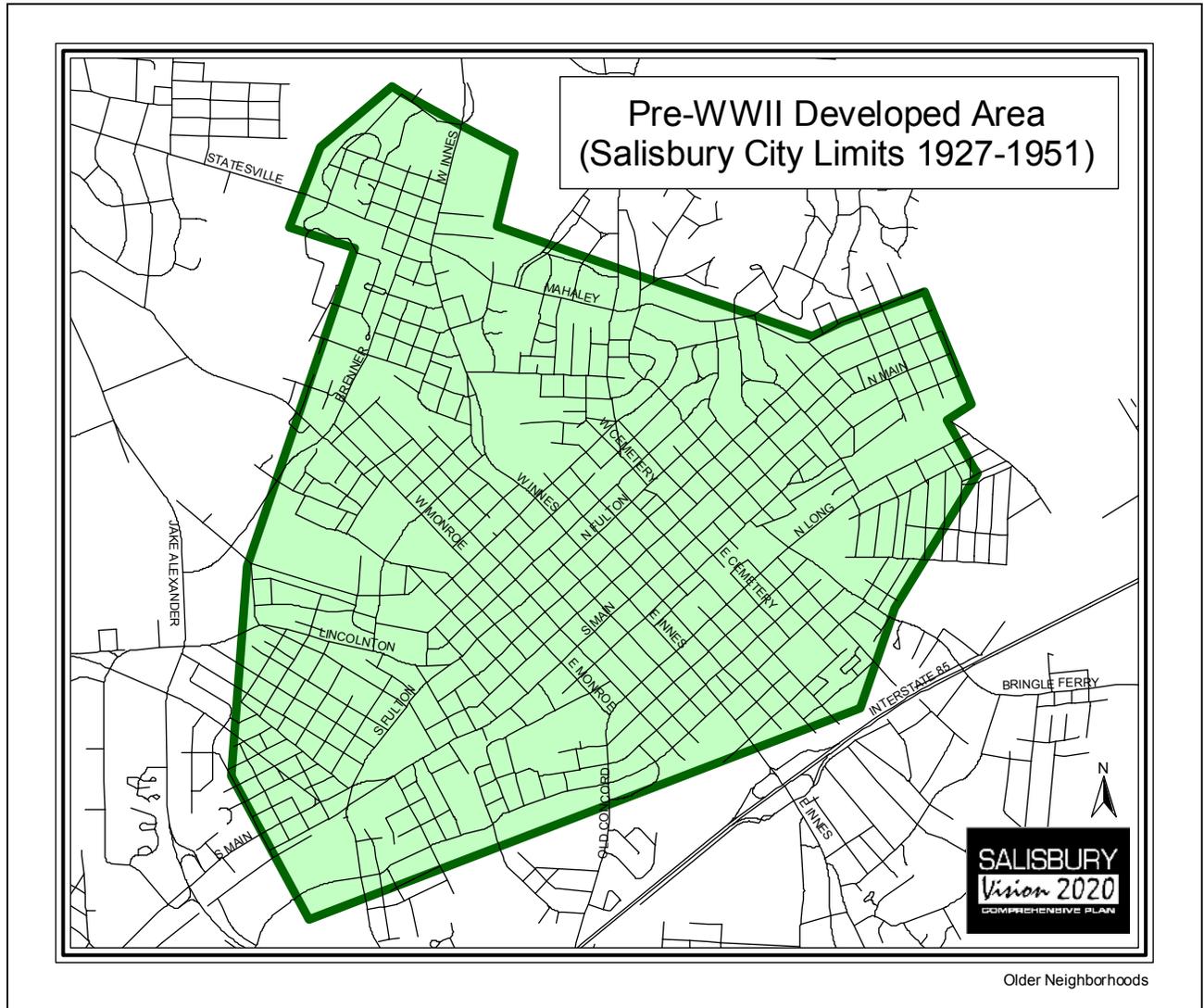


Neighborhoods

THE OLDER NEIGHBORHOODS



Summary of Issues

In general, this area contains some of the most architecturally significant, historic, and walkable neighborhoods in the City. Included in this area are the West Square Historic District, the North Main Street area, Brooklyn-South Square, and the well-designed streetcar suburb of Fulton Heights. Many of the neighborhoods in the area are graced with tree-lined streets, laid out in a well-connected, grid iron pattern, and have an extensive system of sidewalks. Public transit criss crosses the area and benefits from the relatively higher density development found here.

The entire area is convenient to the services of the central business district, and a wide range of cultural, civic, and educational institutions. Several public parks and cemeteries provide open space relief within walking distance of most residences. The area is also favored with a large number of employment opportunities within walking distance. Government, finance, education, business, and industry are all located within a short distance of most residential areas. In short, the older part of Salisbury embodies many of the preferred urban design principles set forth in this plan.

At the same time, however, many parts of the area continue to be challenged by issues typical of older, inner city neighborhoods. These issues include higher than average unemployment, school drop out and teen pregnancy rates, as well as drug abuse and crime. Generally speaking, the area also has a higher than average percentage of female-headed households and low-income elderly. Though it contains some of the most picturesque, tree-lined streets in the City, the area also suffers from substandard housing conditions and old infrastructure (streets, sidewalks, water and sewer, etc.).

Because the area is hampered largely by social and economic challenges, rather than by bad city form, the policies covering these neighborhoods include social and economic initiatives as well as physical improvements.

Policies for Older Neighborhoods

Policy N-1: Concentrated police protection shall be provided to targeted neighborhood areas, preferably in the form of foot and bicycle patrols.

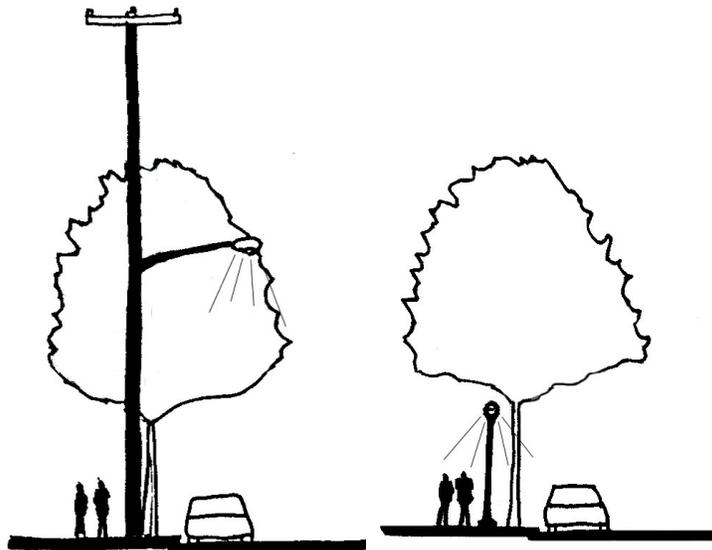
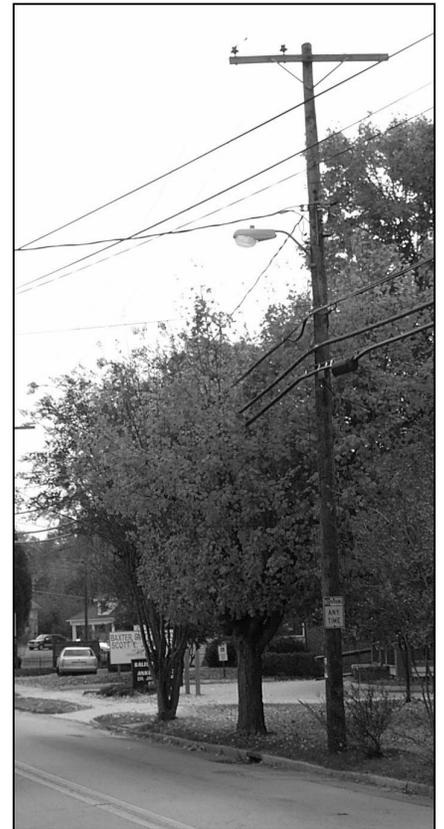


During the town meetings for the comprehensive plan, area residents identified neighborhood security and crime prevention as one of their highest concerns. The City has recently stepped up its commitment to community policing, with the hiring of a new police chief, and the launching of a major new community involvement based policing effort. While the results of this new effort are still too early to tell, feedback from residents has been positive to date. Of particular interest will be the ability of the program to focus on particular trouble spots in targeted neighborhoods. Fortunately, the compact urban scale of the City's older neighborhoods allows for patrols to be provided more economically than would be possible in a suburban area. With the program in place, it is hoped that there will be a very high level of communication and trust established between neighborhood residents and the law enforcement officers assigned to each neighborhood area. Ultimately, it is hoped that greater cooperation between the community and the police department will have a measurable impact on loitering, drug dealing, burglaries, assaults, and opportunities for neighborhood mischief, generally.

