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Introduction to the Special Issue: The Transect
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I have before me a special bookshelf reserved for recent publications of particular interest. It is currently stocked by planning documents that I consider to be excellent. Some of them are specific to a place, others are general reports. What they have in common is practical advice on creating communities that are compact, diverse and walkable; and they even deploy clear language and good graphics. Considering that these reports are quite slim, it is remarkable that this shelf now exceeds two feet in length. This is a good bit longer than would have been possible five years ago.

It seems that these days more than a few planners know what they are doing. And these publications are not the only evidence of this happy phenomenon. The rigorous New Urban News identifies 213 neighbourhood-scale communities under construction and an additional 162 undergoing permitting. Jane Jacobs’ statement that, “The pseudoscience of planning seems almost neurotic in its determination to imitate empiric failure and ignore empiric success” (Jacobs, 1961, p. 183) may have finally become obsolete.

But these superb publications seem somehow inadequate. The collective agenda is that more of them must be written, as if a tipping point of sheer paper were necessary to overcome the dead weight of post-war American planning. And what of those New Urbanist communities already built? Do they not represent tangible successes to be emulated?

Apparently not. Each new project encounters resistance unabated; each requires a tremendous educational and political effort—as if it were an experimental first attempt. Like Sisyphus, the New Urbanist planner must begin at the bottom—pushing up against the civil engineers, municipal planners, developers, building inspectors, elected officials, neighbours, environmentalists, marketing experts, loan officers, and all the rest. The friction encountered is astonishing. Even after all concerned are duly persuaded that the outcome of the current planning method has been socially dysfunctional, choked in traffic, hideous, reviled by the public and ecologically dismal—there still is resistance. Even with everyone calling for change, modernist planning grimly hangs on. Why?

Always there are the generic explanations: intellectual sluggishness, bureaucratic inertia, scepticism because so many innovations have failed to keep their promise, and aversion to risk in a culture of liability. But there is something else here at work that is unique to the discipline of planning. There is behind the resistance something deeply embedded and systemic.
Evidence for an explanation gathers around the interlocked objections of the disparate specialists. One notes that the analytical methodology of the traffic engineer is dependent upon the precise segregation of zoning. Environmental standards catalyse the urban discontinuities that perpetuate the pod-like zoning diagrams; natural crossings are minimized by the deployment of exactly that dendritic system of thoroughfares that, as it happens, lends itself to traffic analysis. Lending institutions have standardized checklists that encourage those large, homogeneous projects that translate perfectly from the stair-step densities of the zoning categories. Realtors are conditioned to value precisely the standardized products created by those self-same homogeneous zones. And so on . . . . There is evidence everywhere that what is assumed to be a neutral, market-responsive and technocratic system is actually heavily biased toward a certain model. What we have against our reform is, apparently, a unified theory.

Origins of the Current Theory
The dominant historiography of modern planning presents a sequence of empirically evolved, quasi-inevitable practices that have converged and been rationalized into the segregated separations of zoning and their reconnection by a dendritic thoroughfare system. This system has now congealed around the undeniable advantage that it is easy to administer, lending itself both to numerical prescription and to numerical analysis of potential outcomes. Its standardized ‘process’, financial protocols and statistical norms imply objectivity, coinciding perfectly with the post-war American desire to optimize equality of outcome.

Dismal though the results have been, we must agree that this model is conceptually very elegant. Indeed, it is much too simple to have evolved empirically. There is another possible historiography: one that posits that modern planning did not gradually evolve, but rather it arrived fully formed, hanging on the tail of the concerted, brilliant 30-year campaign to establish modernist architecture. It is plausible that behind the current system lies the comprehensive theory catalysed by the architect Le Corbusier and his fellow polemists of CIAM. This genesis may be incredible to the planning profession,¹ which believes that case law, protocodes and a concatenation of reform movements formed its fertile sediment. That this is partially true does not preclude that sediment’s hardening into the firm theoretical bedrock provided by Le Corbusier. Modernist theory, in the immediate post-war period, cast aside both the Anglo-German empirical tradition of planning and the Franco-American City Beautiful system that was its polemical nemesis. It left standing only the City Healthy & Efficient of the municipal engineers, with whom it fused to inherit a formidable technocratic credibility.

