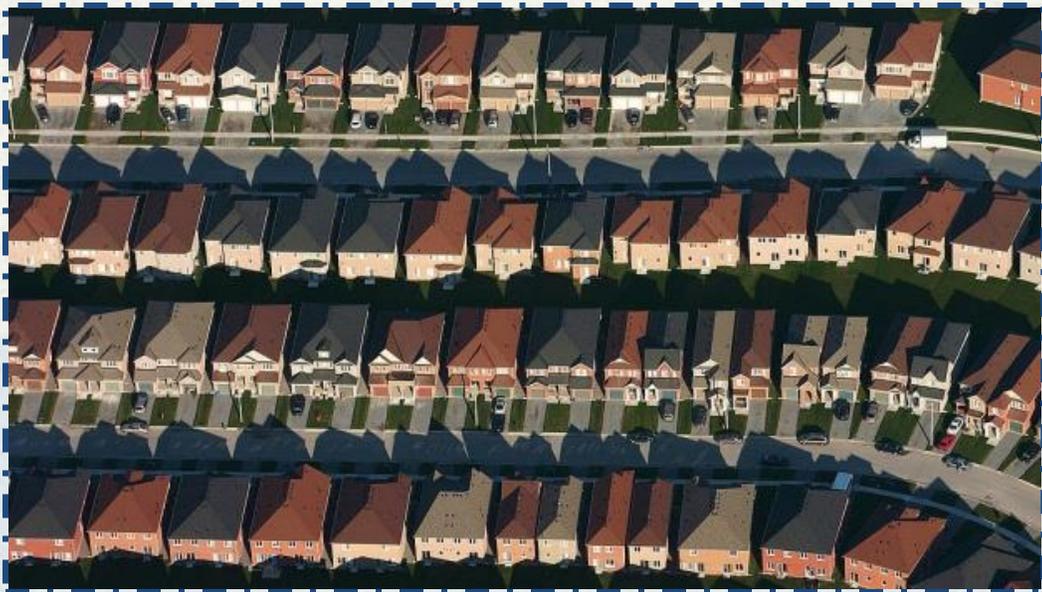


Retrofitting The Suburbs for Changing Demographics

A Study of Best Practices



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Table of Contents

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	4
1. INTRODUCTION	5
2. CHANGING DEMOGRAPHICS	5
2.1.1 Baby Boomers	6
2.1.2 Millennials	6
2.1.3 Meeting Changing Demands	7
3. CASE STUDIES	7
3.1 Tysons in Fairfax County, VA	7
3.1.1 Transportation	8
3.1.2 Housing	9
3.1.3 Parks & Greenspace	9
3.1.4 Zoning	10
3.1.5 Funding	10
3.2 West End in St. Louis Park, MN	10
3.2.1 Transportation	12
3.2.2 Housing	12
3.2.3 Parks & Greenspace	12
3.2.4 Zoning	13
3.2.5 Funding	13
3.3 Santana Row in San Jose, CA	13
3.3.1 Transportation	14
3.3.2 Housing	15
3.3.3 Parks & Greenspace	15
3.3.4 Zoning	15
3.3.5 Funding	15
4. RECOMMENDATIONS	15
4.1 Best Practices for Suburban Retrofits	16
4.2 Conclusions	17
BIBLIOGRAPHY	18

Table of Figures

Figure 1. Tysons Corner in the 1990s	8
Figure 2. Conceptual Land Use Plan for Tysons.....	8
Figure 3. Before West End Development.....	12
Figure 4. After West End Development.....	12
Figure 5. Town and Country Village Mall in San Jose	14
Figure 6. Nightlife at Santana Row.....	14

Executive Summary

The problem I address is the issue of living preference and meeting the demands of the changing demographics in the US. To address this change in demand, one method many cities are using is to retrofit an existing opportunity they already have: suburbs. Two of our largest demographic groups (Baby Boomers and Millennials) have shifting desires for what their communities look like and most communities have something that resembles a sprawling suburb. The purpose of my work reported here is to put forward best practices that cities can use to retrofit their own suburbs.

To arrive at these practices, I examine examples of cities that have already done retrofits and have been met with both successes and challenges. Through these examples, I will propose a list of best practices. By examining current examples of suburban retrofits, it can be seen that there are many different ways to retrofit suburbs and there are many different opportunities that communities can identify to make changes, even if they are incremental. I will identify a list of four best practices to facilitate the retrofitting of suburbs.

