New Urbanism, an Alternative to Traditional Urban Design: The Case of Celebration, Florida, USA

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Introduction

In her classic, *The Life and Death of Great American Cities,* reputed critic of modern American town planning, the late Jane Jacobs criticized contemporary urban planners for failing to consider the importance of high density, especially its relationship to diversity in human settlements.[1] Modern North American cities, the object of Jacobs's criticism, tend to promote low density and monotonous physical structures. This tendency contributes to urban sprawl and discourages the sense of community necessary for urban functioning.

In the recent past 'New Urbanism' (NU) has emerged with the stated goal of ridding cities of these perennial problems. New urbanism or neo-traditionalism is rooted in orthodox planning principles, especially the City Beautiful and Garden City traditions. The movement has also drawn inspiration from the works of architects and urban designers of France's famous *Ecole des Beaux-Arts*. Arguably the most prominent movement in urban planning since the late-20th century, NU proposes to revive, reinvigorate and re-incorporate traditional elements of urban design into contemporary city plans. In practice, as the narrative in Box 1 suggests, NU calls for a return to narrow streets, short blocks, garages at the rear as opposed to the front of buildings, shorter distances between porches and streets in residential areas.

The case-study discussed in this report explores these questions. The study focuses on the Town of Celebration, a development based on the principles of NU located in the Orlando Metropolitan Area in Florida, USA. The report is organized as follows. The next section provides background information on the Orlando Metropolitan Area in general and

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Box 1: The Meaning and Major Components of New Urbanism

New urbanism (NU) is a movement in architecture and urban planning that emerged to help address the problem of urban sprawl and inner city decline using design-based strategies grounded in traditional urban forms. NU's design principles operate on scales ranging from buildings, lots, and blocks to neighbourhoods, districts and corridors, and ultimately to whole cities and regions. Emphasis is placed on the neighbourhood, which is defined to include an area whose center is approximately 5 to 10 minutes walk from the edge.[1] Thus, all locations and activities within NU communities are within a convenient walking distance for residents. NU communities strive to ensure that each neighbourhood contains housing of all categories and types, mix land uses, a variety of shops, services and activities capable of meeting the daily needs of many residents. Most importantly, NU communities seek to be pedestrian friendly—an objective that is attained through the provision of street trees to shelter pedestrians, on-street parking to shield pedestrians from street traffic and make walking safer, shorter distances between housing units and streets/sidewalks so that these facilities are under the constant gaze of residents. Finally, parks and civic institutions are prioritized and dispersed throughout NU neighbourhoods to encourage interaction among residents.

Source: Bohl, 2000

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1 Jacobs (1961)

Celebration in particular. Following that is an analysis of the town as a New Urbanism development. The aim is to determine the extent to which the development adheres to the basic principles of NU, which are summarized in Box 1. A subsequent section evaluates the development and NU in general as an alternative to traditional urban planning schemes. The final section identifies and discusses the possible lessons that can be gleaned from the case-study.

Town of Celebration: Background

Celebration is a census-designated place (CDP) as well as an unincorporated master-planned community (UMPC) within the United States' system of government.[2] It is located in Kissimmee near Orlando in Florida, USA. Florida, USA. Florida, USA. It is the brainchild of the late American business mogul, Walt Disney. Disney was a proponent of non-conventional urban design. He envisaged designs that can best be characterized as experimental. The design of Celebration—"developed both conceptually and financially by the Walt Disney Company"—was inspired by Disney's fictionalized image of a pre-1940s small town America

Figure 1: Map Showing Florida, USA
Source: Wikipedia.com

2 A census-designated place (CDP) is a geographical area delineated for each decennial census by the US Census Bureau as statistical counterparts of incorporated places such as cities, towns and villages. Master-planned communities are distinguished from typical subdivisions by their abundant inventory of amenities and conveniences. The unincorporated master-planned community is a suburban subdivision that does not constitute a part of any established city and boasts a rich mix of homes, commercial, educational, and an abundance of recreational facilities and other amenities.

in which residents shared common values and a sense of community.[3]

Celebration has a median income of $79,700 compared to $42,433 for Florida as a whole. This lends credence to the claim that New Urbanism communities such as Celebration are high-priced enclaves for the rich. The racial composition of the town in 2005 was 87 percent White, a little more than seven percent (7.6%) Hispanic, and almost two percent (1.7%) Black. The median home value in the town is $716,900, which is more than three times that of the state of Florida, which is $189,000.

