning the lack of democracy in Celebration. Aside from solely the unsavory media coverage, Disney also feared the legal ramification of some residents in badly built homes who vowed to take the company to court. (Ross 110)

Disney’s eventual departure depicts the fundamentals of ABD. From Celebration’s inception, the amusement park proprietor owned the land, demarcating and designing the land in accordance with, their corporate desires. They were effectively expelling the resident population drawn to Celebration partly due to its affiliation with Disney. Ultimately, the land, businesses, and homes would be released into the nexus of privatized capital accumulation and bought by another company that deemed Celebration as desirable. If we are to truly address the root of this disjunction in a Marxian sense, we must examine the labor relations in Celebration.

Andrew Ross provides useful insight into labor relations in Celebration. Ultimately, Ross concludes that the parent company, Disney, drove the chain of labor, but did not consider itself responsible for what occurred further down the chain. This lack of vertical integration caused the parent company to dissociate from the neglect of their asset. Ross states that this is the principle

that gives rise to sweatshops and exploited labor all over the global economic map. While certainly not as brutal or inhumane as horrific mistreatments of many laborers around the world, Disney's exemption from accountability makes the company similar to some of the worst transnational labor law culprits. Since Celebrationites are victims of a moderate level of hostility compared to sweatshops, indentured servants, and various other neglected labor throughout the world, they are more capable of harnessing the empowering rhetoric of PA. (Ross 112)

Ross even propounds that Celebrationites yearning for a paternal figure to blame for their misfortune caused Michael Eisner, CEO of Disney at the time, to be criticized for the neglect and deteriorating living conditions. Eisner was regarded as a godlike figure who could provide an authoritarian presence when necessary. Residents even wrote letters directly to Eisner threatening impending lawsuits and complaints to local media outlets. Unfortunately, the lack of response from Eisner represents how the Fordist sense of accountability is waning from contemporary corporate structures as subcontractors have become prevalent. The ability to genuinely attribute the power struggle behind wage negotiations, welfare opportunities, or urban planning decisions, in Celebration's context to one predominant figure is largely foregone. This inability to point the finger oftentimes makes a clear and concise proletariat social movement difficult to undertake. There are far too many variables to create a cohesive grassroots plan. Perhaps this phenomenon is an intentional factor of late-stage capitalism as business moguls and corporate heavyweights seek to obscure their sense of accountability.

Conversely, this situation is also applicable to Greenwich Village's expressway dispute with Robert Moses as residents sought to attribute their subjugation to a paternal figure. Whether this was justified in Eisner's and Moses's contexts depends on who you ask. Still, Moses's grandiose demeanor and immodesty might have earned him some plaudits from certain

audiences, but also put a target on his back when considering relationships with grassroots organizations in Greenwich Village. Eisner was similarly disconnected from Celebration's planning, like how Moses had no conception of life in Greenwich Village. While Moses owned all of his plans as his brainchild. Eisner never claimed to be an expert, even being taken aback by the announcement that the Town Center hosted mixed-use apartments, along with commercial amenities. Considering the previous discussion, we can see how ABD manifested in Celebration and how entrenched neoliberal policies made accountability for these shortcomings relatively scarce. (Ross 109)

In recent years, the town has made a conscious effort to integrate more locally owned businesses into the shopping area, such as Celebration Town Tavern, Fortuna Bakery & Café, and Celebration Dental Group. Although some of the primary profit-producing businesses include national chains like Starbucks, Kilwin's Ice Cream & Fudge, and Le Macaron French Pastries. Reluctantly, I admit that I patronized the Starbucks in Celebration and received great customer service and a casual atmosphere. Including chain restaurants in a Town Center is a double-edged sword. On one hand, it can provide a consistent cup of coffee and an ambiance that the patron is accustomed to. On the other hand, the capital spent at the chain business is rarely reinvested in the community or returned to the pocket of the residents within the community.

Additionally, I had a pleasant interaction with the owner of a Thai restaurant in Town Center. After a prolonged and unsuccessful search for a public bathroom, I settled on attempting to use the Thai Thani Celebration restaurant's bathroom. Although I was not a customer, the host helped accommodate me. Furthermore, since I dropped by between lunch and dinner hours the restaurant owner was more than happy to chat. He allowed me to use the restroom and even encouraged me to return and try the restaurant. These interactions depict some welcoming

characteristics of local businesses in Celebration's Town Center and some of the benefits/shortcomings of incorporating commercial chain businesses.

Within the Town Center's shops, restaurants, commercial establishments, and 106 residences lie communal buildings such as a town hall, post office, and movie theater. These unique buildings were designed by the 1980s' best architects. While not essential to our theoretical analysis of Celebration, they provide stimulating viewing and insight into the often extravagant and unconventional methods that attempted to create interest in the Town Center.

Figure 11. Celebration's small post office was designed by architect and product designer Michael Graves. The post office is shaped like a silo and includes lighthearted porthole windows. The United States Postal Service building is regarded as an example of postmodern architecture.

Figure 12. Celebration's Old Town Hall hosts a neoclassical building with a postmodern twist. While somewhat reminiscent of the 19th century antebellum Greek Revival plantation house, the structure pokes fun at the Classica architectural "need" for columns. Architect Philip Johnson incorporated a symmetrical row of imposing round columns, and 52 thin pillars crowd together beneath a pyramid-shaped roof.

