Small-Scale Neotraditionalism in Cary, North Carolina: A Case Study of Carpenter Village

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Many newly-constructed neighborhoods claim to have "old timely charm," a "unique sense of ambiance," a "sense of community," or a "neighborly feel." These terms are often used to describe a planning movement that continues to gain momentum in cities and municipalities across the country. Neotraditional, as these neighborhoods are often labeled, can however, be a vague and confusing notion, because it is an oxymoron. How can something be new and old simultaneously? To lend clarity to the neotraditional planning concept, this paper examines the emergence of the movement in the planning literature, the objectives, design features, and critiques, of the movement, and provides a case study of aneotraditional neighborhood in Cary, North Carolina.

The contemporary neighborhood planning model that has dominated the American urban landscape for most of the twentieth century is currently undergoing dramatic change. In the 1930s, decentralization, facilitated by the rapid increase in private vehicle ownership, was believed to be the cure for overcrowded inner city conditions. This premise was reflected in the design of neighborhoods and suburbs characterized by large and spacious lots, wide streets, and houses set far apart. While critiques, such as Jane Jacobs' *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, (1961) occasionally emerged, the "modern" neighborhood planning paradigm continued to be embodied in the built form throughout the succeeding decades. With the onset of the 1990s, though, the level of dissatisfaction with suburbs grew and became more clearly articulated by residents, planners and academics. Residents of modern suburbs, for example, complained of the economic, environmental, and psychological/social problems resulting from the organization, layout, zoning, costs, and consequences of modern neighborhood planning. The May 15, 1995 cover of *Newsweek* titled, "Bye-Bye Suburban Dream," said it all. Suburban dissatisfaction was at the forefront of American planning and politics (see Table 1). As the 20th century closes, many cities and towns are turning to a "new" residential ideal, namely neotraditionalism. Looking to the past for inspiration, planners have incorporated elements of "small town" America in order to offset what is perceived to be a lack of "community" (Audirac and Shermyan, 1994, Ewing, 1997, Gersh, 1996, Katz, 1997, Southworth, 1997).

Before undertaking an assessment of the objectives and claims of one such neotraditional neighborhood in Cary, North Carolina, I briefly consider the emergence of this movement within the planning literature, as well as several in-depth case studies undertaken by geographers of similar building projects within the US.

The Emergence of Neotraditional Planning

As planners, politicians, and developers struggled to understand the problems of the suburbs, attention focused on their predecessor, the American small town. It seemed to many that such places did not have the social, economic, physical, or identity problems of the suburbs; small town residents seemed happy.

This happiness was believed to be, at least partially, a function of the built environment (Arendt, 1994). As research on these residential ideals continued, distinguishing physical and social features were identified -- small towns seemed to successfully combine mixed housing sizes and styles, residents of various ages and races, and a sense of place and purpose (see Table 2).

Greenbie (1981) conducted some of the first research into the social repercussions of different planning styles, attempting first of all to discern the physical differences

between a modern suburban neighborhood and a small town neighborhood. In studying the streetscapes of numerous small towns, he concluded that the "feel" of a small town pivots on the width of the street corridor, the distances between homes, and the sidewalk setback. When compared to typical subdivisions,[1] the differences are obvious. Modern subdivisions provide building forms that are out of scale with the more historical areas of cities and towns. Over the years Greenbie's idealization of the small town environment has gained popularity, as more and more development firms and planning departments incorporate diverse elements of the American small town into their housing projects.

While neotraditionalism as a planning ideal is an easy concept to understand, neotraditionalism as a particular planning style is difficult to pin down because there is no single accepted definition of what it is or should be (see Table 3, however, for a comprehensive summary of the contrasting elements that characterize "modern" and "neotraditional" subdivisions). There are regional variations in concept, as well as variation in the actual implementation of this planning style.

Nationwide, neotraditionalism is often referred to as New Urbanism. In the Southeast, Traditional Neighborhood Develop-ments (TNDs) are also known as a Neo-Traditional Developments (NTDs), while the Pedestrian Pocket (PPs) of the west coast is also known as Pedestrian-Oriented Developments (PODs). In the Northeast of the country the Urban Village development concept is popular. These regional name differences hide subtle variations in the design concepts themselves. Neo-traditional development schemes emulate historical architectural form, and rely on preexisting roads and infrastructure. The Pedestrian Pockets typically emphasize mass transit or light rail, as well as "walkability", while Urban Villages focus on thereconstruction of existing towns. There are, however, three major hallmarks to neotraditional developments (hereafter referred to as NTDs): 1) controlled traffic patterns; 2) integration of land use; and 3) allusion to the history and tradition of the site.