But this is not the place to detail this story. What is relevant is that there may be a deeply embedded theory co-ordinating the current planning system and allowing it to persist, despite its empirical failure; and that all the weight of New Urbanist reform will not tip the point until it, too, is co-ordinated by its own comprehensive theory.

Where is an alternative theory to be found? Is it not, today, environmentalism? No doubt, but for the problem that the environmental movement has neglected to create a proposition extending into urbanism. Hence the failure of Portland’s 20-year regional planning epic: most of what has been built within the urban
boundary has been conventional suburban development. And the recent retrofit movement, environmental in origin, is not equipped to create urbanism—tending only to ‘green’ it.\textsuperscript{2} To cite the current Portland war cry, “We will not stop until there is a stream running beside every street and a forest in every square”.\textsuperscript{3} Unfortunately, greening tends to create not the most livable cities—it tends to create suburbia. This is obvious to anyone that has attempted to design an authentic urban pattern while following current environmental standards.

This brings us to the present impasse: environmentalism is pervasive but, in an inadvertent alliance with low-density suburbia as its development system, it paradoxically reinforces the longevity of sprawl by aestheticizing it.\textsuperscript{4} What can be done? It is certainly not prudent to fight the environmentalist ethos; rather, better to extend it. To be efficient, the campaign of reform should be based on the extension of currently embedded environmental methodology as well as the technique of zoning. This would have the advantage of familiarity to the tens of thousands of planning departments, while being propelled by the overwhelming political energy of the millions dedicated to environmental reform.

What remains to be done is to extend the environmental protocol into the city. This should not be particularly difficult, as it would involve only the redeployment of an analytical tool called the transect.

**Short History of the Transect**

The transect is a natural law that can be observed anywhere and everywhere. A natural law is defined as a principle derived from the observation of nature by right reason and thus ethically binding in human society.\textsuperscript{5} The transect emerged organically in human settlement, preceding any explicit conceptual formulation. That it is timeless and cross-cultural can be easily observed by walking from the centre to the outskirts of Pompeii. It is illustrated in Chinese scrolls and assumed by the Spanish Law of the Indies. It is still inhabited in thousands of towns and cities in the United States. The transect as a natural law may be immanent, but its suppression by modernist transportation and zoning has catalysed the current need to re-presents it as a viable alternative theory.

The first appearance of the transect as an intellectual construct was the ‘Valley Section’ conceived by Sir Patrick Geddes (1915) early in the 20th century. Sir Patrick crudely diagrammed a generic transect as a geographic section taken from upland to river. It articulated a series of determined human societies ranging from hunters in the highlands, to farmers in the foothills, to tradesman along the shores. This model was palpably inaccurate. Such a transect failed to account for the defence premium of a commercial hill town, or for the propensity of hunters to find prey in both wet and dry areas. It is curiously useless as a model for an age well into the industrial revolution.

Why so questionable a proposition from an otherwise multi-faceted genius? It seems that Sir Patrick understood the ordering potential of the transect, but he could not transcend the limits of a time when Nature was not conceived as a protagonist. Nature was there to be subjugated by man; in this both Darwin and the Old Testament agreed. With Nature having no operational standing, Sir Patrick was forced to illustrate the transect as a declension of human activities, as only through this device could he illustrate the fundamental rural-to-urban range which is its natural-law basis.
The next great proposition of the transect emanated half a century later from another Scotsman, Ian McHarg. The transect was embodied in the analytical methodology presented in Design With Nature (McHarg, 1965). McHarg’s transect was not only more sophisticated than Geddes’, it was quite the opposite in its basis—being entirely a declension of natural, rather than social, habitats. A transect is clearly articulated in an introductory chapter by way of explaining the workings of ecosystems. The transect was made operational in the body of the book by means of a series of transparent overlays designed to discover a transect gradient of the land. The intention was to sequentially remove tiers of progressively ecologically sensitive land out of the realm of potential development.6