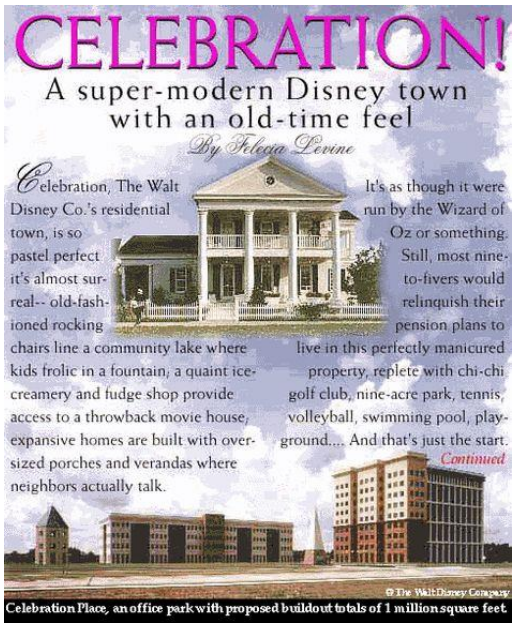

Figure 13. This brochure page from the Walt Disney Company depicts Celebration as a balance of old and new, with nostalgic leisure amenities such as fudge shops and creameries, accompanied by a built environment suitable for the nostalgic sense of community. – Source: funandsun.com

Figure 14. The googie style cinema in Celebration, Florida was built by architect Cesar Pelli and Associates. Googie architecture is a futurist architecture that gained popularity from 1945 to the early 1970s. The two large spires are nostalgic reminders of futuristic architecture from the 1950s.

Michael Beirut, a partner of the notable graphic design firm, Pentagram designed all the branding and signage for Celebration in the 1990s. All of Celebration's municipal town signage like the street signs, the wayfinding signs, and the incidental signs that were all built into the basic infrastructure use the Cheltenham font. Beirut describes the font as robust, round, and welcoming - suitable to Celebration's character. Also designed by Pentagram, the town crest depicts a nostalgic image of a young girl with ponytails riding a bicycle while being pursued by a friendly dog. This quintessential image of traditional Americana displaying a leisurely bike ride and picket fence caters to nostalgia. Still, it is somewhat unlikely to manifest in the reality of speeding luxury vehicles on contemporary Celebration's streets.

Figures 15 – 19. Demonstrate Pentagram's use of signage in Celebration to create a homogenous, nostalgic ambiance. Source: Pinterest

With the context of failed physical manifestations of nostalgia in mind, we must now consider some of the actions of Celebration's town management that intended to incite nostalgia. As a subsidiary of The Walt Disney Company, The Celebration Company (TCC) implemented a Pattern Book to dictate how developers could design site plans. Retaining the nostalgic theme, the Pattern Book presented architectural instructions to builders and architects about maintaining proportion and unity in town design. The Pattern Book is comprised of a comprehensive volume of recommendations for the placement and design of houses within streetscapes. The book was

founded upon principal mathematical ratios wherein everything from fence height and porch depth to façade color and material was required to correspond with the respective house style. A useful example is how the windows, trim boards, columns, and railings of Coastal style homes, were expected to be white, brown in Mediterranean homes, pale colors in the French, and deeper colors in other homes. Celebrationites rarely disagreed with the stringent codes, perhaps not solely because they believed it would harbor their desired nostalgia, but because the restrictions were intended to protect property values. After all, many homes in Celebration were priced 20-30% higher than other, similar-sized homes in the area. Yet the allure of price stability, nostalgia, and perhaps even profit was desirable for many homeowners. On the off chance that stylistic disputes occurred, exceptions were made for tasteful historical precedents if The Celebration Company's (TCC) supervisors approved. Yet, one can speculate about how subjective terms such as "tasteful" could be contentious between homeowners and the resident town architect, John Barnes. Barnes elaborated that the Pattern Book, in his conception at least was more of a guidebook than a set of rules. In turn, the book encouraged and discouraged builders from using certain characteristics but allowed for some openness to interpretation. (Ross 88)

Providing some nuance, housing-code exceptions allowed homebuilders peculiar designs, such as Diane and Bob Kupchak. The couple from Fort Lauderdale sought to construct a replica of Georgia's famous Victorian Parrott-Camp-Soucy House. Some Celebrationites complained that the rule-bending allowed the most affluent residents to traverse the restrictions of the Pattern Book. These residents were likely afraid of facing punishment from Celebration's Porch Police, a band of style inspectors who would call and leave residents stern messages if their chairs, plants, flower baskets and more were not up fulfilling the codes of the Pattern Book. Perhaps these residents interpreted the Pattern Book more rigidly than architect Barnes. The Pattern Book

situation adds some refinement to our application of ABD as by paying a mortgage or rent, residents claimed their land. The Pattern Book, conceived by Ray Gindroz and Urban Development Agency (UDA), provided the "demarcation" that sought to maintain the home's aesthetic and commercial value. Furthermore, since the real estate market is prone to collapse, and nostalgia is an unfruitful concept, a significant portion of the resident population would succumb to foreclosures. A majority of foreclosures occurred during the financial crisis, but the warning signs were impending. Finalizing the application of ABD and perhaps foreshadowing the financial crisis, Disney sold most of its stake in Celebration to Lexin Capital in 2004, opening the town to further financialization. Regardless, by the early to mid-2000s many of the home paint color restrictions were lifted. Although a troubling trend began to arise as the most expensive homes were oftentimes the most difficult to sell. With the styles of the Pattern Book decreasing in stringency, TCC and board members sought a unique approach to creating nostalgia that detracted focus from residents. (Ross 87-89)

The new approach to nostalgia now catered to tourists and residents of the area surrounding Celebration. Board members and town management would oftentimes go to ridiculous and unnatural lengths to invoke nostalgia. Most notably, the town pumped leaf-shaped confetti out of pipes in the central square during Autumn to simulate a change of season that is unforeseen in the Floridian climate. Similarly, during the 1998 holiday season Celebration began a tradition of installing snow blowing machines on Market Street to simulate snowfall every evening. Tourists and local residents traveled from near and far to enjoy the "snow" which was actually composed of soap bubbles, not snowflakes. Assuredly, these antics were not requested by residents of Celebration, or at least not a majority of residents. However, this despotism prevailed because the community development district (CDD) framework allowed developers to

control the decision-making process because they were the primary property owners. Presumably, these residents would have preferred if community members' time and effort were channeled into more practical ventures such as maintaining deteriorating homes. The practical rifts of Celebration's community fabric became more apparent in 2008 as the Financial Crisis became full-fledged. The tenets of New Urbanism tend to supplement the wants and needs of residents, yet unfortunately, Celebration's urban design lacks those tenets. (Ross 83) (Wohead)