Policy N-2: Pedestrian-level streetlights and appropriately designed private property lights shall be encouraged, particularly in walkable neighborhoods.

Note that this policy includes lighting in two forms: 1) streetlights and 2) private property lights. Currently, most streetlights in Salisbury's older neighborhoods areas are tall, infrequently spaced "cobra head" lights, suitable primarily for vehicular traffic. In fact, it is not unusual for such lights to be 200 to 300 feet apart. Due to their height and infrequent spacing, these lights are oftentimes blocked by trees, creating shadows, dark voids, and other areas of incomplete coverage. New, pedestrian-scaled streetlights should therefore be installed at frequent intervals adjacent to all public sidewalks. These streetlights should be no more than 12-15 feet in height, thus staying below the tree canopy. They should also have a light output suitable for a residential area, generally not exceeding about 100 watts.

In addition, residents and property owners should be encouraged to provide ground level lighting, entryway lights, porch lights, etc. While lights alone are no substitute for a comprehensive neighborhood watch/crime prevention program, they are nonetheless one of the least expensive security systems available. Pedestrian-oriented streetlights and properly shielded area lights can also bring a sense of human comfort and safety to such areas.



**“Cobrahead” Streetlight
(Obstructed)**

**Pedestrian Oriented
Streetlight (Unobstructed)**



Policy N-3: Housing programs and code enforcement activities shall be concentrated in targeted neighborhood areas.

Salisbury's City Council has identified neighborhood improvement as a priority goal. Recently, the City's commitment to its neighborhoods was brought to the forefront through the creation of a special *Neighborhood Improvement Task Force*. This broad-based task force is made up of



All city building that retains staying power after its novelty has gone, and that preserves the freedom of the streets and upholds citizens' self-management, ...requires a myriad of gradual, constant, close-grained changes.

Jane Jacobs, 1961

A fool can put on his own clothes better than a wise man can do it for him.

Marshall Shaffer, date unknown

property owners, real estate interests, clergymen, historic preservationists, elected officials, city staff members and others. City staff members on the task force include representatives of police, fire, public works, planning, code enforcement, finance, and administration.

The mission statement of Task Force is:

To study and make recommendations to City Council concerning ordinances, education and programs to improve both the quality of housing and landlord-tenant responsibilities in our neighborhoods.

Early in the study process, the Task Force identified a wide range of issues in need of attention. Those issues included: vacant and boarded up houses, absentee landlords, poor property maintenance, abandoned or junked cars, cars parked in front yards, trash in yard, overcrowding, upholstered furniture/appliances on porches, vacant and overgrown lots, trash cans left at the curbside, drug activity, and noise.

The Task Force brings together a unique combination of private citizens and public servants to tackle Salisbury's neighborhood improvement needs in a comprehensive manner. This approach also allows teams of specialists from various parts of the City's administration to focus their resources on particular target areas. In recent years, the primary areas of focus have been the West End and Park Avenue neighborhoods. Future efforts are being discussed which would bring similar levels of attention to the Fisher Street and Jersey City neighborhoods. Ultimately, through a combination of needed capital investments, improved ordinances, and targeted programs, it is hoped that permanent improvements can be achieved in these targeted areas.

Policy N-4: The provision of meeting places to encourage community interaction and cohesiveness shall be encouraged, particularly in older neighborhoods.

It should come as no surprise that the most effective, lasting way to effect beneficial social change is through community self action. Therefore, community centers can be essential places for residents to gather (whether formally or informally), discuss, and solve neighborhood problems. When such opportunities can be provided at the local elementary school, the church fellowship hall, or through private clubs and civic organizations, so much the better. But where such opportunities are not readily available, it may be necessary for the city to assist in filling the void with a community center or recreation center.

This is especially important in the City's most diverse neighborhoods, which are often its older neighborhoods. Unlike many suburban neighborhoods, which tend to focus on a relatively narrow economic and social niche, older neighborhoods often have a much more diverse population. Within a single urban neighborhood, it would not be unusual to find senior citizens, college students, young couples, singles, families with children, empty nesters, etc.

Thus, with such diversity evident in Salisbury's older neighborhoods, it is vitally important that opportunities for neighborhood interaction and community involvement be maximized. A prime example is the Miller

Recreation Center, which provides a valuable gathering place for area citizens and is well used by residents of all ages.

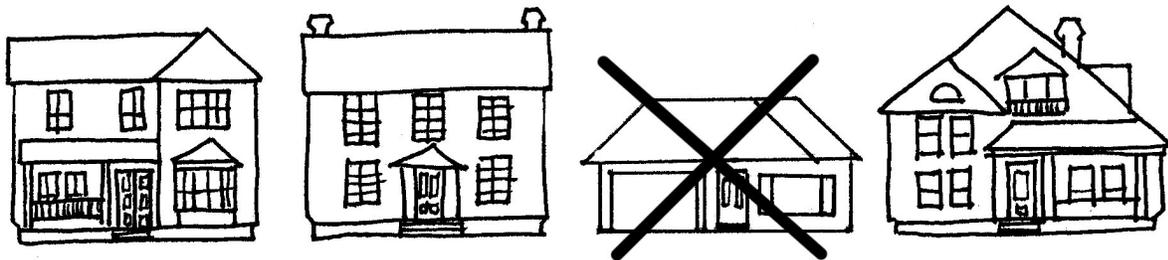
Another example, just now emerging, involves the City's efforts to establish a community center in the Park Avenue neighborhood. The project involves the restoration and adaptive reuse of two historic buildings located at the corner of Park Avenue and Boundary Streets. Once feasibility, programming, and architectural studies are completed, it is expected that these two former mill village commercial buildings will house meeting spaces, an after-school care and tutoring program, and a business incubator facility.

Policy N-5: New infill development shall be architecturally compatible with existing structures, landscape features and the streetscape within its vicinity. Efforts by neighborhood associations to establish their own standards for development compatibility shall be encouraged.

It is important that older homes are restored, remodeled and/or replaced and empty lots are developed in a manner that is compatible with the balance of the neighborhood. Architectural compatibility can be measured by several factors, some of which are: building proportion and size, setback from the street, building materials used, roof form, type of foundation, presence or absence of porches, placement of garages and outbuildings, use of fences and walls, and landscaping, etc.



In the historic districts of Salisbury, architectural compatibility is required. Even without requirements by code, it is not unusual for houses in new suburban subdivisions to be quite similar in size, scale, building materials and placement on the lot. (In the latter case, these similarities are set forth by restrictive covenants, however, rather than by City code.) It follows then, that architectural compatibility should be no less of a priority in other residential areas, including older, less affluent neighborhoods, where neighborhood stability is often of critical concern.



Typically, structures in “traditional” older neighborhoods exhibit classic features such as: two stories, narrow lots, functional front porches, gabled, steeply pitched roofs, homes pulled up to the street, garages to the rear, etc.