Disclaimer: It is important to keep in mind that there are many more drivers that motivate suburban retrofits than purely a demographic drive (health problems, environmental issues, land as a non-renewable resource, etc.).¹

¹ Jeff Speck. "The Walkable City." *TED Talks*. http://www.ted.com/talks/jeff_speck_the_walkable_city.html

1. Introduction

Demographics are changing in the US, and along with this, living preferences. The Census is a reflection these changes that are taking place – the 2000 U.S. Census tells us that the suburbs contain more non – traditional households than households with married couples and children.² Non-traditional households include people living alone, non-relatives living together, and unmarried partner households.³ Currently, cities are set up a certain way to meet past household structures and needs. The question then is – how do we modify the places where we live to meet new needs? This paper addresses one solution to this problem in the form of retrofitting our existing suburbs.

To determine best practices of how places can best meet the needs and desires of shifting demographics and retrofit the existing assets they have, I will summarize three examples of fairly successful suburban retrofits: Tysons in Fairfax County, VA, West End in St. Louis Park, MN, and Santana Row in San Jose, CA. These case studies were chosen based on a survey of available literature on successful suburban retrofits and innovative approaches that have been tried. The case studies were also chosen based on their different geographic locations and on their proximities to larger cities that are attracting new residents because of job markets and other local amenities.

Each case study will be summarized and then several key components of the retrofits will be explored. The aspects explored are: transportation, housing, parks and greenspace, zoning, and funding. Using qualitative analysis of the research gathered from these case studies, best practices will be summarized and translated into the form of suggestions for cities and suburbs that are looking for ways to transform themselves into places that are desirable for the changing demographics.

2. Changing Demographics

Two of the largest age cohorts in America are the Baby Boomers (born 1946 – 1964) and Gen Y or Millennials (born 1976 and 2000) who number 135 million people.⁴ This demographic makes up nearly 44% of the census population from 2010.⁵ Due to the fact that these two groups make up a majority of homebuyers and those making decisions where to live, it is important to look into what is driving their changes in preference and what their changes in preference are.

² Dan Chiras and Dave Wann. *Superbia!* (Canada: New Society Publishers, 2006).

³ US Census Bureau. "2000 Census Definitions of Households and Families." http://cber.cba.ua.edu/asdc/households_families.html

⁴ Galina Tachieva. "Sprawl Repair." *Terrain.org*. <http://www.terrain.org/articles/28/tachieva.htm>

⁵ US Census Bureau. "American FactFinder." http://factfinder2.census.gov/faces/nav/jsf/pages/community_facts.xhtml

2.1.1 Baby Boomers

According to a survey by The Hartford, a majority of Baby Boomers who have discussed future living goals with their spouses have decided they want to “age in place”.⁶ This means Baby Boomers aren’t leaving the single-family detached homes many of them are currently living in.

The suburbs many Baby Boomers currently live in are a poor setup for this aging population. According to Congress for the New Urbanism, today almost half of adults who are aged 65 and older rarely leave their homes because they don’t have transportation options available.⁷ Additionally, 49% of Baby Boomers prefer living near places with a mix of uses and access to public transportation is very important to 52% of this age cohort.⁸ These are all things that current single-use suburbs don’t offer.

2.1.2 Millennials

Another major shift in demographics is due to Millennials who are currently aged 15 to 32 years old⁹ and have surpassed the Baby Boomers in terms of overall percentage of the entire US population.¹⁰ ~~Much to the rest of the country’s dismay, Gen Y has been reluctant to spend and for many good reasons; student debt, fewer using credit cards, and some are still receiving financial help from their parents (ULI). With the current median household income for Gen Y currently at \$45,979 (ULI), money is going to be tight for this generatio~~ ~~A~~The next question gives an answer that can help to quiet all of the hype about the “Great Migbout 25% of Millennials live downtown or in neighborhoods that abut downtowns, about 21% live in the next ring of suburbs, 17% live in newer suburbs (new sprawl) and 35% prefer to living in small towns or more rural areas.¹¹ In summary, this isn’t really any different than what Millennials’ parents did.¹²

One aspect of Millennials’ desired living characteristics that does differ from that of their parents is that Millennials have a strong desire to shift away from single-use “bedroom suburbs”. Millennials want walkable, mixed use, new urbanist communities.¹³ They value places that can become third places.¹⁴