To further my point, some of Celebration's physical manifestations of the urban fabric are contrary to New Urbanist tendencies. This assessment is supported by the 2009 New Urbanist strategy report of University of South Florida Geography professor, Ambe Njoh. Njoh provides a more contemporary and critical gaze into life in Celebration than Andrew Ross; Njoh analyzes Celebration's ability to abide by tenets of New Urbanism. Ideally, New Urbanism focuses on improving the quality of life instead of maximizing the rate of economic growth. As we have learned, Celebration did not maintain this ideology. Njoh describes some crucial design tenets of New Urbanism such as a quarter-mile from the community center to the community edge as optimal neighborhood size, rules permitting ancillary structures in the rear of buildings such as workplaces or rental facilities, canopied streets, and multimodal transportation networks. Celebration lacks the aforementioned qualities while employing features of the built environment that are antithetical to New Urbanism such as several cul-de-sacs, curvilinear roads, and deviations from the preferred gridded street pattern. While certainly admirable and sustainable, Celebration developed in an inconsistent pattern of isolated neighborhoods to avoid building in the adjacent wetlands conservation areas. This contributes to Celebration's overall neighborhood density being much lower than New Urbanist ideals. Moreover, Celebration constructed a "suburb" called the North Village. The neighborhood bordered the freeway and was located very

close to neighboring tourist attractions. Within North Village, the most affordable housing design, “the Garden Homes” were built closest to the freeway. Contrastingly, the more affluent and expensive estate homes were built directly across from the golf course with a single approach road. This growing class distinction among housing types caused tension amongst residents. Initially, residents of Celebration rarely asked one another about the location or type of home they lived in, as it may cause an awkward appearance of privilege. But, with the North Village built, status symbol Mercedes and BMW vehicles began cruising through the previously humble neighborhood. (Ross 80) (Ross 86-87) (Njoh 7)

These contentions related to wealth discrepancies encourage Njoh’s rationale for supporting New Urbanist policies that address social characteristics of neighborhoods like bottom-up self-governance, diverse shops, multi-function facilities, along with prominent sites for community identity. Diverse businesses and prominent sites foster both physical and social diversity, creating an exciting urban built environment that is still navigable and legible. Yet oftentimes, when these New Urbanist measures such as narrow service roads behind homes are implemented, they are not properly utilized by residents. Ascribing to the consumer habits of much of the Floridian population, truck and SUV owners in Celebration had difficulty negotiating the tight spaces and two-way traffic in these alleyways. Eventually, future developments in Celebration included wider back alleys. While this is just one example, the alleyway dilemma represents how Celebration disregarded or modified New Urbanist tenets to appease residents. While this modification was one of the few examples of Celebration accommodating for its residents, the somewhat commendable effort opposed New Urbanist tendencies and fostered nascent inequality. The planning board’s attempt to appease large vehicle owners also depicts their preference for the resident’s opinions with the financial means

to own a vehicle. If this trend continues planners and urban designers may be headed down a slippery slope of capital-induced compromise.

Figure 20. Customary Celebration Townhome with gate and fence

Figure 21. Alleyway in Celebration. Primarily used for garage parking and utilities

These gimmicky escapades, strict housing codes, unsustainable businesses, and more do not solely exist in a self-sustaining vacuum. On the contrary, functional communities very rarely survive without the ability to evolve and keep their residents happy and in tune with one another.

Ultimately, Andrew Ross' assessment of Celebration's community and truthfulness attributes trust as a guarantor of community life over any urban planning or design tactic. As a closing anecdote, my personal experiences in Celebration did not convey a feeling of trust. During a weekend in the Spring of 2022, I visited Celebration to compile some photographs and interact with community members. As I walked along the street parallel to Celebration Elementary School, I was taking photographs of various homes and observed the layout of the

community. Suddenly, I was greeted by a woman glaring at me from the stoop of her home. She did not address me, just simply glared and closed her door. While this may superficially appear to be a proper manifestation of *eyes on the street* surveillance, this was distant from what Jane Jacobs praised in Greenwich Village. Jacobs advocated for informal surveillance of the urban environment that allowed residents to move safely through the streets; other people need to be present, contributing to an atmosphere of safety. Although, at that time, I was the only person walking along the street, and the woman's reaction was not one of caution or observance but rather a mistrust. Frankly, I could not blame her because I was an anomaly on Celebration's streets. I could count the number of residents I passed while walking through the residential neighborhood on one hand. As hard as I tried to enjoy Celebration, I could not unearth a sense of community. This was not the utopian wonderland Walt Disney had envisioned, but there lies a glimmer of hope that residents of Celebration can learn to trust each other and reclaim their community (Ross 148).

CHAPTER FOUR. RESILIENCE OF GREENWICH VILLAGE CAUSES RESOLUTION

My analysis of Greenwich Village could only begin in one place: Writer and activist Jane Jacobs' best-known and most influential work, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. Jacob's piece serves as a critique of the 1950's urban planning policy, while also calling attention to the fallacies of Robert Moses' plans. Her work has inspired the contemporary policies of planning professionals, grassroots organizations, conscious engineers, and many more. Jacobs' stance was firm as she criticized the racially motivated, segregated, policies of urban renewal. These policies catered towards the white urban residents' mobility or white residents intending to move to the suburbs. Jacobs instead advocated for mixed-use development, pedestrian-conscious streets, short blocks with dense housing/amenities, and an aura of community and neighborhood safety encapsulated by her concept of *eyes on the street*. As a resident of Greenwich Village, with a holistic understanding of New York City, Jacobs preferred to define neighborhoods in a pragmatic, functional, and fluid approach, rather than a distinctly bound spatial definition.