In addition to the aesthetic charm of these classically designed homes, traditional houses have many practical advantages. Two story homes on narrow lots, for example, allow neighborhoods to be compact and walkable, while also making transit services economical to operate. Garages placed to the rear keep the automobile from dominating the front of the home. Front porches provide opportunities for social interaction and allow residents to self-police the neighborhood. There is

security in communication and closeness, and in focusing as many eyes as possible on the street. Front porches and the pitched roofs of traditional house designs are also energy efficient, minimizing electric bills for air conditioning. This is especially important among low-income persons and the elderly on fixed incomes.

Interestingly, North Carolina state enabling legislation does not authorize local governments to conduct *discretionary design review* (i.e. review based on the opinion of a board) of structures located outside a historic district or certified redevelopment area. This would appear to rule out design review in most of the city's older neighborhoods. Not so. Most significant measures of compatibility can be set forth in the city zoning ordinance through *performance standards* (numerical or simple checklist-style standards), which require no discretionary review. Examples include performance standards related to "build-to" lines for front yard setbacks, garages to be placed in the rear yard, homes to be built over crawl spaces, roofs to have a certain minimum pitch, as well as standards for floor-area ratios, lot coverage ratios, etc. The challenge, then, becomes one of identifying neighborhood areas with consistent development patterns that can be conveniently translated into performance-based standards. In doing so, such actions may also have the effect of bringing some older properties back on the market that have been rendered undevelopable by suburban style zoning.

Policy N-6 The City shall continually reinvest in the infrastructure of its older urban neighborhoods, including but not limited to: park improvements, sidewalks, street maintenance, street trees, street lights, water and sewer lines, and drainage.

In committing to an on-going reinvestment strategy for its older urban neighborhoods, it is important to remember that these areas are among the most cost effective parts of the community to serve. Property taxes collected over many decades have paid for the infrastructure of these areas many times over. Municipal services provided to these areas, including law enforcement, fire protection, refuse collection, street sweeping and so forth, can be delivered in a highly efficient manner, owing largely to the compact form of the older city. It is only fair, therefore, that these older neighborhoods should benefit from an on-going program of reinvestment commensurate with the cost efficiencies associated with servicing these areas. Public investment in infrastructure improvements should be focused in the following areas:



Parks: The efficiencies of smaller lot sizes and many residents close at hand call for nearby park facilities at the neighborhood level.

Sidewalks: Sidewalks are more intensively used in older urban areas and, therefore, warrant the highest levels of attention in maintenance and replacement.

Streets: The condition of neighborhood streets is often the most visible aspect of a local government's commitment to the betterment of an area.

Street Trees: Street trees were and are an integral part of the design of older neighborhoods. They also provide natural neighborhood and home cooling— especially important in less affluent areas where air conditioning bills may consume a larger portion of household income.

Street Lights: Well placed, pedestrian oriented street lights are critically important in older urban neighborhoods, where sidewalks are well used and pedestrian safety is of paramount concern.

Water and sewer lines: Though less visible than above ground infrastructure, adequate water and sewer lines are essential services.

Drainage: Older neighborhoods occasionally become the recipient of unwanted stormwater runoff from new “upstream” development. The best way to prevent this is through careful site plan review. It sometimes becomes necessary, however, to retroactively fix a drainage problem caused by new development.

Policy N-7: Appropriately located, and pedestrian oriented, designed and scaled stores and services providing basic necessities to residents of the city’s older neighborhoods shall be encouraged.

The availability of groceries, pharmaceuticals and other necessities continues to be a basic need for residents in some older parts of the city. At the same time, small offices and other small businesses can provide suitable employment opportunities within walking distance of the home.

Over the past decade or more, the City has been quite effective in employing various grant programs, financing mechanisms, and development incentives to help revitalize the downtown core. The City should build upon this experience and momentum by encouraging the development of appropriately located and designed stores and services providing, particularly, daily necessities to presently underserved areas.



“Appropriately located” as used here, typically means the placement of stores and services at street corners where they can be conveniently accessed from several directions. “Pedestrian oriented, designed, and scaled” means structures that are compatible with the architectural style and scale of surrounding structures, which are pedestrian rather than automobile oriented, and which have operating characteristics compatible with nearby residences (i.e. limited parking or parking in the rear, sidewalks, compatible lighting and signage, attractive landscaping, appropriate buffering, etc.). In doing so, the City will also be instrumental in taking yet one more action consistent with the overall objective of reducing automobile dependency and traffic congestion on area streets.

(Also see Policies C-23 to C-32 where much greater detail is provided concerning Pedestrian-Oriented, Neighborhood Businesses.)

Policy N-8: Public transit shall continue to be supported, including opportunities for service expansions.

...in taking over the burden of public and private transportation, both passengers and freight, the motorcar has, with the aid of extravagant public subsidies...wrecked the balanced transportation system that existed a generation ago...

Lewis Mumford
January 12, 1962

The American car is fueled by annual subsidies of more than \$200 billion, four times larger than the (federal government) deficit reduction package.... We don't pay the true cost of the car at the showroom or the gas pump. We pay it in our medical insurance, or by raising taxes.

David Morris, 1990

During the town meetings held for the Comprehensive Plan, support for public transit was clearly evident. In fact, among all transportation issues, public transit was the second most frequently identified issue receiving support.

Significantly, since the World War II, public perceptions about public transit have changed dramatically. As our cities have become more dependent upon the individual automobile, most of us have been conditioned to believe that public subsidies to the bus system are a *cash-out-of-pocket cost*, while our much *greater* public subsidies to the road system (and hence the individual automobile) are a *public necessity*. Unlike bus system subsidies, however, these subsidies are largely hidden or accepted matter-of-factly as a cost of living.

Consider, however, federal, state and local subsidies for sprawling street systems, multiple lane thoroughfares, highways, bridges and interstates. Fuel taxes, included in the cost of gasoline, create a steady source of capital to expand the street and highway network. Over and above that, Congressional appropriations divert massive sums of money to the nation's transportation infrastructure, usually with some budget "crumbs" (relatively speaking) set aside for mass transportation, bicycle facilities, and other alternatives to the automobile.

"Induced demand" is an expression which is gaining increasing recognition in transportation planning. It means the tendency for new highway facilities to generate even more traffic congestion than before the facility was constructed, or before more lanes were added. While this certainly does not apply to all new facilities, it is a principle that warrants examination when new facilities are being considered. Regardless, while public understanding about the real costs and benefits of new transportation facilities is often less than it should be, it is beginning to improve.

In contrast to road infrastructure, public transit has many redeeming values and few negative ones. Public transit reduces congestion on the streets and generates less air pollution. It also cuts down on the need for extensive parking lots, thereby reducing visual blight, and storm water runoff from paved surfaces.¹ On another level, public transit can be instrumental in encouraging persons of different racial, ethnic and economic class to at least "share the same space" during their daily commute, perhaps breaking down social barriers to some degree.

Citizens attending the town meetings for the Comprehensive Plan expressed a clear desire that Salisbury's current bus system should be

¹ It should be remembered that the individual automobile requires no fewer than 3 parking spaces to serve its needs: one space at home, one space at work, one space for shopping, etc. Public transit alleviates the need for many of these parking spaces, thereby creating a more attractive and livable community.

supported and expanded where possible. The objective of City government, therefore, should be twofold: (1) to continue to support and expand the bus system where reasonable need can be justified, and (2) to promote and reinforce development patterns and neighborhoods that make bus service more effective to operate.

SUMMARY OF POLICIES FOR OLDER NEIGHBORHOODS

Policy N-1: Concentrated police protection shall be provided to targeted neighborhood areas, preferably in the form of foot and bicycle patrols.

Policy N-2: Pedestrian-level streetlights and appropriately designed private property lights shall be encouraged, particularly in walkable neighborhoods.

Policy N-3: Housing programs and code enforcement activities shall be concentrated in targeted neighborhood areas.