⁶ The Hartford. “Baby Boomers Housing Preference Survey.” <http://hartfordauto.thehartford.com/UI/Downloads/baby-boomers-housing-preferences-survey.pdf>

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Robert Krueger. “Where Americans Want to Live.” *Urban Land Institute*. <http://www.uli.org/press-release/america2013/>

⁹ M. Leanne Lachman and Deborah L. Brett. “Generation Y Shopping and Entertainment in the Digital Age.” *Urban Land Institute* <http://www.uli.org/wp-content/uploads/ULI-Documents/Generation-Y-Shopping-and-Entertainment-in-the-Digital-Age.pdf>

¹⁰ US Census Bureau. “American FactFinder.”

¹¹ M. Leanne Lachman and Deborah L. Brett. “Generation Y: America’s New Housing Wave.” *Urban Land Institute*. http://www.prea.org/research/20110510-GenY-Report_Final.pdf

¹² Ibid

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ National Association of Realtors. “The 2011 Community Preference Survey.” <http://www.realtor.org/sites/default/files/smart-growth-comm-survey-results-2011.pdf>

2.1.3 Meeting Changing Demands

One solution to meet these demands is to retrofit the suburbs. Dunham-Jones and Williamson, authors of *Retrofitting Suburbia*, have been two of the most prominent proponents for retrofitting suburbs.¹⁵ They believe there is a huge resource (suburbs) that is sitting unused and could be updated; greyfields can be reduced, bring economic revitalization, and can be changed to reflect the changing demographics and market desires that are changing in the suburbs.

3. Case Studies

3.1 Tysons in Fairfax County, VA

Tysons is perhaps one of the most written/talked about suburban retrofits and is still a work in progress. Tysons Corner is being transformed from a sprawling suburb into “Tysons,” a series of connected urban living districts.¹⁶ It is one of the largest scale suburban retrofits ever attempted.¹⁷

Today Tysons is home to 17,000 residents and according to the predictions in Tysons’ comprehensive plan, will have 100,000 residents by 2015 and have twice the amount of jobs they currently have.¹⁸

¹⁵ Ellen Dunham-Jones and June Williamson. *Retrofitting Suburbia*. (New Jersey: John Wiley and Sons, 2008).

¹⁶ American Planning Association. “National Planning Awards 2011.” <http://www.planning.org/awards/2011/>

¹⁷ Ellen Dunham-Jones and June Williamson. *Retrofitting Suburbia*.

¹⁸ American Planning Association. “National Planning Awards 2011.”



Figure 1. Tysons Corner in the 1990s

Source: http://www.patrickfkane.com/images/489_The_Future_of_Tysons_Corner.jpg

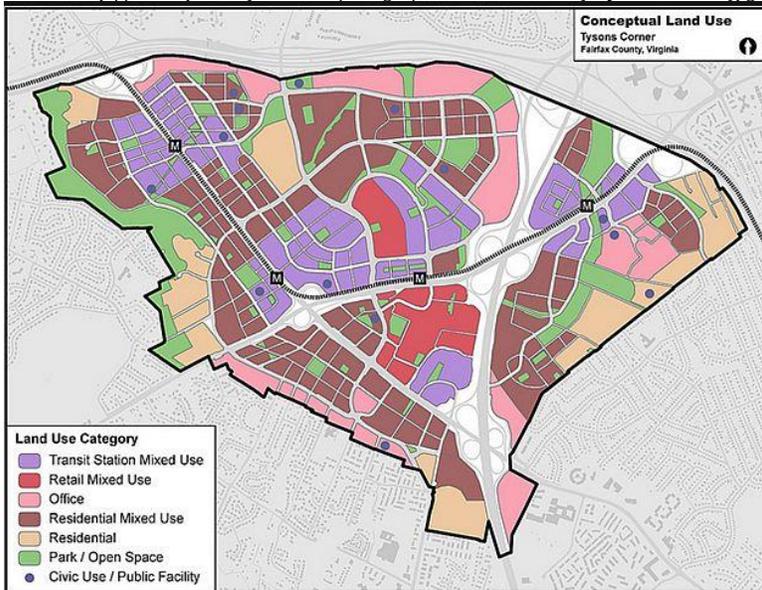


Figure 2. Conceptual Land Use Plan for Tysons

Source: <http://www.fairfaxcounty.gov/dpz/tysonscorner/images/districts/tysonslanduselarge.jpg>

3.1.1 Transportation

A Metrorail extension through Tysons is the catalyst for the entire Tysons redevelopment. The Washington DC Area Metrorail will be extended through

Tysons (boasting 4 stops in Tysons) to be completed in 2013.¹⁹ The Metropolitan Washington Airports Authority, who is funding the extension, initiated the Metrorail extension through Tysons to the Dulles airport.²⁰ The redevelopment plan is a reaction to the thousands more people who will be traveling through, working in, shopping, eating, and dining in Tysons.