The buildings and spatial structure of Celebration are designed to mirror the vintage spatial forms and architectural styles of early-20th century America. In keeping with this theme, most of the neighbourhoods throughout the town are referred to as villages. The town, which was developed in phases, comprises nine different neighbourhoods. Three neighbourhoods, Celebration Village, West Village and Lake Evalyn, were completed during the first phase in the summer of 1996. This was immediately followed by the second phase, which included four villages, namely North Village, South Village, East Village and Aquilla Reserve. Artisan Park was the only village developed during the third phase.

Census records reveal that Celebration's population is distributed as follows: under 18 (30.8%), persons between 18 and 25 (30.8%) persons between 45 and 64 (26%) and those over 64 (6.9%). The population surged from 2,736 in 2000 to 9,500 in 2004.[4]

Celebration as a New Urbanism Community

Urban centres throughout the United States, until the second half of the 20th century, were compact and comprised of mixed-use neighbourhoods.[5] The advent of the automobile and the emergence of modern architecture and zoning ushered a new era characterized by conventional suburban development (CSD). Despite their popularity, CSDs have been incriminated as the primary cause of urban sprawl—a syndrome that is responsible for prodigiously consuming the natural environment while haphazardly locating one commercial strip after another and sporadically punctuating the suburban landscape with malls in the vain attempt to create so-called public space. Moreover, NU proponents charge that CSDs lack identifiable centres and edges, which are necessary ingredients in the formula for community identity. New Urbanism emerged to combat these problems. It is premised on the belief that sustainable human communities can be developed through the skilful use of architectural design and the adept manipulation of spatial structures.

Heeding the clarion call from NU proponents, municipal and cognate authorities throughout the U.S., Canada and other parts of the world have been promoting new urbanism principles in their human settlement development projects. Currently, these principles constitute important elements not only in NU developments but also smart growth legislation. Perhaps more noteworthy is the fact that conventional developers are now incorporating in their developments NU elements such as locating garages in the rear as opposed to the front of buildings. How effective is NU in attaining its professed goals? This question is at the heart of this case study of Celebration. However, before tackling the question, it is in order to gauge the extent to which the town qualifies as an NU project. To attain this objective, the project is

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3 Sully (2004)

4 Celebrationinfo.com (Online)

5 Marshall (2003)

evaluated on the basis of the thirteen principles of NU stipulated by two of those at the forefront of the NU movement, Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk (see Table 1).[6]

Replicating early-20th century American human settlements constitutes an important objective of NU schemes (see Item 5, Table 1). On this count, Celebration's designers had very limited if any success. Early-20th century American settlements such as New England's North End District in Boston, which Jane Jacobs vividly described in her classic alluded to at the outset of this report, boasted tighter public spaces (streets, and alleys) as well as private spaces (building interiors), which combined to produce high density neighbourhoods. Ultimately, this environment nurtured social relations and promoted the uninhibited exchange of ideas. In Celebration, the drive to attain commercial success meant that designers could not do justice to NU's objective of recapturing the ambience of an earlier era in the evolution of human settlements in America. While the homes in Celebration may have façades and other elements reminiscent of that era, they offer spacious interiors and all conceivable modern amenities.[7] Another contrast between Celebration and human settlements of the American past is the street design and pattern. Instead of the gridiron pattern of historic American cities, Celebration has what may be branded a modified grid, with "T" intersections and street deflections, which have the stated purpose of calming traffic hence making the streets safe for pedestrians. Celebration fails to meet four additional criteria or principles stipulated for NU projects. The first of this is accessibility by pedestrians. That is, all activities must be within convenient walking distance to every resident (Item 2, Table 1). The geographic size of Celebration (5,000 acres for the built-up area) combined with the need to provide spacious facilities of the genre necessary for the development to be commercially competitive, make the pedestrian accessibility elements impossible to attain.

It is also for this reason that Celebration failed to fulfill the NU criterion of having a school that is conveniently accessible to all residents on foot (Item 6, Table 1). The NU principle of permitting ancillary structures in the rear of homes (Item 5, Table 1) is also reminiscent of the American past when mixed land use meant the co-mingling of rental and owner-occupied property as well as living and working in the same districts. Thus, ancillary structures at the rear of owner-occupied homes could serve as renting families or as carpentry or mechanic workshops. No such co-mingling of activities is permitted by Celebration's covenants. Finally, there is the principle of intermodal transportation (Item 8, Table 1), which Celebration, because of the lack of alternative modes of transportation, particularly mass transit, fails to fulfill.