Jacobs adds that "railroad tracks, waterfronts, campuses, expressways, large parking areas, and large parks… exist amid moribund or declining surroundings" (Jacobs 337-38). She goes on to explain that these massive single-use facilities seldom attract people, in the flesh. While plenty of people certainly travel along a railroad or expressway or park their car in a large parking area, these are rarely areas of social interaction. Coincidentally, Robert Moses was the New York City official principally responsible for building highways, bridges, and multi-story housing that bisected neighborhoods and urban fabrics throughout the New York City metropolitan area. As alluded to earlier, these developments functionally opposed the tenets of Jacob's, ideal, prosperous neighborhood. The first point of contention between the two regarded

Moses's 1952 proposal for a four-lane roadway through Washington Square linking Fifth Avenue to West Broadway. Jacobs and other nearby residents spearheaded a campaign not only to stop this new construction but to remove traffic from the park altogether. By 1959, the coalition successfully thwarted Moses' highway plans. Jacobs largely attributes the success of this neighborhood's resistance to power by a "whole series of individuals able to operate simultaneously at street scale and district scale, and on a district scale in neighborhoods of the city as a whole" (Jacobs 167-168). This quote reiterates that a holistic approach to urban planning is necessary. Residents of the neighborhood understood that the highway would not only remove an amenity they enjoy but also leave them vulnerable to ABD. Negligent planning practices that instigate ABD will be elaborated upon at a later point, but for now, it is crucial to understand how residents were able to resist Moses' plans. After all, Moses had previously boasted that "There is nobody against this... Nobody, nobody, nobody but a bunch of...a bunch of mothers" (Nevius). An alternative framework empowered these residents of Greenwich Village. One that I argue is rooted in an alternative definition of PA. As described earlier, David Harvey has largely eschewed the use of PA, instead of opting to utilize ABD he sees the embedded hold of capitalism's invisible hand as inseparable from past, present, and future dispossessions. Das believes that there is clearly a need for an alternative way of conceptualizing these dispossessions. Some of Harvey's useful contemporary insights can be appropriated but a framework fundamentally based on Marx's own theory of PA is necessary. This new framework, or perhaps a revival, considers value and production along with class and the working class more seriously than Harvey's approach.

Das is critical of Harvey's despondent article on ABD, claiming that Harvey's "intellectual and political ideas seem to be running away from the Marxist focus on class and the

working class as one that embodies universal suffering caused by exploitation and domination" (Das 608). Let us be reminded that Marx defines PA as privatizing the means of production, so that the exploiting owners can make money from the surplus labor of those who, lacking other means, must work for them. Das does not demand a comprehensive reimagination of Marxist discourse, but rather an unconventional return to Marxian conceptions, with an easy shift in language from the popularized ABD to PA when applicable as a politically effective tool. Das even goes as far as to argue that ABD is a concept that can be disenfranchising for the general laborer/prole as it draws attention to overarching processes of the contemporary capitalist world. In turn, ABD grants little agency or autonomy to these marginalized parties.

Das's provocative statement "When the worker is separated from their job due to bankruptcy of the company, or when workers lose income as well as titles to property (e.g., house) due to the operations of financial markets, these processes occur as a direct outcome of what are, more or less, economic processes" (Das 598). These economic processes which disenfranchise workers and place them into the volatility of the financial market are processes applicable to Celebration. Das continues that "in a context where capitalism has already come into being. Such processes cannot be conflated with peasants forcibly expelled from their land at the origin of capitalism" (Das 600). This statement helps us understand Das's framework and conceptualize how the previous theories we have discussed apply to Celebration. ABD certainly characterizes Celebration as residents and businesses lost property titles due to the negligence of Lexin Capital or the disrepair of their homes/businesses. Das believes that ABD is a modern concept rooted in capitalism and that Harvey has oversimplified to single-mindedly define concepts that elide a series of binaries or under-stresses their mutual differences. For example, Das critiques Harvey's statements that "the loss of workers' employment/pensions and the loss

of peasants' land happen due to state policies, and therefore, they both are ABD processes" (Das 600). Das refutes Harvey's statement because it is mistaken in assuming that the state is always involved in the reproduction of capitalist societies. The state can pursue socialism, communism, resource-based economies, and various other alternatives. Simply because the state may be involved in economic activities, does not automatically imply that the dispossession is part of ABD.

Harvey speculates, and Das agrees that the popularization of PA in economic geographic discourse is due to PA lacking a contemporary resonance and being associated with the word, primitive. Meanwhile, ABD is wholly applicable to an array of contemporary scenarios familiar to the standard reader such as pension rights, illegitimate use of eminent domain, privatization of water, credit crunches, and loss of healthcare rights. Harvey adds nuance by affirming his worry about the indiscriminate way that ABD is applied to economic circumstances; Harvey admits that he may inflate the ideas of ABD to apply to concepts where it is not wholly applicable. Das agrees on Harvey utilizes ABD haphazardly, and adds that Harvey's "view of exploitation as a form of dispossession is disastrously and disarmingly disruptive of Marx's notion of exploitation, a notion which has immense causal power and undeniable political significance" (Das 599). Now that Das's theoretical lens has been thoroughly explained, we must consider what is empowering and politically significant about the reframing and utilizing PA, and how the concept can be applied to Greenwich Village. (Das 597)