Policy N-4: The provision of meeting places to encourage community interaction and cohesiveness shall be encouraged.

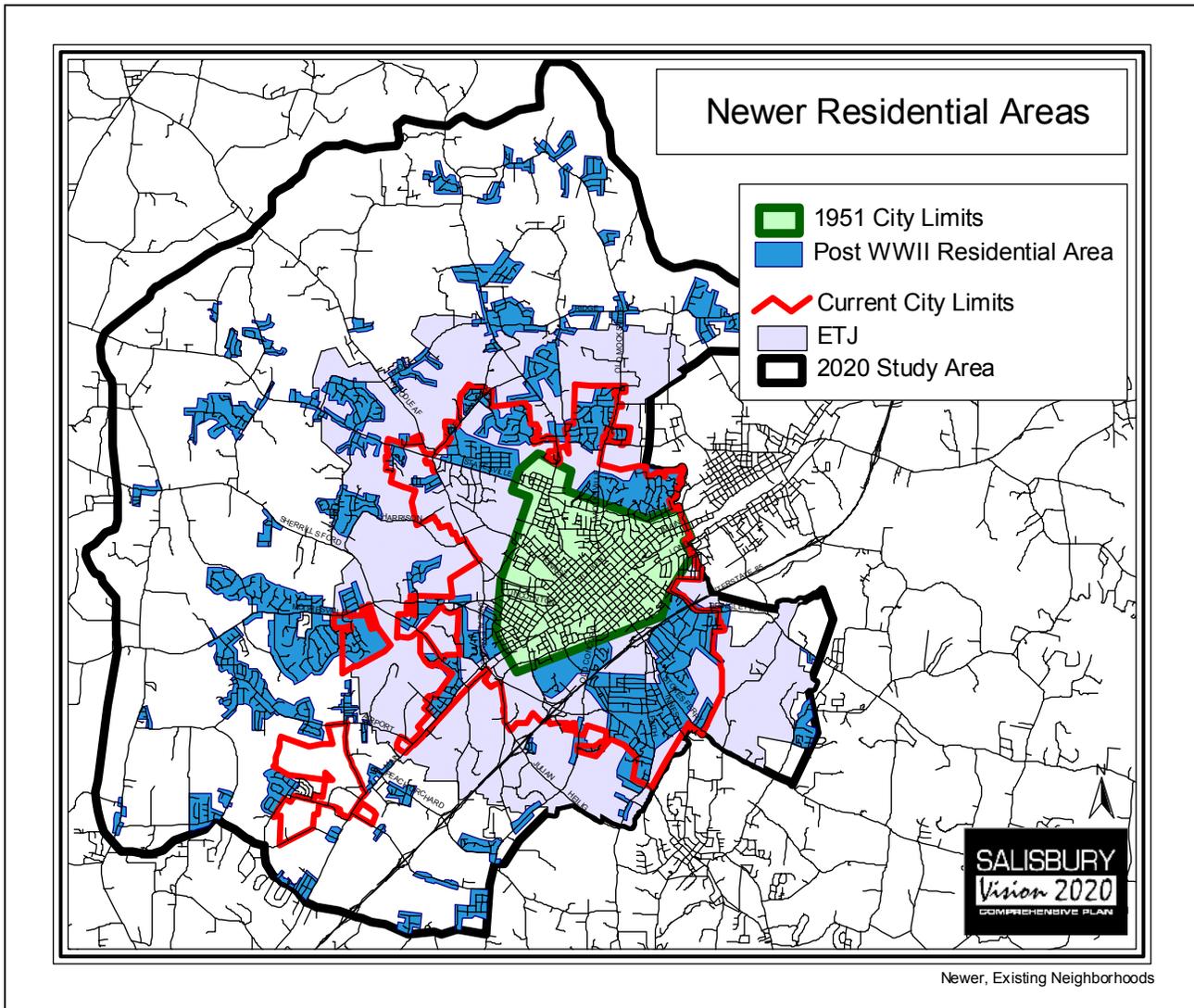
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Policy N-7: Appropriately located, designed and scaled stores and services providing basic necessities to residents of the city's older neighborhoods shall be encouraged.

Policy N-8: Public transit shall continue to be supported, including opportunities for service expansions.

THE NEWER, EXISTING NEIGHBORHOODS



Summary of Issues

Salisbury's newer existing neighborhoods refer to those parts of the City developed during the period from just after World War II to the present day. Examples of such neighborhoods include Fairview Heights, Sedgefield Acres, Meadowbrook, and Country Club Hills. Generally, these neighborhoods exhibit many of the ideals of post-war suburban America: relatively large lots and lawn areas, homes, often one story, set well back from the street. Outdoor activity spaces are oriented toward the backyard, with the front yard serving primarily an aesthetic function.

The automobile orientation of these neighborhoods can be observed by the prominence of driveways and garages in home and site design. There is generally an absence of sidewalks, except perhaps, a private walk from the driveway to the front door. On-street parking is usually

frowned upon, except as necessary for large gatherings. Service and delivery functions, such as for mail, the newspaper and refuse collection, are normally located at the street edge, near the end of the driveway.

Homes are typically within a prescribed, fairly narrow price range and square footage. Average household incomes tend to closely parallel home prices, thus creating low, middle, upper middle and upper class neighborhoods. Streets and blocks are typically long, with few intersections, and may be straight or curvilinear, to add interest.

Public parks and designed open spaces are often absent, owing to the open spaces associated with each large lot. It is not unusual for these large lots to function as their own private “playgrounds”, with a basketball goal in many driveways and a swing set in most back yards. When community recreational amenities are present, they are most often in the form of a private club with pool and/or tennis courts. A private golf course may also be present in higher end developments. Schools, work and shopping tend to be well removed from these areas, thus assuring a uniform residential appearance throughout the subdivision.

In summary, the greatest attributes of these spacious neighborhoods may be their predictability and consistency. By assuring uniformity in lot sizes, home prices, square footages, architecture, land use, household incomes, and social structure, each property owner’s standard of home life is also assured, and the investment in the home is seen as protected and secure.

At the same time, the hidden costs of these post war suburban neighborhoods are well documented, if not widely known by the general public. These large lot subdivisions have generally consumed a great deal of land per housing unit, thus contributing to the pervasive loss of farmland and open space in America in the latter half of the 20th century. The spread out nature of these areas requires much greater initial costs and on-going maintenance and replacement costs for infrastructure. Each larger, wider lot requires greater lengths of streets, sidewalks (if present) water and sanitary sewer lines, storm sewers, and electric, telephone, cable and natural gas utilities.

Likewise, the costs of providing services to these areas are also more expensive per household. Included in these higher service costs are mail delivery, police and fire protection, refuse collection, street cleaning, school bus services, and meter reading, among others.

Environmentally, these areas generate more stormwater runoff per housing unit, due to more street pavement, driveway pavement, and roof area (not to mention paved areas in shopping centers and work places made necessary by automobile dependent subdivisions). Of interest, air quality impacts from suburban-based automobile emissions are causing serious problems in many parts of the country, notably Los Angeles and Atlanta, but also in the Piedmont Triad area.

Socially, near total dependence on the automobile for daily activities tends to isolate people economically and otherwise. This isolation makes children completely dependent upon their parents for transportation to most activities. Similarly, the non-driving elderly become confined to their homes, unable to grocery shop or get to the doctor without special assistance from others with a car.

Subdivision *n.* A tract of land divided into smaller lots.

Neighborhood *n.* An area defined by the commonality of its inhabitants or other characteristics.

American Heritage Dictionary

Beginning in the 19th century, we took down our Old world walls and hedges (declared to be “undemocratic”) and spread an uninterrupted green carpet of turf grass across our yards, down our streets, along our highways and, by and by, across the entire continent. Ever since their maintenance has been regarded as an important ritual of consensus in America—even a civic obligation. The citizen who neglects to vote is more tolerated—and far more common—than the citizen who neglects to mow.