The current infrastructure at Tysons cannot handle the stress this new traffic will generate if most people were to use automobiles. In order to mitigate this effect, the community is planning for new circulator routes, community shuttles, feeder bus service, smaller city blocks and dramatically improved pedestrian and bicycle routes.²¹

3.1.2 Housing

The concept for housing at Tysons is to create Transit Oriented Development (TOD).²² This will make it easier to use public transportation while decreasing automobile congestion and thus those environmental impacts that can occur in dense urban areas.

The close proximity of apartments and condominiums to the Metrorail and other work, live, and play amenities has the potential to make the units very costly; economic theory tells us location is one of the largest determinants of rent prices. Accordingly, in the Tysons' plan, 20% of new housing has to be affordable housing, available to residents making 50 – 120% AMI.²³

The redevelopment plan solves the problem of low profit margin on affordable housing (which can typically be a roadblock to affordable housing) by requiring all new non-residential developments to contribute \$3/square foot into a trust fund to help fund the affordable housing.²⁴ This will provide incentive for developers to develop housing that is available for lower income groups.

3.1.3 Parks & Greenspace

Tysons is creating a shared network of greenspace in lieu of personal greenspace.²⁵ This shared greenspace will create more “third places” that the changing demographic seeks.

According to the Fairfax County Government, since land values are high and land there is no room for waste, creative approaches are being considered. The idea of placing some parks and athletic fields on top of buildings is being explored in the plan.²⁶ Placing these greenspaces and parks on top of buildings can cause excessive

¹⁹ “American Planning Association.” *National Planning Awards 2011*

²⁰ Fairfax County Government. “Transforming Tysons.” <http://www.fairfaxcounty.gov/fcdot/silverline/>

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

weight from soil, plants, and especially water, so the cost effectiveness of doing so will need to be considered.

3.1.4 Zoning

A Planned Urban District (PUD) was put in place at Tysons to ensure that there is flexibility in the zoning and consistency with the Comprehensive Plan for Tysons to be dense, mixed use, pedestrian oriented, and employ the use of TODs where possible.²⁷ Although PUDs are not without controversy: bringing a mix of uses into a neighborhood can cause NIMBY (Not In My Backyard) sentiments. People can be generally supportive of redevelopment plans until they find out that a late-night restaurant is going in down the road. Tysons is no different.²⁸

3.1.5 Funding

According to the Fairfax County Government, the public and private sector are both funding the Tysons redevelopment. In order to fulfill the county's total portion of the bill, a special tax district has been imposed over Tyson's residents as well as developers in the district area. Taxes will start off at \$.04 per \$100 of assessed value.²⁹ This tax began in July 2013 and will increase \$.01 per year for 3 years and then level off at \$.07 per year for over 30 years.³⁰

Residents are generally supportive of redevelopment projects and the benefits they will gain, but they don't want to pay for these gains. Similarly in Tysons, residents wanted the redevelopment to happen but were upset about the tax district.³¹

3.2 West End in St. Louis Park, MN

This second case study focuses on the West End development in St. Louis Park, a first ring suburb outside of the Twin Cities, which is one of the fastest expanding regions in the Midwest. According to Urban Land Institute's CEO, Patrick Phillips, "America's first-ring suburbs could be a sweet spot for future growth," as they already have many benefits; they are usually well connected to transit, very close to Central Business Districts (CBDs) as well as other suburbs."

One of the key aspects that made this redevelopment take off was partnership. The private developer Duke Realty worked very closely with the city to make the redevelopment happen.³² According to MacCleery, local government and Duke

²⁷ Fairfax County Government. "Article 6: Planned Development District Regulations." <http://www.fairfaxcounty.gov/dpz/zoningordinance/articles/art06.pdf>

²⁸ Leonard Gilroy. "NIMBYs and Dysfunctional Planning in NOVA." *Reason Foundation*. <http://reason.org/blog/show/nimbys-and-dysfunctional-plann>

²⁹ William Callahan. "Tysons Tax District Should Be Phased In, Advisory Board Says." *Tysons Corner Patch*.