Table 1. Elements of Suburban Dissatisfaction

Uniform housing styles and types
Massive size and scale of contemporary subdivisions
Large lot size
Extremely wide streets
Cul-de-sacs
Few walking opportunities
Different yet adjacent neighborhoods do not connect literally (via sidewalks), nor figuratively (in regard to scale of buildings).
Lack of sidewalks and porches
Lack of trees and greenery
Unfocussed open space
Traffic
Sprawl

Table 2. Distinguishing Characteristics of the "Small Town."

Compact, tight form
Medium density
Downtown districts have mixed uses, gathering places, public places, and parks
Residential neighborhoods are close to town centers, sometimes abutting commercial premises
Civic spaces are open and accessible
Pedestrian-friendly and automobile accessible
Streets scaled for everyday usage

Source: Arendt (1994)

[1] The term subdivision in this paper refers to large-scale neighborhoods and not merely to the process or result of legally dividing land.

Table 3. Contrasting Style Elements of Modern and Neotraditional Subdivisions.

Modern Subdivisions	Neotraditional Subdivisions
Streets: One travel lane, at least twenty feet in width.	Streets: Two travel lanes, each ten feet wide and separated by a grass median.
Lots: Trees often clear-cut to lend convenience to the developer/builder.	Lots: Trees preserved at all reasonable costs.
Street trees: Usually none.	Street trees: Row of deciduous trees between street and sidewalk, separating pedestrians from cars.
Parking: Rarely on street.	Parking: Recommended on street.
House setback: Large, typically ranging from 50-100 feet.	House setback: Modest, no greater than 20 feet
Sidewalks: Sometimes installed by developer; when sidewalks are built they are placed far from the houses, sometimes 100 feet from the front door.	Sidewalks: Integral to neotraditional neighborhoods. Sidewalks are close to the houses, usually 20-25 feet from the front porch.
Subdivision Design/Layout: Houses are built facing the same direction and on lots of similar size.	Subdivision Design/Layout: A large variety of lot sizes and configurations.
Garage Placement: Oftentimes on the front of new houses; on the sides or front of early modern (1960s) subdivisions.	Garage Placement: Only on the rear of the house.
Distance Housefront to Housefront: Large distances; many codes require a 180 feet separation or more.	Distance Housefront to Housefront: modest distances; an average of 100 feet (which includes front yards and street).
Presence of Alleys: Unused in modern subdivisions.	Presence of Alleys: necessary because of the shallow setbacks. They are maintained by the homeowners association, and serve many functions: easements, locales for garages, routes for trash collection and postal service.
Subdivision Housing Styles: Houses inmany subdivisions have similar size and design. They are generally priced close to one another, which effectively forces economic segregation.	Subdivision Housing Styles: Houses in subdivisions are very different from one another in terms of size and design. This gives flexibility inprices that allows for a variety of residents, thereby reducing economic segregation.

First, a significant element of allNTDs is controlled traffic planning. NTDs are designed to address problems associated with the automobile (see Table 4). In fact, neo-traditional principles of traffic engineering tend to be polar opposites from those applied to conventional subdivision developments (Slayter and Morris, 1990). By encouraging compact development on a grid system neotraditional developments require shorter driving distances and fewer automobile trips.

Second, NTDs integrate mixed land uses, allowing residents to walk to the corner store, rather than drive several miles to a strip shopping center. Such a planning strategy runs counter to prevailing opinion, and forces developers to plan incrementally in whole multi-use sections, rather than a series of single-use phases. Also, mixed land uses and

the construction of walking trails allow for the reduction of traffic congestion.