-Michael Pollan, 1991

In our quest for the perfect lawn we waste vast quantities of water and energy, human as well as petrochemical. (The total annual amount of time spent mowing lawns in America comes to 30 hours for every man, woman and child.) Acre for acre, the American lawn receives four times as much chemical pesticide as any U.S. farmland.

Michael Pollan, 1991

Finally, the generally low development density of these areas also makes it uneconomic to provide public transit service, effectively eliminating that alternative to the automobile.

Important note: In setting forth policies for newer, existing neighborhoods, it is important to recognize that recommended changes will likely be minor or incremental at best. Neither this plan nor any other public policy should seek to disrupt established neighborhoods that were built according to a particular model of development. To do so would be ill advised from both a physical planning standpoint as well as a political perspective. Even so, all neighborhoods can usually benefit from improvements to one degree or another; when such improvements add to the quality of the neighborhood and life there, the residents will usually support them.

Policies for Newer, Existing Neighborhoods

Policy N-9: Architecturally compatible accessory housing may be encouraged on developed lots within existing neighborhood areas, especially for elderly housing.

COVER STORY

Baby boomer flood ahead in 21st century

By William Dunn and Andrea Stone
USA TODAY

Many people would find their own family life replenished if the grandparents, though not under their feet, were near at hand; and above all, the young would be the gainers from this; for there are special bonds of sympathy between them and their grandparents' generation, through its very detachment, which often makes them far more ready to heed their advice than that of their own parents. Who can say how much delinquency and brutalized mischief in our American towns may not be due to the very absence of a warm, loving, reciprocal intercourse between the three generations?

Lewis Mumford, May 1956

Over the next several decades (through about the year 2030) the elderly population of the United States is going to grow exponentially. North Carolina is expected to continue to be a major draw for retirees. Given the quality of life and prime location of Salisbury in the central Piedmont, this area could witness a sizeable increase in retirement population.

As the baby boom generation, now middle aged, reaches its retirement years, the ability of our society to deal with the living needs of the elderly is expected to be severely strained. Suburban subdivisions and retirement communities, initially occupied by the *active-retired*, will eventually be filled with elderly residents *who can no longer drive*. Homes in many of these isolated residential developments will be far removed from shopping and medical facilities. Despite the obvious need, bus service will be difficult to provide, due to the high costs of serving these large lot, very low-density areas. Group housing and nursing homes, costly even today, will be pressed to meet the long-term care needs of the multitudes.

Accessory or "infill" housing provides an opportunity to address this problem. Many residential lots in Salisbury's post-war suburban neighborhoods average 10,000 to 15,000 square feet or more per lot. The size of these lots affords good opportunity for attractively designed rear yard cottages, "carriage houses" or "granny flats". Larger homes could also be modified to accommodate small, independent senior living spaces within. Regardless of the approach used, such units would be highly affordable to build, because there would be *no additional land costs*. In fact, the potential income from an accessory unit (if rented) would supplement the income of the main house family, thereby making both housing units more affordable.

Accessory or infill housing offers several other advantages, both social and economic. First, such housing would provide for the healthy mixing of young and old. The once traditional supportive relationship between the elderly, the middle aged, and the young would again be restored, passing the wisdom and experiences of our elders onto the next generation.

Second, public transit, now uneconomical to operate in the suburbs, could become more feasible to operate with the addition of more housing units in the same area of land. The availability of public transit would not only meet the needs of the non-driving elderly population, but would also encourage working age people and older children to use public transit.

Third, from the builder's perspective, many more affordable housing units could be provided without the cost of building expensive infrastructure (streets, sidewalks, power and telephone lines, etc.) Similarly, the community's costs of servicing the population and *maintaining* the infrastructure would remain relatively constant, despite the larger numbers of people served, and the larger tax base created.

Obviously, the addition of such housing to an existing residential neighborhood is not to be done without considerable public dialogue and consensus among area residents. Changes in the city's zoning ordinance and perhaps the neighborhood's restrictive covenants might be necessary. Well defined design standards for such infill development would be required to make sure that any such living spaces or new accessory structures would fit in well with the character of the neighborhood.

Changes like this do not occur overnight. Yet, as the great bulk of the baby boom generation continues to age over the next three decades, public support for such changes may gradually evolve. Baby boomers who built large houses to raise their families may seek ways to stay on their property by offsetting their housing expenses. Like so many other societal trends, it may take several successful examples to demonstrate how such development can be well done. The sooner Salisburyans begin to think about these and other options, the better prepared we will be to act upon them when the time is right.

Policy N-10: Working in cooperation with neighborhood residents, the City shall support the provision of bikeways and walkways within existing neighborhoods.

Due to the spread out nature of most of Salisbury's newer suburban neighborhoods, it is not likely that people in these areas will be in the habit of walking to distant services. Studies have shown that the average person may be induced to walk rather than drive on an errand, when the destination involves a walk of five minutes or less. (Other factors, such as the availability of parking also factor in...) Bicycles, however, offer a reasonable alternative and can cover a much greater distance than the pedestrian in a typical five-minute period. Salisbury's relatively moderate year round climate, general lack of ice and snow, and gently rolling terrain make bicycles a reasonable alternative.

Much will need to be done, however, before bicycle transportation can become a significant travel option. First, public perceptions of the bicyclist as an unwanted intruder in the "domain of the automobile" will need to change. This is a huge task. A major area-wide educational program will need to include effective signage, and the support of elected officials, civic groups, school programs, and other initiatives.

Second, bike routes and where possible, bike lanes will need to be designated and/or built. Within the neighborhood itself, the needs of the bicyclist may be met through the addition of bikeway signage along



Age segregation is just as bad as income segregation or racial segregation: we need mixed age groups to sustain life even at the simplest levels. A child needs grandparents, or substitute grandparents, as well as parents; he needs to live in a normal human community with the companionship of other children-of different ages, too- as well as those of his own peer groups and family.

**Lewis Mumford
January 12, 1962**



collector streets. Outside the neighborhood, the addition of bikeways, bike lanes or signage along major streets leading to and from neighborhood areas may be necessary. Such routes and lanes must connect significant destinations, such as shopping areas and work places, with continuous safe travel routes along the entire length of travel.

Third, the disconnected, non-continuous street system of many of Salisbury's adjoining suburban neighborhoods will present a particular challenge. If possible, opportunities to link existing adjoining neighborhoods with biking or walking paths would be a very desirable goal. This might require an occasional mid-block or end-of-the-cul-de-sac bicycle connector where an existing utility easement, greenway, or other reserved open space is already in place.

Regarding walkways or sidewalks, many suburban neighborhoods might welcome the addition of such facilities, particularly where there has been a history of one or more children being injured by high-speed traffic. Increases in property values may also offer some appeal to the retrofitting of existing suburban neighborhoods with sidewalks. Regardless, any such sidewalk or bikeway connections would require considerable public input from within the affected neighborhoods.

(More on this in the **Bikeways** section and the **Sidewalks** section.)

Policy N-11: Architecturally compatible, residentially scaled office and institutional development may be permitted to locate along the sides of neighborhood planning areas. Under specified conditions, this policy may be applied to the conversion of pre-existing residential properties located along major streets where, due largely to traffic exposure, homes have become unsuitable for residential occupancy. In such instances, adaptive reuse of existing residential structures shall be viewed more favorably than demolition and new construction.

This policy is intended to address a situation that sometimes occurs when a formerly quiet rural or suburban roadway becomes, with increased urbanization, a well-traveled, perhaps multi-lane thoroughfare. When this happens, existing homes along the roadway are exposed to levels of traffic and noise that are no longer suitable for residential living. Often, when this happens, one of two undesirable scenarios occur:

Undesirable Scenario 1: Gradual downward spiral of property upkeep and property values. If no action is taken, residential structures along the roadway will eventually go from being primarily owner-occupied to being primarily renter-occupied. While some rental property owners will try to keep their property up, others will let it decline. The quality of renters will also decline, and the downward spiral will continue, further affecting the stability of residential property values along the roadway, and in the area at large.