Considering how the Joint Emergency Committee in Greenwich Village was formed and prompted many districts to cooperate and voice dissatisfaction we begin to see the power of PA in full effect. The successful legal action, which thwarted the highway expansion elicits back the power of cooperation between the proletariat and semi-proletariat in creating a discourse with

decision-makers, ensuring that their collective opinion is heard. After this success, Jacobs asserts that "The help we got puts some individuals on our street under obligation, of course, to help other streets or aid more general district causes when help is wanted. If we neglect this, we may not get help next time we need it" (Jacobs 163). This cooperative effort to claim public land for the community and continue the dialogue of grassroots social claims subverts the rhetoric of PA to oppose itself. By this, I mean that the fundamental goal of PA is combining the isolated, independent laboring individual with the conditions of his labor, replaced by capitalistic private property, which rests on the exploitation of the nominally free labor of others. By applying a contrary rhetoric of informal economies and favors, the residents of Greenwich Village and other members of the Joint Emergency committee are evading the capital nexus altogether. These groups are not independent wage laborers because their activist labor is unpaid. Activists strive to maintain the communal resources of their community, whether parks, sidewalks, building facades, and more. Maintaining these sites causes a disjuncture with PA's goal of acquiring more private property. Furthermore, none of the activist laborers are exploited, on the condition that the exchange of favors with "more general district causes" continues. Applying Das's framework to unpack the methodology of PA, we can understand how the Joint Emergency Committee's resistance fundamentally opposed the characteristics of PA.

It is worthwhile to question why an analysis using ABD is not wholly applicable to the Joint Emergency Committee's situation. While ABD applies to the Joint Emergency Committee's claims to Washington Square Park, the rhetoric of PA is much more approachable for activist groups. Recapping, Harvey argues that ABD consists of privatization, financialization, management and manipulation of crises, and state redistributions. Das states that by observing the Committee's statement through Harvey's definition of ABD, we confine our

focus to hopeless struggles overexploitation, and domination. This confines Harvey to largely view the proletariat as a narrow group of factory workers who require the assistance of a larger cross-class group of dispossessed people, called “the indignant” (Das 609). Instead, Das suggests that returning to the rhetoric of PA allows the proletariat and semi-proletariat to fulfill an essential role in political agency. Greenwich Village activists’ Not In My Backyard (NIMBY) attitude and proletarian organizational framework never explicitly promoted a socialist consciousness, but the groundwork for such a framing certainly exists. The neighborhood consciousness consists of economic, political, and cultural interests of proletarian/semi-proletarian men, women, and children that are fundamentally irreconcilable with the totality of capitalist production and exchange relations, and therefore with the interests of the capitalists. One arena where this mentality prevails is in their continued support of walkability and public transit.

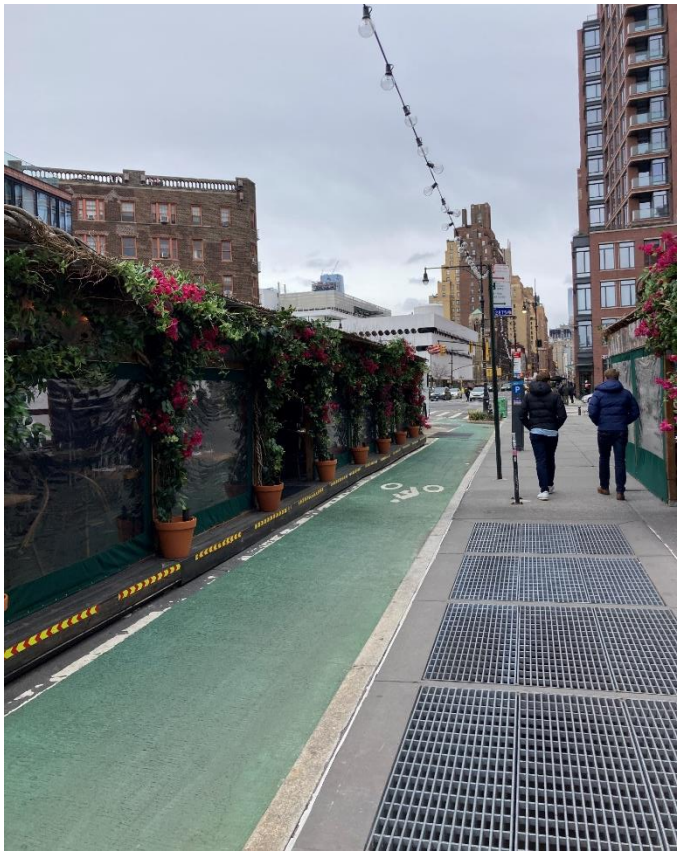

Figure 22. Bike lanes and parklet in Greenwich Village. Enhance micromobility

Figure 23. Parklet in Greenwich Village. Reclaims automobile-oriented space for residents and patrons of local businesses. A great example of tactical urbanism

Robert Caro's book *The Power Broker* describes how inadequacies caused by Primitive Accumulation (PA) were unbridled in mid-20th century New York. Once again, Karl Marx's definition of PA essentially describes how the means of production were privatized, so exploitative owners obtained capital from the surplus labor of those who, lacking other means, needed to work for them. Das adds a positive conception to Marx's definition of PA by reassuring that when considering capital accumulation in relation to labor, the laborers can use the framework of PA to possess political agency and negotiate their circumstances. The laborers, also known as the proletariat, are especially effective when united with the semi-proletariat. Caro's *Power Broker* produces a biography of the mid-twentieth century American urban planner and city official Robert Moses, whose highway plans bisected neighborhoods and urban fabrics throughout New York. In Greenwich Village, Moses' plans would be unsuccessful due to the united displeasure of the local proletariat and semi-proletariat residents. From a humanistic perspective, Moses' policies were far from meticulous and gave little consideration to the disenfranchised people who were displaced or endured the ill effects of highways. Moses's malfeasant policies created a snowball effect that relates to PA. Highways privileged the automobile over public transit, effectively displacing public transit users. Fundamentally, mass transit is only feasible to operate if its fixed routes are utilized by the masses. In New York City, in particular, public transit is decisively the affordable alternative to taxis and private automobiles. Although, with some of Moses' obstructive highways in place and ridership decreased due to the practicality of the automobile. Therefore, during a period in the 1950s, public transit maintenance and ridership fell into neglect.