Third, NTDS are deliberately constructed around a particular version of the history of the site, as well as distinctly "traditional" architectural styles. NTDs borrow housing styles enshrined with historical meaning and symbolism, such as Charleston houses, popularly recognized for their place in Civil War history. More importantly, many NTDs use personal histories, such as the heritage of former land owners, as a means of giving identity to a development. The developers of Rancho Santa Maragarita, in California, fore example, made much of the supposed history of site's Spanish "founding father," despite the fact that he was merely one of many landowners (Till, 1993). Case studies in the geographic literature tend to examine resort NTD communities such as Celebration, Florida; Seaside, Florida; Kentlands, Maryland; or Laguna Beach, California, and uncover similar representations deployed in the construction of NTDs (Falconer Al-Hindi and Staddon, 1997, Slayter and Morris, 1990, Southworth, 1997). There appear to be few articles in the literature that examine non-resort communities, however, and it is these that are becoming a burgeoning trend in the US.

Table 4. Traffic Planning Principles of Neotraditional Communities.

Grid pattern for streets, resulting in multiple available routes from one point to another within the development.
Reduced street widths to accommodate only two 10-foot traffic lanes, with adjacent 8 foot parking aisles on both sides, and no additional right-of-way to widen the streets later.
Reduced or nonexistent hierarchy of streets.
Reduced clearance between the street and objects on the sidewalk, such as benches, trees etc.
Few if any cul-de-sac street designs.
On-street parking to buffer pedestrians and to enclose and help define the streetscape.
Traffic signal cycles of no more than 60 seconds and only the two-phase type.
Reduced curb radii to 10 feet or less to lower speed of turning cars and to reduce the amount of time necessary for pedestrians to cross the street.

Source: Slayter and Morris (1990)

Neotraditional Planning in Cary, North Carolina: Carpenter Village

In the eastern US, and particularly in North Carolina, neotraditional planning has appeared in a number of areas, particularly in the Triangle region. The three types of NTDs present are: 1) the full-blown, authentic neotraditional development, in which land is developed with a town center, mixed land uses, prescribed traffic controls, and its own zip code, such as a small village or town; 2) a moderate adaptation of NTD concepts, such as small lots, narrow streets, and the like, but without the mixed land uses, town center, and other features of NTDs; and 3) an adaptation of the NTD concept, complete with mixed land uses, but locating the development within an existing town, as with small-scale neighborhoods and subdivisions. Carpenter Village is an example of the third type. It is an authentic NTD on a small scale, rather than a full-blown town or subdivision with only one or two NTD elements. Carpenter Village is located in the Town of Cary, a suburb of Raleigh, which is in the western portion of Wake County in North Carolina and is located just off Highway 55, outside the Research Triangle Park. It is comprised of 369 acres, half of which are residential.

The development is named for the rural community village of Carpenter, which was located just outside White Oak and Cedar Fork Townships at the turn of the century. Carpenter was settled in 1790 and was officially established in 1865. It was named for William Carpenter, one of the first men to live in the area. Carpenter was known locally for its tobacco production, which flourished at the turn of the century. Tobacco was bought and sold in nearby Apex, which had a tobacco market that served the surrounding communities. The resulting prosperity created by tobacco production enabled Carpenter to establish a post office at the turn of the century. Eventually the community declined, and the Carpenter post office was discontinued in

1933; the mail was forwarded to the Morrisville post office. Today, one of the few original buildings in Carpenter, the old Carpenter Farm Supply and Mill, is still standing (see Figure 1[2]). The former quiet and peaceful community is now completely engulfed by the Town of Cary; but the memory of Carpenter officially lives on, however, in the carefully planned NTD of Carpenter Village.

Carpenter Village was developed in 1997 under the Town of Cary's Planned United Development Ordinance (PUD). As with other NTDs, Carpenter Village has a master plan that sets forth the design of the neighborhood, style and placement of houses, street design, and dictates mixed land uses. The development is set in phases; phase one is almost complete, and phase 19 (the final phase) is scheduled for completion in 2004. Eventually the development will be home to approximately 900 families.