Current environmental laws are based largely on the technocratization and legalization of this methodology. McHarg, however, never made a proposition for the residual areas to be urbanized. This confirmed the latent human/nature opposition that now pervades the environmental ethos: nature is to be preserved, the city to be ignored. The application of Design with Nature has therefore led to a series of communities that are environmentally responsible and greenly aesthetic, but otherwise identical to sprawl in their socio-economic consequences. This is the reality of The Woodlands, Hilton Head, Amelia Island and others of that vintage. The urbanism of these places is extremely diagrammatic—with market-segmented housing pods, shopping centres and office parks interspersed in a matrix of McHarg-determined preserve areas. This model fails because of an utter absence of a corresponding proposition for the urbanized areas. Regardless of how impressive aesthetically, suburban development cannot coalesce into urbanism when the priority is given to the natural connectivity which cauterizes the urban pattern.7

A subsequent transect proposition was made about two decades after Design With Nature by Christopher Alexander in A Pattern Language (Alexander, 1977). This is by no means as explicit as the prior ones. It is rather a sideshow within that great work, only implied by the series of patterns, principally numbers 2, 13, 29 and 36. These taken together formulate a transect, but it is lost among the other 252 patterns, and it has had little independent impact. Alexander, then concerned by process, did not particularly value it as the general theory capable of reconciling urbanism and environmentalism.8

Then this, the current manifestation of the transect, is a result of the compilation of The Lexicon of the New Urbanism in 1994–1998.9

Re-emergence of the Transect

In 1994, the Congress for the New Urbanism was structured around nine task forces. One, chaired by Andrés Duany and Stefanos Polyzoides, was chartered to establish a common nomenclature. This group proposed to create a lexicon, conceived as an alphabetical list of relevant terms accompanied by their definitions.

This simple assignment soon foundered as it became apparent that most of the elements to be defined could be understood properly only in relationship to others. In authentic urbanism, as in true environmentalism, a tug on anything rustles something elsewhere. Rather than an alphabetical order, urbanism called for its terminology to be classified as taxonomies of related terms.
This established, it seemed natural to order the terms within each taxonomy according to a declension inherent to each. For example, to array the open spaces according to environmental performance; thoroughfares by relative traffic capacity; and building types according to the ratio of commercial to residential function.

However, such disparate declensions, when they appeared in the lexicon, did not support the organic conception displayed by authentic urbanism. They tended instead to confirm the isolation of each specialist—those protocols used by planners, traffic engineers, environmentalists, urban designers, landscape architects, land-use attorneys, developers, bankers and marketing experts—which has built the precarious Babel of current practice.

This was not considered a trivial problem, as this characteristic of modernist planning is the origin of its failure. Despite being implemented through a process that engages all the specialists, the communities that result are not properly blended. Each profession is permitted to impose its perquisites, with the result typically being a collection of urban elements rather than urbanism itself. Thoroughfares are designed exclusively for the projected traffic flow; the salvageable natural environment is scientifically circumscribed; shopping centres, office parks and housing are allocated in zoned enclaves, to be developed by specialized builders; self-referential architects ignore the thoroughfares while landscapers ignore the buildings. Such places, called Edge Cities, may contain all the statistical elements of urbanism, but they are really cartoon versions of the real things.