New Urbanism principles advocate meaningful citizen participation (Item 13, Table 1). Celebration does poorly on this count. Some critics characterize the town's management structure as rigidly top-down and autocratic.[8] Here, it is important to note that as an unincorporated town, Celebration is not required to be governed by elected officials. Thus, members of important governance committees such as the Celebration Non-Residential Owner's Association are appointed by the town's commercial developer, Celebration Company.[9]

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6 Also see Duany and Plater-Zyberk (1993)

7 Some of the features are actually fake. For instance, "Some houses that appeared to have second-floor dormers were actually only single-story buildings; the dormers, complete with windowpanes painted black to simulate a darkened space, were fake, assembled on the ground and hoisted into place by cranes" (Frantz, & Collins, 2000: 20).

8 Scheurmer (2000)

9 Celebration (Online)

Table 1: Evaluation Based on New Urbanism Principles

Item	New Urbanism Principle	New Urbanism Ideal	Comment with Respect to Celebration
1.	Distinct centre and edge.	Community Identity	This criterion is met
2.	Quarter of a mile from the centre to the edge as optimal size of neighbourhood	Walkable community, i.e., all parts of the community can be reached on foot at an easy pace	Criterion not met. Town's area, 9,600 acres, makes this criterion unattainable
3.	Building sites and traffic on a fine network of interconnecting streets	Traffic congestion-free community	Criterion is met. Although motorized traffic is prioritized
4.	A variety of shops and other facilities	Self-contained community with enough variety to satisfy weekly needs of the average resident	There are shops but not enough to satisfy the weekly needs of the average resident
5.	Rules permitting ancillary structures in the rear of buildings to serve as a workplace or rental facility	A true replica of an early-20th century American town in which mixed land use was the norm	Criterion is not met as town's covenants are very restrictive
6.	An elementary school located within walking distance of most homes in the community	An all-in-one community which, among other things, permits children to walk to school	There is a local school up to the 12th Grade, but not within convenient walking distance for all children
7.	Many playgrounds that are well distributed throughout the community	Small playgrounds near every dwelling and not more than a tenth of a mile away	This criterion is met
8.	An intermodal transportation network	A community that permits easy mobility	This criterion is only partially met as there is no free mass transit service
9.	Narrow, canopied streets	A community that facilitates walking and discourages speeding by motorists	This criterion is not met as streets are generally very wide and no have no natural canopy.
10.	Buildings which are close to the street	A community in which streets are safe as they are constantly watched by residents	Criterion is met
11.	Parking lots and garages, preferably located at the rear of buildings	A community that, unlike conventional development, places less emphasis on the automobile	Although garages are provided at the rear of buildings, there is still a lot of emphasis on the automobile on—wide streets, large garage space and many parking lots
12.	Prominent sites that mark the end of streets and serve as venues for community meetings	Priority place given to promoting interaction among residents	This criterion is met although any sense of community evolved for reasons other than those envisaged by NU proponents
13.	Bottom-up self-governance and administrative organs and structure	A community where residents and not the proprietors are in charge	This criterion is not met. Celebration has a rigid top-down governance structure

The Town of Celebration: Evaluative Commentary

Celebration is only one of several projects purporting to revive the Garden City tradition as enunciated by Ebenezer Howard in 1898. In his highly acclaimed work, *Garden Cities of Tomorrow*, Howard issued a clarion call for urban planners to build cities and towns that are self-sustaining and capable of integrating the social world into the surrounding natural environment with a view to promoting sustainable development.[10] Howard criticized any attempts to alienate human society from nature and accentuated the need to ensure sustainable interaction between man and nature. He also underscored the importance of a clean environment, which he defined as one that: a) is free from air and water pollution, b)

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10 Howard (1965)

possesses an abundance of parks and open spaces, and c) guarantees long-term sustainability. Furthermore, Howard proposed a model for an ecologically sustainable society in which he de-emphasized the divide between town and country.