<http://tysonscorner.patch.com/groups/politics-and-elections/p/tysons-tax-district-advisory-board-likes-phased-approach>

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ David Culver. "Fairfax County Supervisors Vote for Special Tysons Corner Tax." *NBC Washington*.

<http://www.nbcwashington.com/blogs/first-read-dmv/Fairfax-County-Supervisors-Vote-for-Special-Tysons-Corner-Tax-186105812.html>

³² Rachel MacCleery. "The West End Development Created a New Place in Minnesota." *Urban Land Institute*.

<http://www.uli.org/infrastructure-initiative/the-west-end-development-created-a-new-place-in-minnesota/>

Realty met weekly to discuss the project. At these meetings they would things such as variances desired, the creation of a TIF district, whether or not affordable housing should be included, giving more square footage in the PUD for restaurants, the creation of the PUD.³³ The process was very back and forth to ensure both the city and developer were getting what they needed.

³³ City of St. Louis Park, Minnesota. "City Council Meeting Minutes," http://www.stlouispark.org/webfiles/file/agenda/13_08_19cs.pdf



Figure 3. Before West End Development

Source: <http://www.uli.org/wp-content/uploads/ULI-Documents/Shifting-Suburbs.pdf>



Figure 4. After West End Development

Source: <http://www.uli.org/wp-content/uploads/ULI-Documents/Shifting-Suburbs.pdf>

3.2.1 Transportation

The goal at West End was to create a pedestrian oriented development with accessibility to other forms of transit other than the automobile.³⁴ The site accomplishes this well on the interior, but in order to get to the development most people will drive. This is one downfall of the development, as it presents a problem for aging Baby Boomers who will need to drive to it and physically may not be able to. The development is currently only served by bus, but the Metropolitan Council is planning to extend current light rail service to pass through St. Louis Park.³⁵

Parking is still a key component of this development because it is one of the quickest and easiest ways to get around the Twin Cities Metro Area. It would not make sense for the development to totally disregard parking at this point.

3.2.2 Housing

The focus of the redevelopment is not on housing, so minimal housing is being constructed on the site. There is currently a 119-unit apartment building at West End with rumors of another apartment building breaking ground soon.³⁶ There has been criticism about the high-end clientele that these apartments are catering to in addition to an already saturated market in the metro area with one bedroom and studio apartments.³⁷

3.2.3 Parks & Greenspace

According to Jacobson, there are plans to construct a pocket park on the site as well as set aside land for gardeners living nearby to have gardens on the site. Greenspace is not a priority on this relatively small redevelopment site.

³⁴ Urban Land Institute. "Shifting Suburbs: Reinventing Infrastructure for Compact Development." <http://www.uli.org/wp-content/uploads/ULI-Documents/Shifting-Suburbs.pdf>

³⁵ Metropolitan Council. "Southwest LRT." [http://metro council.org/Transportation/Projects/Current-Projects/Southwest-LRT/Publications-And-Resources/Maps/Southwest-LRT-Locally-Preferred-Alternative-Map-\(2.aspx](http://metro council.org/Transportation/Projects/Current-Projects/Southwest-LRT/Publications-And-Resources/Maps/Southwest-LRT-Locally-Preferred-Alternative-Map-(2.aspx)

³⁶ Don Jacobson. "St. Louis Park's West End could get another high-end apartment complex." *Star Tribune*. <http://www.startribune.com/business/225405462.html>

³⁷ Ibid.

3.2.4 Zoning

The Zoning where West End is located is a Planned Unit Development (PUD).³⁸ St. Louis Park's PUD allows flexibility for the redevelopment. This PUD did not have much problem with NIMBYism since the development is near other retail and highway.³⁹ The highway is important to the development; thusly the developer was required to have 4,468 parking stalls, which includes the 10% transit reduction due to the mixed-use, dense nature of the development.⁴⁰

3.2.5 Funding

The city helped to fund the redevelopment by creating a TID (tax increment district), which supplied \$21 million to the project.⁴¹ TIDs are a good way to finance costly developments and are best to use when the development is going to bring revitalization and increased taxes and revenues to the city in the future. The creation of TIDs is never without at least some controversy, as the tax money that goes to finance the redevelopment is taken away from other areas such as schools, police, etc for a set period of time.