New York City neighborhoods that were previously thriving or surviving now lacked effective transportation systems for workers to commute. Many lower-income workers became

unemployed. These unemployed workers were now unable to spend their surplus capital in their respective neighborhoods. One of the most notable neighborhoods, East Tremont, was low-income but possessed a vibrant self-sustaining culture and urban fabric. Even when presented with alternative highway routes that would have displaced fewer people, Moses chose to construct the highway through East Tremont. This displacement is fundamental to PA- in which the proletariat, such as most residents of East Tremont - become landless. Their previous capital that sustained their neighborhood now moved wherever they could find homes. East Tremont no longer existed and could not be supported by its residents because so few remained. Instead, capital circulated wherever patrons of Moses' behemoth new highway sought to exit their vehicles. In a sense, Moses' insistence on highway building and displacement facilitated the circulation of capital solely in areas that he deemed desirable while ostracizing severed neighborhoods. Yet, returning to the sentiments of Raju Das and considering the story of Greenwich Village, there is hope for the masses of the proletariat and semi-proletariat can cooperate.

Since we have already discussed the communal labor relations that subvert PA in the community's favor, we must now discuss how Greenwich Village's built environment is capable of combatting PA. For example, Jacobs reiterates that district boundaries should be fluid and overlapping; this is oftentimes difficult for New Urbanist master-planned greenfield developments to achieve. Due to population density and urbanization, Greenwich Village fulfills this boundary fluidity in New York City, whereas Celebration is largely isolated and reliant on automobile transportation. This is a common difficulty for many suburban New Urbanist developments. This is not to say that all New Urbanist designs are just a method of designing suburbs differently. Harbor Town in Memphis and Crawford Square in Pittsburgh demonstrate

how the New Urbanist model can be altered to fit an urban setting. Both neighborhoods offer necessary amenities for daily life such as medical centers, schools, and grocery stores within a walkable core.

Furthermore, Greenwich Village epitomizes a walkable neighborhood. Almost all necessary amenities for daily life are within a quarter-mile or five-minute walking radius of most homes. Not only is this neighborhood design enjoyable for residents as they can walk to destinations and share personal interactions with fellow residents on the street, but it is also convenient. Namely, if a resident of Greenwich Village is cooking dinner and realizes that they ran out of flour, they can simply leave their ingredients out on the counter, walk down to the corner store, buy flour, and continue cooking their meal. A network of well-connected streets, small blocks, and plazas is also conducive to walkability. These amenities offer multiple different routes to get from origin to destination. For example, if a resident is walking from their place of employment to their home and would like to stop for tea, they can usually deviate a block or two from their usual route, pick up their tea, and get home with only a minimal detour. Interestingly, Greenwich Village's resilient neighborhood layout is an anomaly compared to the gridded pattern of the rest of Manhattan. Two of Greenwich Village's blocks are roughly as large as one block in the rest of Manhattan. Not only does this increase walkability, but also increases the number of businesses, residences, and amenities, allowing more room for variety.

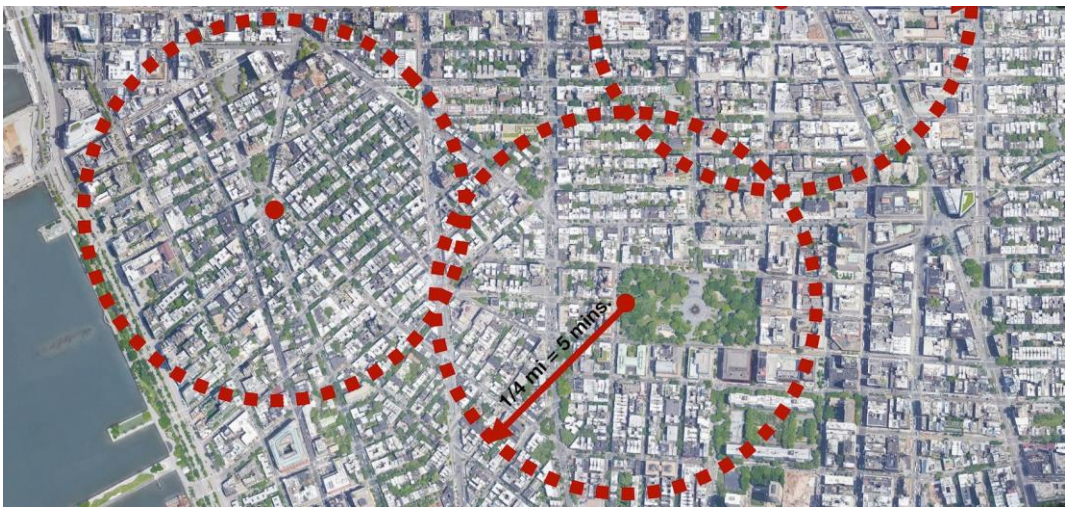

Figure 24. Five-minute walking radiuses in Greenwich Village. Labelled circle centered in Washington Square Park. -- Source: Bollat Montenegro