There are three housing types available in Carpenter Village: Townhouses, Charleston homes, and Neighborhood Homes. The sales information describes "homestyles for your lifestyle," and goes on to say, "you can be assured that your home has been carefully selected to contribute to the village atmosphere." Townhouse prices begin in the $130,000s and feature one car oversized garages, walk-up attics, one two or three bedrooms, and custom features. Charleston Homes begin in the $180,000s and feature authentic Charleston floorplans, piazzas/verandahs, front porches, fenced-in courtyards, and alleyways with two-car rear-entry garages. According to sales information, the rear-entry house styles in Carpenter Village were designed for a specific purpose: "rear entry homes will enable garages to be moved from the front-yard prominence to the rear of the house, or may even be detached in the backyard. The message: you, not your car, are in charge here." Neighborhood Homes feature two-story custom built homes, traditional exteriors with front porches, innovative interior designs, and two-car garages with a choice of either rear or side-entry garages. The sales information describes, "front-porch friendly homes and yards," which feature, "home and landscape design [that] encourages a shift...from the seclusion of big back yards to neighbor-friendly front porches and tree-lined sidewalks. If you are seeking privacy, landscaped courtyards provide a peaceful retreat." Each house in Carpenter Village has a large front porch and several styles have wrap-around porches (see Figures 2-5).

Streets in Carpenter Village are consistent with those described by Audirac and Sheryman (1994). They are narrow and have very narrow turning radii. The sales materials describe, "streets that take you somewhere." Sidewalks line both sides of the street. There is one cul-de-sac in Carpenter Village, and according to the sales staff, it was necessary in order to preserve the sensitive nature reserve behind the street (Schabot, May 1998). The planned center of the development, referred to as the "village core," will house several shops, but these will be limited to small eateries (coffee and bagels), professional offices (accountants, physicians, etc.), and a corner convenience store. According to the sales materials, the stores will allow residents to shop, "in a relaxed and intimate setting." Members of the sales staff said the corner store will be a locally-owned place for residents," to stop in and grab milk or bread, but will not be the place where a weeks' worth of shopping can be accomplished" (Schabot, May 1998).

From the moment one walks in the sales office, it is apparent that history and tradition are paramount in the Carpenter Village experience. On the walls hang aged black and white photographs of the Ferrell Family, the original tobacco-growing land owners, most of whom grew up in Carpenter. Also on the walls are hand-held farming devices, relics of the farming heritage of the village; old metal Coca-Cola signs; and other symbols of the former southern-agrarian lifestyle. Carpenter Village sales staff gladly tell the Ferrell family history, and of how Mamie Ferrell dropped by the office just last week on her way to sell homemade apple pies for charity (Schabot, May 1998). Regional history and tradition are beautifully captured in the sales brochure, *Carpenter Village...An Album of*

[2] All of the photos used in this paper were taken by the author.

Figure 1. Old Carpenter Farm Supply and Mill.

Figure 2. Neighborhood Homes in Carpenter Village.

Figure 3. House Frontage on Sidewalks.

Figure 4. Charleston Style Home.

Figure 5. Townhouses in Carpenter Village

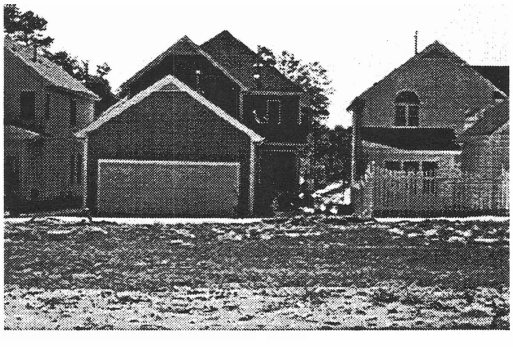

Figure 6. Back lots with Rear Garages

an Era. The cover page of this eight page document shows the original Carpenter community store, as well as a Ferrell Family portrait circa 1940. Displayed in the office are brochures, sales sheets, and internet pages. The adopted theme for Carpenter Village is, "It's a place with a past, it's a place for the future.". The sales brochures and booklets proclaim a higher quality of life for residents of Carpenter Village by virtue of the place's history and present location. According to *Album of an Era*, "Carpenter Village brings alive the simple lifestyle of an earlier day...the front porch friendliness of a bygone era is embraced at Carpenter Village, where there is a true sense of community in knowing your neighbors once again." Color photographs, alongside the old black and white ones, depict children swinging in a tire from a tree, and fishing together in a timeless symbol of simplicity. The brochure claims Carpenter Village has, "home styles for every preference, lifestyles to fulfill every desire, and conveniences you've only dreamed of." It goes on to suggest that the village of Carpenter has, "maintained its small-town charm of yesteryear," then links the present to the past: "the world technology leaders are just minutes away in Research Triangle Park ... Carpenter is still a peaceful, serene community embracing the future." The community map depicts Carpenter Village in relation to shopping, places of employment, and cultural and public facilities. It does not, however, show a scale, perhaps for a reason: it is not close, or within walking distance to, any facility on the map. Carpenter Village might offer a peaceful retreat from the hectic pace of modern life, but the neighborhood is suspiciously close to suburban sprawl, it has no transportation system, and limited shopping.