3.3 Santana Row in San Jose, CA

Located in the San Francisco Bay area, San Jose has seen tremendous growth in recent years with the birth and expansion of Silicon Valley. According to the Association of Bay Area Governments, San Jose is projected to grow by 400,000 people and 340,000 jobs between 2010 and 2035.⁴² This makes San Jose's suburbs a prime candidate for retrofitting the many auto-dependent, single-use bedroom communities that San Jose has.

A recent retrofit in San Jose is Santana Row. The developer Federal Realty Investment Trust developed this entire project without any monetary help from the city.⁴³ This is a redevelopment of an old shopping center called Town and Country Village.⁴⁴ Santana Row is a pedestrian oriented, mixed-use redevelopment that attracts even more visitors, mostly from Silicon Valley, than downtown San Jose itself does.⁴⁵ The Santana Row development is on 18 city blocks and includes retail, restaurant, and entertainment, housing units, and a hotel, parks, and some office space.⁴⁶

³⁸ City of St. Louis Park, Minnesota. "Agenda – Planning Commission Council Chambers." http://www.stlouispark.org/webfiles/file/Comm_Dev/0717013_pc_agenda.pdf

³⁹ Urban Land Institute. "Shifting Suburbs."

⁴⁰ Ibid

⁴¹ City of St. Louis Park, Minnesota. "Comprehensive Annual Financial Report."

http://www.stlouispark.org/webfiles/file/finance/2011_annual_report_cafr.pdf

⁴² Sarah Kalinsky and Daniel Murphy. "Retrofitting Suburbia, San Jose Style." *SPUR*.

<http://www.spur.org/publications/library/article/retrofitting-suburbia-san-jose-style>

⁴³ Ellen Dunham-Jones and June Williamson. *Retrofitting Suburbia*.

⁴⁴ David Goll. "Project of the Decade: Santana Row Brings Global Appeal to San Jose."

http://www.santanarow.com/images/uploads/Project_of_the_Decade.pdf

⁴⁵ Sarah Kalinsky and Daniel Murphy. "Retrofitting Suburbia, San Jose Style."

⁴⁶ Ibid.



Figure 5. Town and Country Village Mall in San Jose
Source: Flickr.com from user JAB88



Figure 6. Nightlife at Santana Row
Source: <http://www.assemblyrow.com/wp-content/tn3/5/Santana-Row-San-Jose-CA-5.jpg>

3.3.1 Transportation

There is still a large amount of automobile accommodation on the redevelopment, however it is all on the periphery of the site. Santana Row is more of a destination than an attraction for the surrounding residential neighborhoods.⁴⁷ This may be due to its poor integration with the surrounding neighborhood. The poor integration of the development is a product of the City not being fiscally involved in the redevelopment; it means that the city more or less let the developer do what they wanted so that they would develop where they did.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

3.3.2 Housing

Since the project was done with private money only, there was no requirement for housing affordability. Santana Row provides only “luxury living” apartment and condominium units.⁴⁸ Since affordable housing is financially unappealing, the City of San Jose could have used developer fees or a trust fund like Tysons to ensure affordable housing was included in the redevelopment.

3.3.3 Parks & Greenspace

Santana Row incorporates green streets - for example, Main Street (the center of the development) is a pedestrian boulevard.⁴⁹ Since the city wasn’t funding the redevelopment, they didn’t have control over the amount of greenspace added to this relatively small redevelopment site.

3.3.4 Zoning

Zoning for the Santana Row redevelopment is a Planned Development (PD) District.⁵⁰ The zoning was granted because this development was consistent with San Jose’s 2040 General Plan.⁵¹ This site is in a Regional Commercial District and within an Urban Village Area Boundary making it a target for mixed-use, walkable, vibrant uses.⁵²

3.3.5 Funding

A couple of reasons for this retrofit being done with no public monies include (1) the developer wanted total control over the area, no public sector to answer to and (2) it would have been a stretch to declare the area as “blighted” in order to initiate the redevelopment on the city’s side.⁵³ This has both positive and negative aspects for the City of San Jose. On the positive side, the City gained a high end, very profitable redevelopment without having to foot the bill directly. On the negative side, this gave the City less control over design specifics and requirements for the redevelopment.