Ironically, planners of the early-20th century did better than their contemporary counterparts to heed Howard's clarion call for attention to nature in their endeavours. Yet, matters of sustainability, natural resource depletion, energy prices and climate change are more urgent today than they have ever been. These issues are rendered even more urgent by the growing shortage of affordable housing in locations that minimize the costs associated with other necessities of life, such as transportation and food. The Town of Celebration is a product of the proponents of New Urbanism. They held the belief that reinvigorating and re-incorporating into modern urban design schemes elements of traditional planning hold much promise for efforts to combat many contemporary problems. Prominent among these problems are: congestion, inefficiency in the use of scarce resources such as energy and land, global warming, and anonymity that are hallmarks of the urban milieu throughout the world today. How successful has the Town of Celebration been in delivering on its promise to alleviate these and cognate problems in its region? The remainder of this report seeks to address this question.

New Urbanism (NU) projects have customarily been appraised on the basis of their physical design. Yet, as The Congress of the New Urbanism's (CNU) Charter[11] stipulates, the goals of NU are by no means limited to physical design. A perusal of the Charter shows that NU has avowed and implied goals that can be meaningfully discussed under the following categories:
- Economic viability;
- Social development;
- Social equity;
- Commonweal; and
- Physical and spatial functioning.

These five specific classes of urban goals have been selected to serve as the basis for evaluating the Town of Celebration particularly because of their prominence in the discourse on New Urbanism.[12]

Economic Viability

The economic goal of NU can be appreciated at three levels. The first level focuses on the viability and financial sustainability of NU projects. The Town of Celebration was projected to cost $2.5 billion at completion.[13] Presently (2008), it is already certain that this cost will be exceeded by a significant margin. If one were to assume that the originally projected cost is accurate, $2.5 billion remains massive by any standards and raises questions of sustainability. It is arguable that the Town of Celebration would not be viable as a government-sponsored project. This is because there are few, if any, governments capable of generating the type of revenue necessary for funding such projects. Even if there was a government that is willing

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11 See CNU (Online); Deitrick and Ellis (2004); Talen, (2002); CNU (2000)

12 Talen (2004; 2000)

13 The initial source of funding for the project was the Walt Disney Company. However, Celebration Company, the current developer, has since assumed complete responsibility of the project. Celebration Company raises the funds from sales of property and other investments in Celebration.

and capable of sponsoring such a project one question will remain unaddressed. Is there enough share of any country's population with the wherewithal and willingness to take up residence in such developments to make it a worthwhile economic venture? As a private commercial venture there is hardly any doubt that Celebration has been successful. Some critics believe that Celebration's economic success has hinged tightly on the commercial shrewdness of the developers.[14] As one critic puts it, albeit melodramatically, celebration's economic success has been a function of the developer's ability to "dupe" upper middle class homebuyers into "buying instant community and civic values."[15] The fact that the project has been handled as a purely economic venture has also been isolated as one reason why woefully underpaid migrant workers have been its main source of labour.[16]

The second level concentrates on the ability of NU projects to generate employment opportunities for its residents. At its inception, the Town of Celebration was advertised as a self-contained community complete with opportunities for employment and leisure. However, while the community boasts ample leisure facilities, it offers very little by way of employment opportunities. The only employment opportunities available to residents of Celebration are outside of the town and mostly based in the theme parks and other entertainment industries in the wider Orlando Metropolitan Area. The few employment opportunities within Celebration Town tend to offer very low salaries/wages. For instance, in the late-1990s, the starting salary for teachers at the town's only school was $23,000, which was lower than the remuneration for restaurant waitresses at the theme parks just outside of the town.[17] Therefore, the high median income for Celebration noted earlier reflects the type of economically rewarding activities that the town's residents are involved in outside of their local community.

The final level of judging how well Celebration has done in terms of accomplishing its economic goals is affordability. How affordable is housing in particular and life in general for persons of all income categories in the Town of Celebration? As stated earlier, the cost of housing is markedly higher in Celebration, where the median cost of a home is $716,900 than in the rest of Florida, where the median home cost is $189,000.[18] On account of these data, it is safe to conclude that most persons in Florida, where the median income is $42,000, cannot afford the cost of housing in Celebration. This observation lends credence to the findings of other studies. One such study draws attention to the fact that property in New Urbanism (NU) developments such as Seaside, Florida, the first large-scale implementation of NU concepts, is generally unaffordable for middle- and lower-income families.[19] Thus, developments such as Celebration, irrespective of their avowed aims, can best be characterized as high-priced resorts for the rich. The fact that NU cannot address the housing needs of a broad spectrum of the population means that it is incapable of serving as an alternative to conventional human development projects.