Under this undesirable scenario, the rental incomes that residential structures along the roadway produce generally become insufficient to pay for their proper upkeep. Eventually, declines in the value and upkeep of these structures have a negative effect on both the perceived and real value and stability of homes along the roadway, as well as nearby homes off the roadway. Property appearances also create a negative image for travelers entering the community along these declining roadway sections.

Undesirable Scenario 2: Transition to intensive commercial development.

If, on the other hand, intensive commercial activity is allowed to displace existing single family homes along the roadway, the bright lights, noise, nighttime activities, and traffic generated can make adjoining residential properties unlivable, increase cut through traffic and traffic volumes in the adjoining neighborhood planning area, and cause a downward spiral, affecting the stability of residential property values and the viability of nearby residential areas.

Under this undesirable scenario, intensive commercial activity is permitted to displace existing single-family homes along the roadway. Such commercial development brings with it all the objectionable impacts associated with intensive commercial activity. Allowing intensive commercial activity to occur in the vicinity of other existing homes in the area causes a steady decline in the value of residences in the area. Commercial strip development along these roadway sections also creates a negative image for travelers entering the community and contributes further to traffic congestion.

Clearly, neither of these two scenarios is a desirable outcome. Rather, this plan suggests a third, preferred scenario that avoids many, if not most, of the undesirable consequences outlined under these two unwanted scenarios.

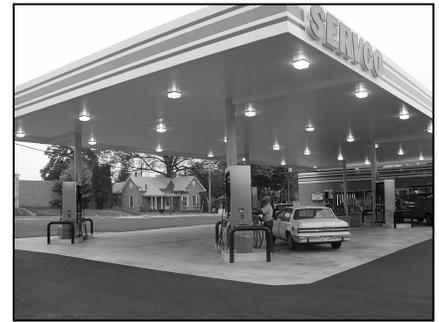
As the policy suggests, appropriately designed and scaled office or institutional uses along the periphery of a neighborhood planning area can serve as a useful buffer between the heavily traveled thoroughfare and the homes to the interior of the neighborhood planning area. Such uses can also provide the opportunity for jobs within walking distance of nearby residences.

“Architecturally compatible and residentially scaled” means that any such non-residential uses along the periphery of the neighborhood planning area must be of a type and design that will be compatible with nearby residential properties. Measures of compatibility can be specified in the City’s zoning ordinance, and might include, for example:

- No bright lights.
- Permitted uses which typically, do not have nighttime hours.
- Permitted uses which typically do not generate high traffic volumes.
- Architecture, (whether of new construction or of rehabilitation) that is of a scale and design sympathetic to a residential area.
- Retention of trees.
- Heavily landscaped parking areas.
- Carefully controlled access.

Policy N-12: Appropriate commercial and other services may be permitted to locate at the corners of neighborhood planning area. Existing, less intensive development located at the intersection of major streets forming the corner of a neighborhood planning area may be allowed to undergo an orderly transition in this regard.

One prevailing characteristic of many newer existing neighborhoods is the absence of basic services or employment opportunities within walking distance of residences. This lack of services and work places contributes further to total automobile dependency in most post-war suburban



subdivisions. It also deprives families and their children of the full range of daily activities which makes for a complete quality of life.

As noted in the chapter on Neighborhood Planning Areas, the addition of commercial and other services at the intersection of major streets forming the corners of a neighborhood planning area can be helpful in bringing such services closer to area residents. It should be noted however, that in contrast to Policy N-11 above, such *commercial* (as opposed to *office and institutional*) development is limited to the corners of the neighborhood planning area only. This allows traffic from the commercial services to be dispersed on the intersecting major streets and diminishes the possibility that traffic will be tempted to cut through the adjoining neighborhood planning area on local residential streets.

As is the case under Policy N-11, several conditions are in order, however, to assure that such commercial development is a good neighbor, rather than an objectionable nuisance. First, the size and scale of commercial or other non-residential uses must be tailored to the specific location. While some locations are appropriate for larger scale shopping or work places, other locations will call for relatively small enterprises of a residential scale.

Second, the specific design of the non-residential use(s) will be important in assuring that the new development is compatible with nearby residential areas. Not surprisingly, many of these requirements are similar to those noted under Policy N-11: Signage must be limited in size and height. Lighting must be carefully shielded to prevent spilling over into the adjoining neighborhood. Street access must be carefully planned to prevent any demand for cut through traffic in the adjoining residential area.

If all of the appropriate precautions are taken, the addition of, for example, an appropriately located and designed grocery store, can be a welcome asset. Inconvenient, time-consuming trips to a distant shopping center for a loaf of bread, a dozen eggs or a gallon of milk can be avoided. At the same time, neighborhoods need not be subjected to the bright lights, plastic signage, unadorned architecture, and barren parking lot that have come to be associated with the typical convenience store or "big box" retailer. Commercial and retail services can be attractive and of reasonable size, as well as convenient.

SUMMARY OF POLICIES FOR NEWER, EXISTING NEIGHBORHOODS

Policy N-9: Architecturally compatible accessory housing may be encouraged on developed lots within existing neighborhood areas, especially for elderly housing.

Policy N-10: Working in cooperation with neighborhood residents, the City shall support the provision of bikeways and walkways within existing neighborhoods.

Policy N-11: Architecturally compatible, residentially scaled office and institutional development may be permitted to locate along the sides of neighborhood planning areas. Under specified conditions, this policy may be applied to the conversion of pre-existing residential properties located along major streets where, due largely to traffic exposure, homes have become unsuitable for residential occupancy. In such instances, adaptive reuse of existing residential structures shall be viewed more favorably than demolition and new construction.

Policy N-12: Appropriate commercial and other services may be permitted to locate at the corners of neighborhood planning areas. Existing, less intensive development located at the intersection of major streets forming the corner of a neighborhood planning area may be allowed to undergo an orderly transition in this regard.

Important Note: This plan seeks to tailor policies to specific parts of the City, usually in accord with the age, and therefore predominant development pattern and style of each area. There is no intent, however, to preclude the application of policies listed, for example, under “The Older Neighborhoods” to similar situations that may arise in “The Newer, Existing Neighborhoods”, and vice versa. Situations could easily be imagined, for example, where policy statements N-4 (Meeting Places), N-5 (Architectural Compatibility) and N-8 (Public Transit) in the “Older Neighborhoods” section, would also be applicable in the “Newer Neighborhoods” section.

THE NEIGHBORHOODS YET TO BE

Summary of Issues

Changing people's perceptions about what constitutes a quality neighborhood is probably one of the biggest issues in city planning, and in Salisbury, today. The majority of the baby boom generation and their offspring have grown up with post war suburban sprawl as the norm for their generation. Indeed, a whole generation of children having grown up in many sprawling, post-war growth areas of Florida, California, and Arizona have probably never seen a real downtown, except in the movies.

Still, many "new urbanists" believe that the past fifty years of automobile-oriented sprawl is actually an aberration from the norm. They claim that the preceding two hundred fifty years of largely pedestrian oriented development will eventually return as the preferred model. The ability of automobile oriented growth to sustain itself is dependent, to some degree, upon cheap sources of energy, particularly crude oil. But even as automobiles become more efficient, and alternative sources of energy are developed, there are indications that the whole sprawling system of development is starting to self-destruct. Driving distances and commuting travel times continue to increase with each passing year. Traffic congestion on Salisbury's major roadways (as well as in most urban areas) has been growing at ten times the rate of population increase. People fed up with traffic are simply rejecting the inefficient, separation-of-use growth model of the past fifty years. They may not understand why it is happening, but they clearly don't like it.