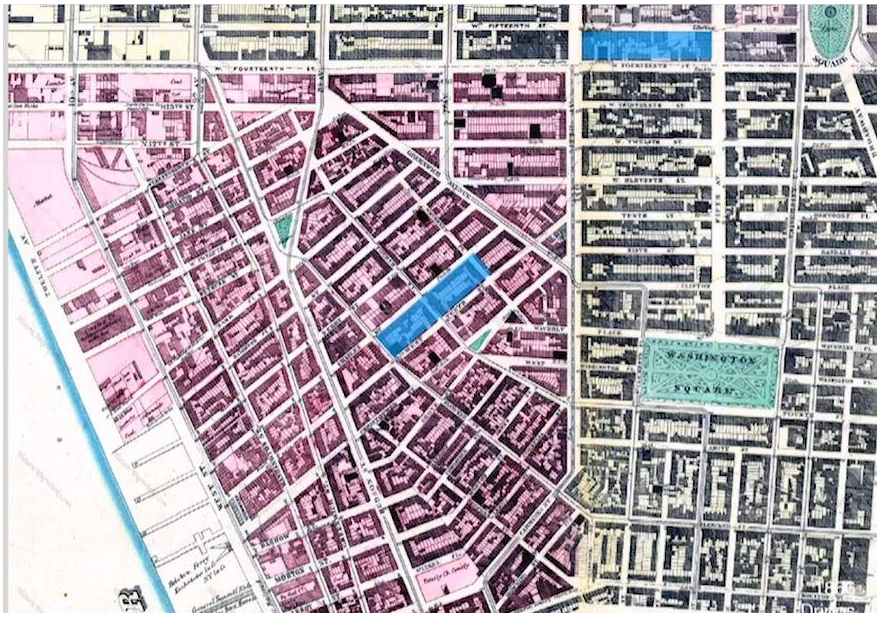

Figure 25. Two Greenwich Village block in the center, highlighted in blue, compared to one standard Manhattan block in blue on the top right. -- Source: Bollat Montenegro

Furthermore, Greenwich Village's built environment provides a variety of urban spaces conducive to a communal neighborhood feeling. Public urban spaces can be likened to outdoor rooms with clear and defined edges that make the user feel contained. Squares and plazas are great examples of useful public spaces. Squares are generally planted with grass, trees, bushes, and other flora while plazas are hardscaped with concrete, bricks, pavement, and other durable man-made materials. Washington Square Park in Greenwich Village is an example of both a square and a plaza. Both classifications are advantageous for various activities. Squares are useful for sports events, lounging, walking pets, picnics, and more. Meanwhile, plazas can be used for activities such as skateboarding, rollerblading, strolls, and most crucially demonstrations. The ability to utilize Washington Square Park for demonstrations and free speech is integral to the resilient character of Greenwich Village.

Additions to the built environment that initially appear minimal can prove pivotal in creating a vibrant neighborhood where residents and visitors want to look around, relax, and patronize businesses. Namely, minimal additions such as porches, awnings, and logia can invite passersby into a storefront and eventually into the business. This is crucial as Greenwich

Village's walkability encourages plenty of pedestrians, it is just a matter of encouraging them to visit certain businesses. Maintaining the existing customer bases of Greenwich Village residents keeps the businesses functioning; drawing in more customers and capital that would usually circulate outside the neighborhood through conscious design efforts is a bonus. Even such minimalistic changes can seamlessly transition a public space to a private space, ensuring that businesses remain open, and the character of the neighborhood survives.

Figure 26. Business with porch and awning in Greenwich Village -- Source: Culture Trip

Further urban design elements like designated lanes for various urban transportation options like bikes, scooters, skateboards, and more are a welcome addition to Greenwich Village. These micromobility methods offer flexibility and freedom that traditional passenger vehicles cannot and cost less. Creating a built environment that supports micromobility is not only more financially inclusive, but also contributes to increased business revenues. Anyone who has visited New York City knows that vehicular parking is an annoyance. Perhaps parking difficulties are a blessing in disguise because they encourage micromobility use. Effectively, it is much easier to find a bike rack for a bike, use a bikeshare, carry a skateboard, or lock up a

scooter than park a car. Micromobility users can therefore patronize local businesses much easier than their automobile-bound counterparts. These factors all bode well for a functional and prosperous neighborhood, built on an empowered foundation of citizens.

Figure 27. Citi Bike bikeshare program -- Source: ITS International

Additional assessments can be made regarding housing in Greenwich Village. The tight-knit community structure and historical significance of Greenwich Village allow local housing organizations such as the Greenwich Village Society for Historic Preservation to thrive and thwart the plans of profit-oriented developers in the area. This organization maintains the physical New Urbanist structure of Greenwich Village, but also contends gentrifying policies, ensuring that older residents of the neighborhood remain. This is not necessarily the case in Celebration where the Celebration Residential Owners Association (CROA), explicitly states that its main goal is to "protect and preserve property values" (Celebration, 2021). This is a stark contrast from the Greenwich Village Society which often falls into the NIMBY categorization, entirely averse to change, whereas Celebration is adamant to change for profit.

A crucial method for developing more equitable, resilient, and community-oriented housing in Celebration is to create a community land trust. Community land trusts are primarily applied to maintain long-term housing affordability, but can also bolster commercial and retail ventures. In practice, the trust acquires land and maintains ownership of it permanently, usually for a 99-year lease. As opposed to a traditional sale, prospective homeowners can then enter this long-term, renewable lease. After a while, if the homeowner decides to sell, the homeowner earns only a portion of the increased property value. The remainder of the property value remains in the trust, maintaining housing affordability for future low and moderate-income residents. Generally, about one-third of a land trust's board contains community residents, creating commendable grassroots participation in decision-making and community control of local assets. Community land trusts also separate ownership of land and housing. This is an admirable approach to real estate as it prevents market factors from causing prices to rise significantly, and therefore guarantees that housing will remain affordable for future generations. Such a methodology is already being applied with great success throughout New York City's unpredictable real estate market and has even spread to areas of central Florida like Winter Park. The long-term success of community land trusts and the volatility of our contemporary real estate system could prompt more communities, and New Urbanist communities, in particular, to instill the equitable long-term growth of community land trusts. (Community-Wealth)

Another lesson learned from Jane Jacobs' *Death and Life of Great American Cities* is that old buildings, in poor condition are as important to civic health as attractive old buildings. Desirable old buildings get recycled as trendy traditional housing, preserved by the Historic District, or remain with owning families for long periods of time. While considering older buildings as in poor condition is certainly a subjective statement, the existence of buildings in

worse condition than the aforementioned group creates what Jacobs named an urban mulch. From this urban mulch prospective new businesses, residences, or public features can make take shape. Adaptive reuse is the process of renovating an existing building -- not just in appearance -- but in a transformation of use. Adaptive reuse can also densify neighborhoods and contribute to an overall reduction of waste, pollution, and idle time. Some examples of common adaptive reuse projects in the past two decades include transforming vacant office buildings or factories into residential buildings with apartments or condominiums for rent or purchase. Also, former industrial warehouses have been converted to restaurants during adaptive reuse. Adaptive reuse allows historic neighborhoods like Greenwich Village to meet the renewed demand for urban living. (Gopnik)