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14 Frantz and Collins (2000); Scheurmer (2000)

15 Scheurmer (2000)

16 Resulting from this has been shoddy workmanship, which has caught the attention of many a critic (see e.g. Scheurmer, 2000; Frantz and Collins, 2000)

17 Ross (1999)

18 These are 2005 data.

19 Bohl (2000)

Social Development

The social goals of New Urbanism can be divided into three categories as follows: community, social equity and the commonweal.[20] The concept of community in urban planning possesses two prongs, which deal with a variety of social interactions in urban space, and a wide range of psychological and emotional responses. A more conventional approach to appreciating community as a social goal of urban planning is to evaluate an urban plan on the basis of how well it succeeds in promoting a sense of 'oneness' or 'togetherness' in any given setting. The Town of Celebration has not succeeded in this regard for a number of reasons, prominent among which is its location. The town is located in an area reputed for its intense tourist industry.

The presence of tourists in the town on a daily basis makes it difficult for especially new residents to distinguish between visitors and permanent residents of the town. A feeling of relative deprivation is another factor inhibiting the development of a sense of 'oneness' in the community. Such a feeling may be harboured by members of the town's less wealthy class. A proxy for gauging one's socio-economic status in Celebration is one's house type. As Table 4 shows, the most expensive house type is the Estate (ranging from $350,000 to $750,000), while the least expensive are town homes. Yet another way to judge Celebration's ability or potential to attain its avowed or implied social goals is to determine the extent to which the development has succeeded in promoting socio-economic class and racial/ethnic diversity or mix. To be sure, one of the explicit goals of New Urbanism is promote such diversity.[21] On this score, Celebration has registered very limited, if any success. To begin with, the town's authorities eliminated a golden opportunity to enhance their chances of attaining this goal when they decided to convert the few apartments that used to be available in the town into condominiums. Thus, currently, the town has room exclusively for homeowners (and conversely no room for renters). Furthermore, as Table 5 shows, the town's inhabitants are almost completely White (87.6%). Thus, the town lacks diversity not only in socio-economic terms but also from a racial/ethnic perspective.

Social Equity

The issue of social equity in physical planning can be appreciated in terms of the spatial distribution of people and access to resources and opportunities. In this regard, social equity raises questions regarding who gets what in urban space. Seen from this perspective, urban planners are responsible for ensuring that resources are distributed equitably. In urban areas, this may mean amongst other things facilitating access to urban communal facilities and places of gainful employment. In situations involving individuals with limited means, the need to attain the goal of equitability may call for extending public transportation services free of charge to these individuals as a means of facilitating their access to communal goods and services that may be beyond walking distance. This problem is unlikely to be of any serious magnitude in Celebration, where as noted earlier, the median income is as high as $79,900 compared to the $42,000 for the State of Florida as a whole. In this regard, it is also worth noting that the town boasts ample facilities for pedestrian and bicycle traffic.

20 Talen (2002)

21 CNU (Online); Talen (2002); Talen (2000); Berke et al. (2002); Heid (2004)

Commonweal

The commonweal as a goal of planning emphasizes the well-being of society at large, which supersedes, but encompasses, the well-being of the individual. A significant portion of the principles of New Urbanism as articulated in the Congress on New Urbanism Charter, focuses on this goal. Architects of developments such as Celebration draw inspiration from the Charter or are influenced by identical concerns, particularly concerns for environmental and natural resource preservation and protection. These concerns invariably led the architects of Celebration to emphasize walking, bicycling, and public transit, all of which are designed to attain two related commonweal goals: public health and decrease reliance on the automobile, a well-established source of environmental pollution.

A closer examination of Celebration's blueprint or a windshield survey of the development, uncovers information that cast much doubt on the capacity of such a development to deliver on its promise of environmental protection and preservation. In the specific case of Celebration, it bears noting that the development is sited on previously undeveloped suburban land. This renders any attempt to defend the development as not contributing to the problem of urban sprawl, which it professes to remedy problematic at best and impossible at worst. In fact, it is arguable that if anything, Celebration has succeeded in re-concentrating population from inner-city Orlando and other proximate cities, in the suburb.