In addition, unhealthy air pollution levels have caused the US Environmental Protection Agency to stop all federally subsidized road construction in several urban areas. Atlanta, for the past two decades a major growth dynamo in the South, has had its business prospects dimmed by EPA's action. Similar threats are now facing the Piedmont Triad area, just to the north of Salisbury.

As traffic congestion continues to choke the economic growth prospects for whole regions, it is hoped that the average citizen will become increasingly receptive to better ways of building our cities. Likewise, the business community, including homebuilders and real estate interests in particular, is beginning to recognize that unless something is done, anti-growth initiatives and development moratoriums will come to the forefront. As a result, "smart growth" ballot initiatives passed easily in many states during the last elections. In North Carolina, Governor Hunt has made "smart growth" one of his highest priorities.

The message is finally beginning to emerge in the mainstream news media that adding another lane on the highway is not going to solve the problem of traffic congestion. The answer lies in creating neighborhoods and whole sections of our cities with patterns of mixed use which rely less upon the automobile, and more upon walking, biking and public transit. For Salisbury, the answer lies in the form of the city's future development, the majority of which will be taken up by our "Neighborhoods Yet To Be".

POLICIES FOR NEIGHBORHOODS YET TO BE**Policy N-13: New neighborhoods shall be generally compact in form.**

This is a broad policy statement, which is further detailed in the specific policies following in this section. A compact neighborhood is a more densely developed neighborhood. Yet the word density is an abhorrent term to many citizens and community leaders who have, for three generations, been taught to associate density with the evils of the industrialized city. Reid Ewing, of Rutgers University has described this perception very well.

“The mere mention of density sends shivers down the spines of many residents and elected officials. In this regard, density has gotten a bum rap. People confuse density with crowding, density being the number of dwelling units per unit area and crowding the number of persons per room in dwelling units. Crowded conditions have no redeeming value, while high density living can be very desirable, as indicated by the high housing prices and rents commanded by the Georgetown (and Charleston) of this world.

People confuse high density with high-rise. High densities can be achieved with small-scale buildings by raising lot coverages to 50, 60, or even 70%. Conversely, high-rise buildings afford only moderate densities if surrounded by acres of parking and lawn. Pedestrians are comfortable with small-scale buildings and high lot coverages. They are uncomfortable with high-rise towers and low lot coverages. ...Much of the criticism of high-rise living and its socially alienating effects is not due to its high density but to its low density at ground level, where nearly all human interaction must occur.

Finally, people confuse perceived density with measured density. We know, for example, that densities are perceived to be lower where there is open space nearby, where blocks are short, and where buildings are of moderate height.

The weight of available evidence points to the importance of density in promoting walking and transit use. Higher densities mean more residents or employees within walking distance of transit stops and stations. They mean more street life and the added interest and security that goes with having more people.”²

Thus, the many advantages of a compact neighborhood must be rediscovered.³ Housing can be made more affordable, in that land and infrastructure costs on a per unit basis will be less than under large lot

It is not an easy matter to combine the charm of town and country; the attempt has often led rather to the destruction of the beauty of both. A certain concentration and grouping of buildings is necessary to produce the special beauties of the town, and this is inconsistent with the scattering of buildings which results from each one being isolated in its own patch of garden.

Raymond Unwin, 1909

² Reid Ewing, Pedestrian and Transit Friendly Design, Rutgers University, March 1996, pp 2-5.

³ As Ewing states, we must remember that the evils of *overcrowding*, so well understood at the turn of the century, almost always referred to the *number of persons per housing unit*, not the number of housing units per acre. Further, the condition of a neighborhood's housing is more often than not closely associated with household *incomes* of the residents in that neighborhood, not housing density.

zoning. Such new neighborhoods will lend themselves to walking, biking and the use of public transit. Front yards and street trees will take on new importance as the street is returned to a functional space for pedestrians too. Neighborhood safety will be heightened by the security of having neighbors close at hand. The costs of providing public and private services will be reduced by the inherent efficiencies of a compact neighborhood. As a result, Salisbury's new neighborhoods will be more affordable, walkable, attractive, functional, secure, and easier to serve.

Policy N-14: New neighborhood streets shall be no wider than necessary to serve their intended purpose.

... it is hoped that the absurd restrictions which require all streets to be of a certain minimum width, whatever their purpose, will be modified, and that it will become possible again to make reasonable use of narrower streets and passages for pedestrians. . .

Raymond Unwin, 1909

For most of its history, Salisbury, like many other cities in North Carolina, required a 60-foot right of way and 36 feet of pavement from curb to curb— regardless of what the anticipated use of the street might be. This policy resulted in higher initial street construction costs, higher maintenance and cleaning costs, and increased storm water runoff. No doubt, these unnecessarily wide streets have also resulted in higher neighborhood temperatures in summer, particularly when there are not mature street trees in place to block the sun's rays from the asphalt.

In recent years, many design professionals, builders, developers, and municipalities have begun to advocate making streets no wider than necessary to serve their intended purpose. The City of Salisbury is among this progressive group. The City's current standard for right of way and pavement width on minor streets is for 50 feet of right of way and 26 feet of pavement from back of curb to back of curb. Since 1997, the City has allowed local, residential streets to be built with rights of way as narrow as 45 feet and with pavement widths of as little as 22 feet (with on-street parking on one side).

As mentioned above, narrower streets have several advantages. In new developments, for example, narrower streets mean less land consumption and lower initial construction costs. In a competitive building environment, these savings to the builder are ultimately passed along to the homebuyer. Narrower streets have also been shown to slow drivers down as they pass through a residential area. And, in contrast to wider streets, narrower streets generate less stormwater runoff, less summer heat, and lower maintenance costs.

(For more on the proper use of narrow streets, see the *Minor Streets* section.)

Policy N-15: New neighborhoods should be transit route sensitive; designed to incorporate transit stops.

New neighborhoods should be designed to incorporate transit stops as an integral part of their layout. Once transit routes have been determined, the City and the development community should work to support and reinforce these routes. Neighborhood oriented services, for example, and higher density residential development should be clustered around designated transit stops, or at least designed to allow for a future transit stop when the opportunity presents itself.

Policy N-16: New neighborhoods should include one or more neighborhood centers or focal points in each neighborhood planning area.

Each neighborhood planning area should have one or more focal points that may include, for example, a community building, central open space, an elementary school, and one or more churches. (Also see next recommendation, and the ***Commercial Areas Yet to Be*** section.) Ideally, these focal points should be located to the interior of the neighborhood planning area within a five to ten minute walk of any home in the area. Such focal points provide a necessary place for residents of the various neighborhoods in the neighborhood planning area to come together for community gatherings. More importantly, they provide opportunities for *informal* meetings and social exchanges in day-to-day living— errands, walking and bicycling, etc.

(Also see Policy Section P-5 under the *Parks, Open Space and Recreation* chapter concerning the provision of adequate open space in proportion to the acreage being developed or number of new housing units being created.)

Policy N-17: Neighborhood serving businesses shall be encouraged in new neighborhood designs.

Established neighborhoods customarily view new commercial development in their vicinity as an intrusion. Given the form of new commercial developments over the past several decades, their objections are usually justified. The typical large building scale, monolithic, boxy design, bright lights and signage, extensive parking, and traffic of today's standard commercial development is enough to frighten any homeowner.

As noted previously, however, not all commercial development need be ugly and offensive. In new neighborhoods, small scale shopping and work places can be incorporated into the fabric of the community if they are carefully located and designed from the outset. The objective should be to contain as many small errands as possible within the bounds of the neighborhood planning area, rather than requiring an automobile trip on a collector or thoroughfare. (For much greater detail on this policy, see section on *Small Scale, Pedestrian-Oriented Neighborhood Businesses Yet To Be, Policies C-24 to C-32*)⁴

Policy N-18: As new neighborhoods are developed, a mixture of housing types/sizes/prices shall be encouraged within the bounds of each neighborhood planning area.