Adaptive reuse could also be translated into Celebration's context by reusing some of the foreclosed or derelict homes that fell victim to the 2007-08 financial crisis. Possible changes in use type include modifying residential to retail by converting run-down homes into corner stores. This could facilitate an increased desire for walkability in Celebration. Additionally repurposed homes could also serve as family medical practices, community centers, art studios, and more. While these new use types may undermine existing zoning codes in Celebration, the strict single-use zoning code in most of the town is a factor in creating the precarious situation today. Zoning codes would benefit from reform, and buildings/residences that fell victim to the financial crisis and Lexin Capital's blatant disregard should be converted to new use types; these measures would add diverse uses to a homogenous neighborhood and create social and economic vitality.

Figure 28. Corner store in residential neighborhood -- Source: Planetizen

Further lessons that Celebration could adapt from the success of Greenwich Village is the existence of charettes. Charrettes are collaborative sessions in which a group of planners, urban designers, architects, engineers, and community stakeholders draft a solution to design problems. As discussed, Celebration possesses an array of design problems, ranging from lack of walkability, inadequate micromobility, predominant single-use zoning, locational isolation, and many more. Charrettes could promote joint ownership of solutions and attempts to defuse typical confrontational attitudes between residents and developers. The crucial portion of a charrette is receiving sufficient representation of the population in question. It is near impossible to represent the interests of an entire community accurately, but best efforts should be made to democratically elect community members who are representative of diverse interests to partake in the charrette. Additionally, prior to the charrette, professional figures such as architects, planners, engineers, and consultants should conduct a field visit and gain a sense of community desires from a boots-on-the-ground perspective. Being proactive and conducting charrettes on an annual or semi-annual basis can prevent avoid costly legal battles, such as the $15 to $20 million lawsuit faced by Lexin Capital in Celebration. Overall, charrettes empower residents of the neighborhood to negotiate their own fate and have autonomy over their lives.

Similarly, within the charrette discourse, there is an entity that cannot be overlooked but is unable to speak for itself. Relations with nature are a vital component of sustainable community development. In an environment like lower Manhattan, human relations with nature often go overlooked as the concrete jungle takes prominence. While conservation and preservation efforts in New York City are largely far gone, Celebration finds itself in a different environment. Commendably, Celebration hosts four walking trails that stretch a cumulative seven miles, largely near Lake Rianhard and its neighboring water bodies. While it would be ideal for Celebration to densify, rather than expand its territory, the town will likely branch out further into a nearby swamp. During this expansion, it is crucial that planning professionals and residents advocate for ecological urbanism. Ecological urbanist approaches understand that urbanity and the environment are not contradictory. Instead, both entities can synergize to create an energy-efficient environment that reduces waste, emissions, and exploitation of nature. Due to strict environmental regulations, the state of Florida generally handles issues pertaining to environmental regulations with a thorough analysis of human impacts on the surrounding ecosystems. It is crucial that environmental engineers and planners familiarize themselves with the principles of ecological urbanism so they can advocate for nature in the community's planning processes.

Figure 29. Ecological Urbanism in practice -- Source: Science Direct

Possibly the most empowering process for residents of Celebration could be the implementation of open-source mapping programs within their neighborhood. At a community meeting or charrette, residents could be shown maps of various New Urbanist success stories such as Mashpee Commons and Orenco Station, or even cities like New York or Paris. These maps could use various icons to depict all of the amenities necessary for daily life along with walking and biking radiuses. Then, residents could be shown a contemporary map of Celebration, where their homes, businesses, and public spaces are at the whim of corporate developers. Residents could perceive how they are isolated, reliant on automobiles, and limited to a few flagship businesses and leisure activities. While they may not feel disenfranchised before the meeting, visualizing the allure of mobility and choice in communities like Orenco Station or Paris would allow them to imagine an alternative. Putting decision-making in the hands of residents and allowing them to discuss, debate, and compromise on locations of amenities like public parks, grocers, cafes, sports courts, and many more could allow them to reclaim autonomy over their community.

Ultimately, Celebrations falls short of New Urbanism's goals of a pedestrian-friendly, diverse, public transportation-oriented community. Community land trust, charrettes, adaptive reuse, ecological urbanism, open-source mapping, practicing mixed-use development, and more are just a few ways that Celebration could revitalize its community and become a New Urbanist success story. As my second chapter demonstrated, I am still a proponent of New Urbanism, I simply do not support the top-down processes that created New Urbanism in Celebration. The fundamental principles of New Urbanism create what I believe are the most livable, enjoyable communities. I understand that my preferences are subjective and some may enjoy the allure of

rural or suburban life. It is during such disagreements that democratic, bottom-up planning measures become necessary.

I firmly believe New Urbanism can holistically build inclusive, vibrant, and enjoyable communities for residents of all racial, socioeconomic, and cultural backgrounds. It is simply a matter of allowing residents to have a voice in the future of their community. New Urbanism cannot implement a cookie-cutter design as a panacea for all struggling communities. New Urbanism must be context-sensitive and implement residents' perspectives in the planning process. While it may prove difficult for those in power to allow these perspectives to the forefront, Das's revitalization of Primitive Accumulation discourse as a source of empowerment is a critical strategy for the proletariat and semi-proletariat to reclaim power. The prevalence of community groups in Greenwich Village and some brief appearances of community unity in Celebration provide a framework for regular community members to create something spectacular. Through a coalition of the masses and united displeasure, power structures can be subverted and all communities can be granted the opportunity to construct their own unique livable environment.

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