4. Recommendations

None of the case studies above are specifically targeted toward Millennials and Baby Boomers, although they offer the features these groups are looking for. This is not uncommon among other suburban retrofits - they are good examples of new urbanism.

⁴⁸ Federal Realty. “Santana Row.” <http://www.santanarow.com/>

⁴⁹ Ellen Dunham-Jones and June Williamson. *Retrofitting Suburbia*.

⁵⁰ City of San Jose. “Zoning.” *San Jose, California Code of Ordinances*.

[http://sanjose.alegal.com/nxt/gateway.dll/California/sanjose_ca/title20zoning*1?f=templates\\$fn=default.htm\\$3.0\\$vid=aml egal:sanjose_ca](http://sanjose.alegal.com/nxt/gateway.dll/California/sanjose_ca/title20zoning*1?f=templates$fn=default.htm$3.0$vid=aml egal:sanjose_ca)

⁵¹ City of San Jose. “Memorandum.” *File No. PDC12-009*.

http://www3.sanjoseca.gov/clerk/Agenda/20120807/20120807_0402.pdf

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ Ellen Dunham-Jones and June Williamson, *Retrofitting Suburbia*.

The best practices below are lessons learned from the above case studies as how to best create environments for changing demographic that are amenable to suburban retrofits.

4.1 Best Practices for Suburban Retrofits

- 1) **Planned Unit Developments (PUDs).** This will more easily allow mixed-use developments, emphasis on the pedestrian, and mitigate the effect of *Ambler v Euclid* that many places are still operating under.⁵⁴ Mixing uses and having them easy to get to creates what the new demographic wants.

All three of the above cases had this characteristic, which indicates that this is a practice that works in a variety of cities. However, this may be more easily said than done; NIMBY sentiments can be strong when it comes to putting uses other than what is found in traditional suburban neighborhoods. People want mixed-use, but don't want to live next door to it.

- 2) **Transit Oriented Development (TOD).** Similar to the work that is being done in Tysons, putting people near transit will take stress off the roads and mitigate negative environmental impacts. While developers do not have control over public transit expansions, it should be taken advantage of when a city or region does it.

West End is still very auto-oriented, as it was placed where it is because of its proximity to the highway and other retail. There are future plans for the LRT to pass by the development. The existing bus is a good interim solution for public transport to the development.

Santana Row is completely auto-dependent and TOD was not incorporated. However, there is no proposed public transit expansion to the area like Tysons and West End have. This does not alleviate any of the increased traffic coming to the neighborhood because of the redevelopment.

- 3) **Pedestrian scale redevelopment and focus on streetscape.** This ensures places are walkable, friendly, and safe for the pedestrian so that they are encouraged to linger in these places and feel safe and comfortable. Tysons is doing a good job of this by creating a network of greenspaces so that people can move throughout the community by foot or on bike. This is not possible with the other two redevelopments as they are much smaller scale developments that a single developer is working on and have much more control over greenspace than the City does in these instances.

⁵⁴ June Williamson. "11 Urban Design Tactics for Suburban Retrofitting." *Build a Better Burb*. <http://buildabetterburb.org/11-urban-design-tactics-for-suburban-retrofitting/>

- 4) **Innovative financing opportunities** such as TIF Financing, special tax districts or developer fees to ensure a variety of housing is built. Tysons is a good example of a creative way to ensure that there is affordable housing included in redevelopment; by having all new developments mandatorily contribute to an affordable housing fund and creating a special taxing district. This did create controversy with residents because they did not want to pay additional taxes for the redevelopment although they did want the amenities it offers.

Santana Row is a good example of why innovative financing is a good option as opposed to solely private financing; since the development was privately funded, the city had very little control over the development. Consequently, there is no affordable housing, connectivity with the surrounding neighborhoods, little green space for gathering, and it is still a very auto-dependent redevelopment.

4.2 Conclusions

Retrofitting suburbs can bring enormous opportunity to meet the changing demographics' desires for new urbanist-style communities. On the basis of my analysis of three case studies of suburban retrofits in Fairfax County, VA, St. Louis Park, MN, and San Jose, CA, I recommend that other cities looking to retrofit their suburbs follow the best practices that I have put forward in the previous section. By making changes to zoning codes, targeting retrofits near public transit, focusing on pedestrian scale development, and offering innovative financing opportunities to developers, cities can not only retrofit their existing suburbs, but make their communities more green, sustainable, pedestrian-friendly and appropriate for the changing demographics' desires.

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