Despite the well-groomed descriptions glorifying Carpenter Village's country-goodness, there are subtle contradictions which warrant further examination. As mentioned earlier, the use of tradition or history in a development is a distinguishing feature of neotraditionalism. But Till (1993) reveals that in many NTDs the use of traditions are recent in origin and are often invented. For example, the brochure says "the historical community of Carpenter welcomes a neighborhood that embraces the past with eyes toward the future." Yet the original Carpenter community no longer exists, which begs the question, just where is Carpenter Village? The land is in Cary and pays Cary taxes, is named for Carpenter and the brochures tell of Carpenter's history, while the office letterhead lists a Morrisville address. Furthermore, promotional materials describe the Ferrell family at length, implying they are deeply important to the history of the site. And yet the Wake County *Heritage Book* (Belvin and Riggs, 1983) lists no Ferrells in the western portion of Wake County.

Another troubling issue is that of accessibility. Carpenter Village, in radio advertisements heard locally on five stations, claims to represent the American dream of an integrated and harmonious community at an affordable price. Furthermore, documents filed with the Cary City Council state "a wide range of housing types and price points will encourage a diversity of residents" *(Carpenter Village Master Plan Documents*, Sheet 2). Yet, according to HUD 1998 Income figures, the Median Family Income (MFI) for the Raleigh SMSA is $54,700 (estimate based on a family of four). Using HUD housing standards, a family of four should be able to afford a single-family home for $136,000. In Carpenter Village, that would buy a low-end townhouse, and certainly not a single-family home. The actual cost of a single-family home in Carpenter Village raises a corollary issue. Sales information sheets claim the single-family home prices start at (a mere) $180,000, but in reality, prices are much higher. According to the June inventory, the average price of a Neighborhood Home is $232,944, and the average price of a Charleston Home is $221,300. Prices for Neighborhood Homes (in the June listing) range from $223,000-$248,000, and the two Charleston Homes available were $207,600 and $235,000 respectively. Common to neotraditional communities is the high price and exclusive location, which, according to critics, results in economic discrimination, and, indirectly, a form of racial segregation

(Falconer Al-Hindi and Staddon, 1997). Economic discrimination is apparent in the layout of Carpenter Village. According to the site map, the common open space, which includes the 22 acre Carpenter Village Lake, is completely surrounded by one housing style, the most expensive style offered, the exclusive Neighborhood Homes, (available from the $190,000s). While along the village core, (arguably a less desirable location than that of the village pond), Townhouses, the least expensive style offered, are the dominant housing style, though an occasional Charleston House adds variety at dispersed intervals. Brochures for Carpenter Village show children of many races playing together, yet arguably few minorities in Wake County could afford to enjoy the site, and no minorities were visible to the author during several site visits.

The information sheets about Carpenter Village make further subtle claims that require closer examination. The sheets seem to imply that the community can cure the social ills present in modern subdivisions. For example, the information sheet entitled *Neotraditional... the new/old lifestyle*, describes the recreation space as one that, "encourages you to get to know your neighbors." If single, introverted, or nonathletic persons were interested in living in Carpenter Village they might find living there uncomfortable. The brochure begrudging allows introverts their solitude: "if you are seeking privacy, landscaped courtyards provide a peaceful retreat." Critics of NTDs claim the scheme seems concerned with not only physical layout, but with how people should behave and interact (Bookout, 15), and this is arguably true in Carpenter Village.