The search for a theory to properly correlate the taxonomies yielded the chance re-discovery of the transect. A transect has heretofore been understood as an ordering system deploying a geographic gradient to arrange the sequence of natural habitats. This conception proved to be extensible to the human habitat, as every component of urbanism also finds a place within a continuous rural-to-urban gradient (see Figure 1). For example, a street is more urban than a road, a raised curb more urban than a swale, a brick wall more urban than a shingled one, an allée of trees more urban than a cluster. And there is a full declension in between: even the character of public lighting can vary from metropolitan to rustic according to fabrication of streetlights, from bright luminaries perched on sculptured iron, to simple extruded pipe, rough wood posts, to the allowance for nothing but moonlight.

The Transect Today

Beyond being a system of classification, the transect has the potential to become an instrument of design. The correlation of the various specialized components by a common rural-to-urban continuum provides the basis for a new system of zoning, one that creates complex, contextually resonant natural and human environments.

There are benefits to such an integrated system of zoning. First, it would eradicate the self-referential standards of specialists. Second, each transect zone would be an immersive environment, a place where all the component elements reinforce each other to create and intensify a specific character. Several such habitats within a single neighbourhood would attract social diversity, in contrast to the vast homogenous tracts imposed by conventional zoning.
The most important contribution of the transect as an underlying theory may be to implementation. Experience shows that New Urbanist projects are technically difficult to permit. The codes and standards now in place, despite their appearance of objectivity, recognize only the conventions of modernist urbanism. To introduce a complex community into such a system is akin to running a new computer program on an incompatible operating system—requiring great effort to create an interface that is destined never to run optimally anyway.
Figure 2. The transect as an index of diversity. Diagram (A) shows the hypothetical level of diversity for each transect zone. Natural diversity is at the highest level in the Rural Preserve zone, and social diversity is highest at the Urban Core zone. The lowest combined level is the mid-range Sub-Urban zone where natural diversity, consisting of lawns and domestic animals, is relatively low, while social diversity is also quite low. Diagram (B), showing conventional environmental indexing, based exclusively on nature, has the Sub-Urban at the mid point of a trend downward from the Rural Preserve to the Urban Core. In this specialized interpretation, the dense Urban Core is seen as environmentally unsound, while the Sub-Urban is considered superior because of its higher ratio of green open space. This interpretation is an inadvertent incentive to sprawl.

The current dominant theory does not process authentic urbanism. An alternative based on the transect would.

The transect should be neither imposed nor protected, but confirmed through practice. With time, and the contributions of the many specialists, it could become as comprehensive as the current standard, as convenient to administer, and it would result in better places to live.

The Special Issue

This issue of the *Journal of Urban Design* is a step toward the collation of independent, specialized work through the agency of the transect. Contact for most of the authors in this issue was the First Transect Seminar that took place, under the auspices of the Knight Programme of the University of Miami and the Yale School of Architecture in the fall of 2001.

Knowing only each other’s respective interests, but without prior interaction, most presenters found that the transect provided a mechanism for collating their heretofore disparate concerns. The papers appearing in this issue have been
Figure 3. The fractal implication of the transect. The transect is a fractal that allows design to integrate across scales: from regional tiers, to community codes, to architectural standards. At the largest scale, that of the region, the transect geographically allocates urban-to-rural tiers to accept varying degrees of environmental protection and development. There are tiers that must remain as preserves, others that are suitable for hamlets (also known as cluster development), villages (also known as traditional neighbourhood developments, or TNDs) or town centres (also known as transit-oriented developments, or TODs), and yet others that are for urban infill development. At the middle scale, that of the community, the transect can structure zoning categories to assure a declension of human habitats, some more urban than others, from Sub-Urban, to General Urban, to Urban Centre and Urban Core. At the smallest scale, that of building and streetscape, transect-based standards assure that the various constituent elements reinforce the rural-to-urban character of each zone. The random provision of such elements may otherwise lead to the de-contextualization that is characteristic of suburbia.

subsequently re-written to acknowledge in some measure the commonality that the transect provided.

