often unanticipated by-product. Writing the preferred location and shape of buildings into codes makes them a major tool for realizing urban design concepts. Beginning with New York City's special zoning districts in the 1960s, the design guidelines for Battery Park City in the late 1970s, and the "regulating plans" used at Seaside and other master-planned communities in the 1980s, "form-based coding" is now finding its way into zoning ordinances in such places as Louisville, Nashville, Miami-Dade County, and St. Paul.

Using zoning to implement urban design was discussed by Frederick Adams at the Harvard conference, but he assumed that requiring good design meant wide administrative discretion, and he expressed himself as doubtful that public officials would ever be permitted to exercise this kind of subjective control. Adams's skepticism was justified, but he underestimated the ability of designers to identify the salient characteristics of good civic design and express them in ways compatible with zoning. Writing and administering codes are becoming another way for designers to gain a seat at the decision-making table.

Urban Design to Support Social Interaction

Neighborhood planning, as defined by Clarence Perry and others in the 1920s and 1930s, was rediscovered first in the 1960s as an antidote to urban renewal, or, to repeat the Lewis Mumford quotation, "the absolute folly of creating a physical structure at the price of destroying the intimate social structure of a community's life." Once planners and architects started listening to communities and planning with them, they began designing buildings and spaces to fit into existing neighborhoods rather than replace them. Neighborhood planning was rediscovered again in the 1980s as an antidote to large tracts of suburban houses, all the same size on same-sized lots, completely segregated from stores and workplaces. The creation in newly developed areas of compact, walkable neighborhoods with a mix of different house types and some stores and civic buildings replicates traditional patterns in cities and suburbs before World War II. Some designers are also attempting to replicate pre–World War II neighborhood architecture (no architectural historian would be fooled for a minute), but doing so is not necessary to the concept of neighborhood design and is likely to be a transitional phase. Helping developers create new places friendly to the social interactions that make up a