In Falconer Al-Hindi and Staddon's article on Seaside, Florida, the authors claim there are, "inchoate cultural conceptions about the appropriate relations between different built elements and social practice" (1997, p. 358). NTDs place relatively large houses on relatively small lots, which forces recreational activities (of the previously domestic sphere) into public areas, where, NTD proponents believe they should be. This appears to be the case in Carpenter Village as well. Lot sizes (for the single family homes) range from .10 acre to .20 acre, yet the house sizes range from 1,900 - 2,800 square feet -- huge houses on a tiny lots (see Figure 6). Interestingly, the lot sizes are conspicuously missing from the information sheets. The small lots that, "encourage you to get to know your neighbors," are actually the only type of lots available. The seemingly altruistic lot design that, "encourages a shift in social life from the seclusion of big back yards to neighbor-friendly front porches," is not without benefit to the developer. Utilizing small lots allows for higher density, which ultimately creates more houses per acre. This equates to higher profit potential when compared to the modern subdivision standard of one house per half acre.

Perhaps most bothersome to critics of NTDs is the privatization of supposed "public spaces" within these sites. Streets are important amenities in all of these developments and can be strolled at leisure. And yet, as Falconer Al-Hindi and Staddon (1997) argue, the casual participant strolling those streets will find himself or herself under constant and subtle forms of surveillance. I certainly found this to be the case at Carpenter Village; on visiting the site on several occasions I found residents peering through the windows, watching me walk on the sidewalk, almost as if they knew I was an "outsider." Like other neotraditional communities, Carpenter Village has focused open space, which is a nice (and rare) amenity in modern neighborhoods. As mentioned earlier the 22 acre "lake" on the property (which is arguably not a lake, but a pond) is in the rear of the development, completely surrounded by houses, which implies that the pond is designated for residents, and is not, as one might believe, "public" space.

Decisions concerning land use at the site are divided between the local government, which is arguably a "public" space, and the Ferrell devlopment Corporation, a "private" sphere of activity. Carpenter Village is located in the Town of Cary's jurisdiction, which forces land use issues to be brought before public hearings. The Town of Cary has recently experienced growing pains as the town's population more than doubled from 34,000 in 1985 to just under 90,000 in 1997. Growth management was a major

issue during the last City Council election in Cary and as recently asJune, 1998, the Town was requiring developers to pay extra taxes for burdening the infrastructure system and contributing to school overcrowding. Furthermore, in North Carolina local municipalities determine site and subdivision standards, which vary from place to place, but are always consistent with the State building code. Carpenter Village itself is run by a development corporation, which determines building guidelines concerning architectural style, general landscaping, and appropriate residential behavior.

Conclusions

Suburbs, once touted as utopic social, as well as physical, environments, are now viewed by many within the planning field as fundamentally flawed. Suburban development resulted not only in wasted land resources and expensive infrastructure, but also a feeling of malaise. Suburbanites have grown tired of not knowing their neighbors, of having cars whiz by their homes at high rates of speed, and of a lack of "place." By today's standards, current suburb designs seem to represent the very definition of sprawl (Ewing, 1997). In response, planners have turned to the idyllic "small town" communities to provide insight for future development. According to recent research, when buildings are constructed at a human scale, houses are not acres apart, trees separate roads from yards, and streetscapes are warm and inviting, people claim to have a better sense of well-being (Arendt, 1994; Ewing, 1997; Greenbie, 1981; Southworth, 1997). This research has evolved into a new planning paradigm, flexible enough to be adapted to either neighborhood, or town, planning. Neotraditionalism has no official definition, but encourages a compact form, pedestrian-friendly streets, a grid street pattern, strict traffic controls, and focused open space. In the past decade, several NTD towns across the country have been developed and have received national attention, including: Seaside, Florida; Laguna West, California; Kentland, Maryland; and Celebration, Florida.

Critics of NTDs claim the developments are contrived and artificial, and the claims of NTDs are unjustified and at times deceptive. NTDs have been satirized for their artificiality and lack of depth. Such artificiality is evident in the recent box office hit, *The Truman Show*, which was filmed in Seaside, Florida. In subsequent interviews with moviegoers, television polls revealed that no one was aware that the movie was filmed in an actual town; those persons interviewed thought the film was shot on a movie set. Interestingly, even Carpenter Village staff members complained about the artificiality of Seaside; one staff member said it reminded him of *The Stepford Wives*, a movie in which the town's wives are all eerily perfect women on the outside, and yet robotic on the inside. The identical white picket fences, equidistantly-spaced houses, perfectly manicured green lawns, and Charleston house styles, of Carpenter Village lend a southern charm that is sticky sweet, in a Seasidian way.