Talen places the transect within the context of planning as an intellectual discipline. Gordon and Tamminga, working from the natural end of the transect, propose that landform infrastructure should become the regional discipline for the urbanism. The paper by Zimmerman and Volk, whose market-derived analytical technique uses geo-demographic data, remarkably overlaps with Sidney Brower’s rigorous interview-based sociological analysis of Baltimore residents’ neighbourhood preferences. The transect serves as a sort of plug mould correlating the independent works.

Also included in this issue is Cliff Ellis’s review of the most common critiques of the New Urbanism. This would be unnecessary, were it not for the perennial need to open the minds of those who have not granted the New Urbanism
**Figure 4.** The possible correlation of community types. There are two fundamental types of models for urbanism: those which value monocultures and those which value diversity. The former lead to conventional suburbia. Of the latter, there are several models of community structure that appear to be different, but are actually only superficially so. The transect is able to correlate them, allowing for their particularities while sharing common zoning categories and standards. In addition to the mainline New Urbanist terms of the British urban village, Australian liveable neighbourhood, American TND and TOD and the continental Quartier, there is the vernacular usage of hamlet, village, town and city.

Credibility beyond the ability to deliver porches and picket fences. Perhaps this inaugural discussion of the transect will help to leave that never-accurate and ultimately malicious mindset behind, elevating the New Urbanist discourse of academy to the level where it should have been all along.

Finally, there is Steven Tiesdell’s comparative review of American New Urbanism and English Design Guidance. He exposes the pronounced similarity between the intended outcome of both, despite the different management and control techniques that are particular to each country. This should not surprise anyone, as the basic principles of traditional town planning seem to converge on a recurring manifestation of the human habitat—not only across cultures, but across time.
When enough such comparative studies have been done, it will become clear that Geddes’ transect is a viable theory for all post-suburban planning. Then the last half century will be seen not as the beginning of a brave new world, but as the brutish exception to the natural law of human community.

Notes

1. See as documentation *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism—1928–1960*, by Eric Mumford (Mumford, 2000). A reason for the scepticism is that an identifiable individual could possibly be the genie behind so vast a curtain; and that this individual was an architect, no less! This is implausible to us only today, a time when architecture is so trivial. But we must remember that as late as the 1920s, before the planning profession came into existence as such, architects were the lords of creation.

2. This is typical of the old adage: “When the only tool you have is a hammer, everything looks like a nail”. Their propositions tend exclusively to the greening of urbanism.

3. Such bumper-sticker slogans to retrofit Portland are mere distractions to the comprehensive TOD strategy proposed by Peter Calthorpe (Calthorpe & Fulton, 2001).

4. The best known of the semi-urban propositions being the cluster strategies of Randall Arendt (Arendt, 1996).

5. Despite being taken from a recent dictionary, this is an 18th-century interpretation. Jefferson’s, “We hold these truths to be self-evident” (Jefferson, 1776), is an allusion to natural law. Today, in less certain times, one would call the transect a ‘hypothesis’.

6. *Design With Nature* was the origin of land-ethic environmentalism as opposed to the subsequent concern with atmospheric quality. These two strands have only recently been concatenated through the land-use/transportation/vehicle emissions equation of the New Urbanism.

7. This insight has been developed and documented by the Urban Design Unit at Milton Keynes Development Corporation (1978).

8. The transect has since been tested in a score of urban planning projects by several planning firms, in both greenfield and infill sites at the scale of the region and the sector. A first code has been written for it, the Smart Code, which includes the integration of public works standards, as well as a Geographic Information System (GIS) compatibility protocol. The transect could be made compatible with other analytical tools, such as William Hillier and Julienne Hanson’s *The Social Logic of Space* (1984) and Eliot Allen’s *Index* (Allen, 1994). The recently created Centre for Applied Transect Studies (www.dpz.com) will coordinate the work of the various specialists interested in building a comprehensive alternate system. It has also been harnessed as a taxonomy by the US house plan industry.


References