As noted previously, present day patterns of social and economic segregation are caused, in some measure, by the way in which "single price range/one type only" housing is developed and marketed. This

Central places must be chosen that will not only offer adequate architectural possibilities, but will also be suitable in character and position to form centre points in the plan, at which it may be reasonable to hope the common life of the city or district will find a focus.

Raymond Unwin, 1909

⁴ The objection is sometimes raised that corner grocery stores are a haven for drug dealing and other sordid activities. This is sometimes true. Invariably, however, these problems are not caused by the grocery store, but rather *the economic condition of the neighborhood it serves*. In an economically healthy neighborhood, where incomes are stable, a corner store is no more hazardous than a community clubhouse or pool, and serves a real community need.

There is nothing whatever in the prejudices of people to justify the covering of large areas with houses of exactly the same size and type. The growing up of suburbs occupied solely by any individual class is bad, socially, economically, and aesthetically. It is due to the wholesale and thoughtless character of town development, and is quite foreign to the traditions of our country; it results very often in bad municipal government and unfair distribution of the burdens of local taxation, misunderstanding and want of trust between different classes of people, and in the development and exaggeration of differences of habit and thought; it leads, too, to a dreary monotony of effect, which is almost as depressing as it is ugly.

Raymond Unwin, 1909

results in a city in which people of different ages and incomes are socially isolated and alienated from one another. This sorting of people by age and income has far-reaching, negative social and political consequences that are beyond the scope of this brief section to address. (See section on **City History and City Form—Lessons Learned** for more on this.)

In any event, one objective of this plan is to encourage a mixture of housing types and prices within each neighborhood planning area. This can be accomplished in two ways. First, housing units of different types can be designed into the layout and mix of a single *development*, so long as the overall scale and design of the buildings in which the units are located is compatible (e.g. single family homes, duplexes, town houses, garage apartments etc., all of appropriate height, bulk, and style of architecture).

Second, no one neighborhood planning area should focus on a single price range and style of housing (e.g. all single family, \$150,000 to 175,000). Such single use areas create large, homogeneous blocks of uniform housing (and by default, race, age, family type, etc.) for an entire area of the city.

One good way to allow for a variation in housing types and prices is to employ a community park or other amenity as a common central focal point around which different housing developments can be arranged. This “pinwheel” format satisfies the entrenched market demand for separation of housing types by value, while encouraging community interaction among residents of varied economic strata.

Policy N-19: Higher density housing projects, such as apartment complexes and condominium developments, should be located adjoining places of work, shopping and public transit. Access to such higher density housing shall not be through a lower density housing area. Higher density housing may often act as a transitional use between offices or shops and lower density housing.

This policy recognizes current development practices and real estate market forces that drive the development of relatively large scale apartment and condominium complexes. Even in a relatively small town like Salisbury, it is not unusual for such “multi-family” developments to contain one hundred or more housing units. At the same time, the sizeable parking areas, traffic volumes and other concentrated activity associated with such projects usually create considerable opposition from nearby single family residential areas. Apartment complexes thus usually fall into the NIMBY (Not In My Back Yard) category.

With proper location, access and design, however, such multi-family projects can contribute positively to the housing mix in a community, and achieve beneficial densities that make the city work. In terms of location, there should be a strong complementary relationship between multi-family development and places of work and shopping. In this way, the residents support the stores and may provide employees for the work places. At the same time, the shopping and work places offer jobs and shopping close to home. The whole community benefits by having fewer automobiles on the road at any one time, commuting to work or running errands for shopping.

In terms of access, it makes a great deal of sense to have a convenient transit stop at or very near each major multi-family development. Density makes transit work. Also, it is critically important that multi-family developments have direct access to a thoroughfare, to minimize travel desire to or from the project on minor residential streets. Automobile access to a multi-family development through a lower density residential area should be avoided.

In terms of design, multifamily developments should have many of the same features favorable for community interaction as found in a single-family neighborhood. Functional front porches can soften the building façade, encourage neighborly dialogue, and put more eyes on the street. Townhomes pulled up to a street help create an attractive street space, rather than the sterile parking lot found in so many post-war apartment complexes. Homes built up off the ground provide for necessary privacy and improve “defensible space”. Sidewalks aid community interaction and encourage pedestrian movement.

Policy N-20: New neighborhoods shall be connected to other residential, shopping, and work areas within the neighborhood planning area.

Each new neighborhood should not be viewed as an isolated island or pod, but rather as another element of the intricate tapestry that makes up the city. The streets, bikeways, and sidewalks of one neighborhood should be connected with those of adjacent neighborhoods. This will allow children, for example, to walk and bike to school, or to a friend's house, or to other activities, etc. without having to use a major thoroughfare. Adults too, should be able to walk or bike to work by passing through quiet residential streets.

By developing a fully connected *honeycomb* or *grid system* of local streets, a child or adult should be able to travel anywhere within a one-half to one square mile neighborhood planning area without having to cross or use a major thoroughfare. At the same time, the pattern of the street layout, pavement width, intersections, etc. can be carefully designed to discourage cut-through automobile traffic. (See illustration from the section entitled **The Neighborhood Planning Area: The Common Sense Building Block of a More Livable, Less Traffic Congested City**)

Policy N-21: Street designs in new neighborhoods shall give equal priority to the pedestrian and the automobile.

Most streets in Salisbury's newest neighborhoods cater primarily to the automobile. Wide streets, large turning radii at street corners, 35 mile per hour speed limits, lack of sidewalks, and disdain for on-street parking (which buffers the sidewalk), leave the pedestrian at the mercy of the automobile. Needless to say, if a neighborhood's design is to encourage travel by means other than the automobile, its streets should be detailed to be pedestrian and bicycle friendly. Such details include a complete system of sidewalks, smaller curb radii at corners, a grid iron pattern of streets with few or no cul de sacs, pedestrian scaled street lights, houses pulled up to the street to create a street space, and street trees to provide shade, comfort and sense of enclosure.

In the mid-nineteenth century, when row houses predominated, the street was the primary open space, and it performed an important recreational function. By 1920, however, most urban residents and virtually all highway engineers saw streets primarily as arteries for motor vehicles.

Kenneth T. Jackson, 1985

Policy N-20 states that all new neighborhoods shall have streets which cater equally to the pedestrian and the automobile. This policy requires that City standards be established and implemented to make this happen.

Policy N-22: New neighborhoods shall recognize bike routes and greenways at the time of development.

For bike routes and greenways to be most effective, they must establish continuous corridors for travel movement. For Salisbury, a *conceptual greenway master plan* has been prepared which identifies general corridors for future greenway development. The conceptual greenway master plan, included by reference as an element of this master plan, should be recognized when new neighborhoods are built in the vicinity of proposed greenway corridors. This is analogous to the reservation of designated thoroughfare corridors during development plan review.

The same principle should apply to proposed bikeway corridors. Unfortunately, the City does not have in place an official bikeway master plan. Therefore, the first step in implementing this policy would be the formulation of such a bikeway plan. A second step would be the adoption of an open space dedication provision in the City's subdivision regulations, providing a mechanism by which greenway corridors may be reserved at the time of subdivision approval. Even when major greenway or bikeway corridors are not anticipated within or adjacent to a new development, provision should still be made for on-street or off-street bikeways connecting to adjacent developments. (For more detailed information on bike routes and greenways, see the Chapters on *Bikeways and Parks, Open Space, and Greenways.*)

Summary of Policies for the Neighborhoods Yet to Be

For a child to get a true sense of the world that he lives in, he should at least have a glimpse, on his walk to school, either of nature plain, or of man's work, in the form of workshops, minor industrial operations, markets. The activities that serve a neighborhood's life should not be too severely segregated: they should be at least within a school child's walking distance; and running errands and fetching should be part of his experience of life.

Lewis Mumford
January 12, 1962

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