And yet the very perfection that Carpenter Village strives to achieve is based on images of small town America that we have idealized and will continue to cherish. Neotraditionalism will likely remain a popular planning scheme for a long time to come. Officially, this movement will be advocated by the Congress for New Urbanism (CNU), a national organization dedicated to preserving the principles of New Urbanist planning. As such, I would argue that the task that lies before planners and political officials is to improve the concept. On a practical, planning, level, NTDs can be utilized near America's historic districts. Historic districts are frequently enclaves between incompatible land uses. NTDs constructed adjacent to existing historic districts might complement the districts, and possibly increase the value of historic homes by providing a transition between other land uses.

More significantly, however, thought must be given to the actual implementation of the "ideal" planners wish to represent. Communities characterized by diversity and difference cannot be constructed from developments that are affordable to the few.

Offering affordable housing in these developments would considerably improve the NTD reputation among its critics. Perhaps there is room for this concept in public housing, which has long been plagued with highly publicized problems, including design flaws, crime, and poor traffic control. Recent attempts have been made in a few areas to bring NTD design features into housing projects, and to ensure an adequate mix of rental and private residences. Though there is no proof that NTDs would solve the problems associated with social inequality, the scheme certainly might mitigate them. Neotraditional planning can be seen as a return to common sense neighborhood planning, which is always a good idea. Claiming or implying that a planning tool can cure social problems, is, however, inappropriate and misleading.

Acknowledgments

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Statistical Review of the State
Who, Where? North Carolina Demographics

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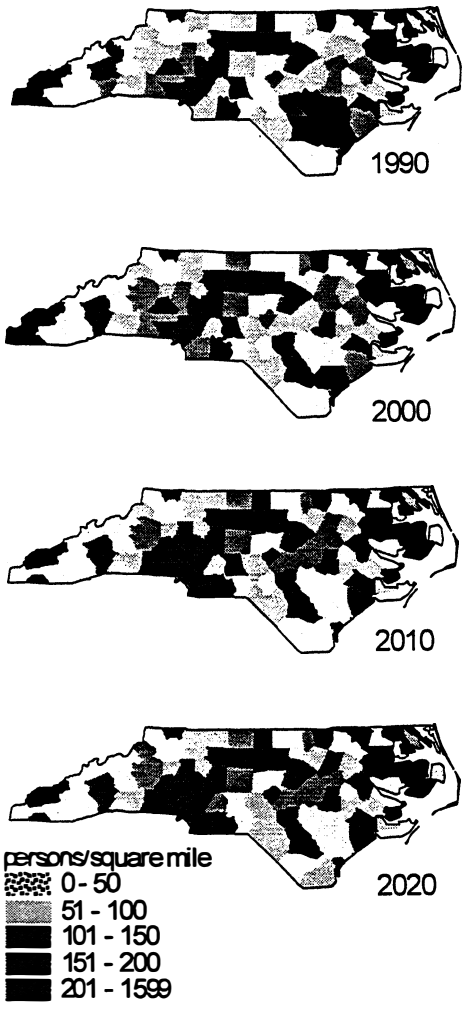
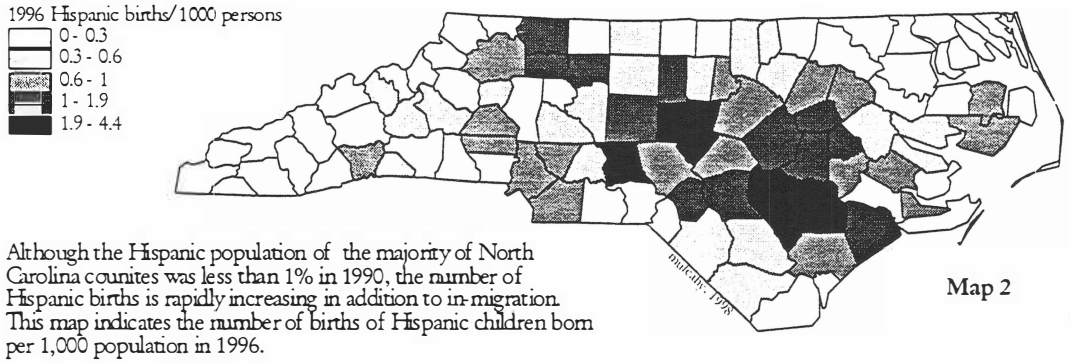
This is the first installment of a new feature that will review statistical information about the state of North Carolina. For this first issue of the Statistical Review – I went browsing. A quick click on the web browser 'search' button, then the entering of the terms 'North Carolina data' and a rich source of on-line data sources was ready for mining. This issue features the Office of State Planning, State Demographics unit. This unit provides data is that is freely and easily available. With a minimum of difficulty, this data was downloaded via a web browser and mapped in a desktop GIS package. The unit disseminates data to the public by county and municipality in annual publications and various county and state population projections are available in electronic or paper form.