Physical and Spatial Functioning

Architects of the Town of Celebration like their colleagues elsewhere excessively emphasized convenience and aesthetic appeal than any other attribute of urban design. Even the casual observer cannot miss noticing the ostentatious display of the artistry of the town's architects and designers in its physical and spatial structures. The streets come in many varieties, including but not limited to, one-way streets wrapping around parks with on-street parking on one side. Streets of this variety typically have a width of 18 ft. (5.40 meters). Others have a generous width of 28 ft. (8.40 meters) with parking permitted on both sides. In this latter case when parking takes up 12 ft (3.60 meters), there is still ample space of 16 ft (4.80 meters) left for passing vehicles and especially for manoeuvring fire trucks at any speed (see Figure 2).[22]

One cannot but ponder the rationale for such an extravagant use of space given the fact that Celebration professes to discourage dependence on the automobile and has gone so far as to institute policy requiring the placement of garages in the rear as opposed to the front of buildings. To appreciate the charge that streets in Celebration are unnecessarily wide, one needs to do no more than take a look at older American towns, especially those developed in the 1900s, such as Winter Park, Florida.[23] The older streets in Winter Park that permit parallel parking on one side only, are 16 ft (4.80 meters) wide, while those permitting parking on both sides are 22 ft (6.60 meters) wide. These streets are typically canopied with oak trees attaining heights of 60 feet (18.00 meters) to 70 feet (21.00 meters). Fire trucks measuring 9.5 ft (2.85 meters) from side mirror to side mirror have no problem maneuvering these streets. Thus, it is safe to conclude that the rationale for Celebration's wider streets is rooted not in the imperative of promoting safety but in the need to embellish the town's aesthetic appeal.

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22 Burden (Online)

23 Burden (Online)

Figure 2: Parallel Parking in Downtown, Celebration
Source: *Burden (Online)*

Lessons from Celebration's New Urbanism Project

The weaknesses of Celebration should not be attributed to New Urbanism (NU) in general. This is because despite being billed as a prototypical NU project, and therefore an antidote to the flaws of conventional suburban development (CSD), Celebration fails to fulfill some of the basic principles of NU, such as diversity. Here, the failure may not be fortuitous. Rather, it may be a function of the fact that as a commercial undertaking, diversification, entailing the inclusion of homes that are affordable to low-income families is not deemed a judicious business decision. Thus, the one important lesson that can be gleaned from this case is that any human settlement development project that is driven by profit motives cannot constitute a viable alternative to conventional urbanism.

A second reason is that discrimination along economic lines is tantamount to racial discrimination in multi-racial societies, such as the United States, where the distribution of resources is skewed heavily in favour of the dominant race. The absence of African Americans and other minority groups in Celebration is largely a function of socio-economic disparities characteristic of the wider American society. Thus, one explanation for the absence of racial diversity is the high cost of property in the town. As long as projects such as Celebration are unable to supply housing at a cost affordable to a cross-section of the

population, they will remain high-priced resorts exclusively for the rich and can never be genuinely entertained as alternatives to traditional human settlement development projects.

A third lesson is that despite claims to the contrary, NU is not a panacea for dealing with the problem of urban sprawl. In fact, based on evidence surfaced in this case study, it is safe to contend that NU may actually be part of the problem and not solution. Note that Celebration is located in a suburban area and on land that was in a natural and unadulterated state before the town's foundation was planted.

Environmental protection and conservation, both important goals of NU were not achieved in Celebration. Determining the reason for this constitutes a lesson in its own right. As suggested above, failure on this score is a function of the fact that the architects of Celebration were more concerned with qualitative goals such as aesthetic appeal and convenience than with other important goals of urban design. Aesthetic appeal and convenience are at the root of the excessively wide streets found in Celebration. New Urbanism projects are likely to deliver on their promise in this regard when they are designed to effectuate infill, refurbish or retrofit existing human settlements such as physically and functionally obsolete inner-city neighbourhoods.

Finally, it is clear from the case study that despite what it professes, NU cannot meaningfully replicate an American era of the past. It is difficult if not impossible to completely reject the ideals of modern architecture, especially as expressed by the *Congrés International d'Architecture Moderne* (CIAM).[24] According to CIAM, "works of architecture can spring only from the present time. CIAM proposed that architecture should be *of* its time and not resort to means of past societies for its expression."[25] Thus, the most that the designers of Celebration could do was adorn what are essentially 21st century architectural structures with early-20th century façades.

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24 CIAM is a leading trendsetting organization in architecture.

25 Sully (2004, 9)

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