The State Demographics unit has a critical role to play in North Carolina because it produces the annual estimates of population used to distribute state shared revenues to local governments. This unit produces both the population estimates such as the recently released 1997 County Provisional population estimates as well as population projections. See Map 1, years 1990 – 2020. The county and state population projections, available by age, race (white/other) and sex, are used for long range planning. The unit uses a variety of means to produce these estimates and projections including the development and enhancement of computer models and the collection and review of data from federal, state and local government. The unit also collects and examines data for the Census Bureau and reviews Census Bureau estimates and methods as a contributing member of the Federal State Cooperative Program for Population Estimates (FSCPE.)



Map 1. – Population Density 1990 - 2020



Although the Hispanic population of the majority of North Carolina counites was less than 1% in 1990, the number of Hispanic births is rapidly increasing in addition to in-migration. This map indicates the number of births of Hispanic children born per 1,000 population in 1996.

Map 2

The data appearing in the series of population density maps were drawn from county estimates as well as the population projections produced by the North Carolina Office of State Planning in June and July of 1996. New to this set of projections is incorporation of the short-term growth from 1990 to 1995 into the projected data for the years 2000 through 2020. A good description of this data including the basic data, birth and death assumptions, and essential methodology are available along with the data sets.

The series of population density maps in Map 1 are drawn from the State Demographics unit web site. The growth trends for North Carolina are clear. Population has increased, and is expected to continue increasing along a broad arc that flexes west and south from Raleigh to Charlotte. Asheville stands out as a rather solitary western population center. By 2010 Greenville and Jacksonville in addition to Wilmington are the counterbalance to the east. The Route 95 corridor also becomes apparent by 2020. The fast growing Hispanic population in North Carolina is illustrated by another data set, "County Hispanic Population 1990, 1990-1996 births." (See Map 2) The growth in Hispanic population is clearly a rural phenomenon, as opposed to the general population growth for the state which primarily occurs in urban areas. This trend is due in large part to migrant employment in rural industries, such as agriculture and food processing. (Cravey 1997)

Data sets such as these can be used in any number of research applications. Population demographics are an integral part of studies that address environmental and socio-economic trends. Current fresh water and infrastructure problems in some parts of the state, for example, are limited to population density. Furthermore, the concentration of certain population groups in specific areas of the state will have political repercussions, as has already been seen in the creation and later destruction of district twelve.

The index of data is extensive and includes over forty different tables. The site provides descriptions of methodology for the revised 91-96, certified 1996, and provisional 1997 county estimates. In addition, a number of maps are available, although interpretation of the map symbolization, with the exception of the Animated Density Map may be challenging.

Technical Notes

The process used to prepare these maps began with saving data accessed through the *www.ospl.state.nc.us/demog* home page.

The procedure described here was the easiest given the software available on my PC but any number of packages may be used. In ***Netscape Navigator 4.04*** I accessed the web page listed above then selected File and Save As. The page was saved as type "plain text" to a file on my hard drive. Next I used ***Microsoft Excel 97*** to open and import the text file. To prepare the data for use with ***ESRI's ArcView*** I deleted all blank lines and unnecessary data, then performed a Save As to ***Dbase IV*** format. The ***Dbase*** format file was then joined with the theme attribute table in ***ArcView***.

Reference

Cravey, A., (1997) "Latino Labor and Poultry Production in Rural North Carolina," *Southeastern Geographer*, 37.2, pp. 295-300