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New regulations for promoting Good City Form? Insights from the process and product of form-based code adoption

DISSERTATION

submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in Planning, Policy and Design

by

Cecilia Joung Un Kim

Dissertation Committee:
Professor Ajay Garde, Chair
Professor Scott A. Bollens
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2018

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DEDICATION

To

Ella

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Above all, I give thanks to Our Lord, Jesus Christ and Mother Mary. As written in Philippians 4:13, “I can do all things through Christ who strengthens me.”

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Abstract of the Dissertation

New Regulations for Promoting Good City Form? Insights from the Process and Product of Form-Based Code Adoption

By

Cecilia Joung Un Kim

Doctor of Philosophy in Planning, Policy and Design

University of California, Irvine, 2018

Professor Ajay Garde, Chair

The main purpose of this dissertation is to assess the effectiveness of form-based codes in contributing to good urban form. Cities are increasingly adopting form-based codes as an alternative to conventional zoning to guide future development, however there is yet not a comprehensive evaluation of its effectiveness in doing so. Moreover, there is little empirical evidence that form-based codes are being adopted for the public good. I use a two-pronged approach to examine the planning process involved in developing form-based codes and the product of this process, the adopted codes, within the theoretical frameworks of the theory of good city form (Lynch, 1984) and the theory of the city as a growth machine (Logan & Molotch, 2007). I use mixed methods to examine multiple case studies for the extent to which form-based codes integrate principles of good city form, and for evidence of the influence of the growth machine in the planning process of form-based codes. Through analysis of planning documents, interviews, and other media sources, the findings reveal that form-based codes do not necessarily promote principles of good city form to a greater extent than conventional zoning regulations and that the growth machine does appear to compromise the potential of form-based codes in contributing to good city form. Thus, form-based codes can effectively address certain issues but

are not in themselves a panacea. In the context of zoning reform efforts and policies addressing contemporary urban issues at various government levels, the adoption of form-based codes is essentially an institutional response to the contemporary problems of urban development that does not go far enough in contributing more positively to facilitate good city form. Thus, the adoption of new development regulations such as form-based codes can be seen as a missed opportunity to adopt regulations that mitigate the effects of existing conventional zoning and contribute to an urban form that meets the needs and desires of the community and society at large. This research cautions policymakers and planners contemplating the adoption of form-based codes of the potential ineffectiveness of form-based regulations in achieving certain objectives for their community.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Cities are increasingly adopting form-based codes instead of conventional land-use zoning regulations to guide future development. A form-based approach to regulating development is not new; however, physical planning and design movements such as the New Urbanism and Smart Growth have brought city form and related issues such as sustainable growth to the forefront for urban planners and the public at large. The main purpose of this dissertation is to assess the effectiveness of form-based codes in contributing to good urban form. Specifically, I examine the planning process involved in developing form-based codes and the product of this process, the adopted codes, within the theoretical frameworks of the theory of good city form (Lynch, 1984) and the theory of the city as a growth machine (Logan & Molotch, 2007; Molotch, 1976). I use a two-pronged approach to gain a full understanding of the implications of form-based codes adoption. The following research questions guided this dissertation research:

1. What is the extent to which form-based codes integrate principles of good city form?
2. Is there evidence of the influence of the growth machine in the planning process of form-based codes?

The theory of good city form explains the form of the city in connection with human values. In this theory, Lynch (1984) proposes using performance dimensions instead of performance standards to assess the goodness of a city. He identifies five performance dimensions—vitality, sense, fit, access, and control—as most critical to urban form for the livability of its citizens. The performance dimensions have certain characteristics, described in detail in Chapter 3, that allow them to be universally applicable to any city form and context. Thus, the theory of good city form provides an instrumental as well as analytical framework by

which the goodness of cities can be examined. Drawing from Lynch's five performance dimensions, I evaluate the contents of adopted form-based codes for the extent to which they promote principles of good city form.

The theory of the city as a growth machine (Logan & Molotch, 2007; Molotch, 1976) is an influential thesis that critically conceptualizes the process of urbanization by connecting community power and urban place with economic and social values. As such, the urban growth machine theory is particularly relevant to the political processes by which land-use policies and regulations are decided. According to the theory, coalitions of land-based elites, or place entrepreneurs, influence local decision-making processes in their collective interest for urban growth (Logan & Molotch, 2007). The growth machine thesis presents an important theoretical framework describing the key driving forces that influence urban development. Thus, I examine the planning process of form-based codes for evidence of elite growth coalitions influencing the development and adoption of form-based codes.

In sum, I assess the extent to which the Growth Machine compromises the effectiveness of form-based codes in contributing to good urban form. Therefore, this dissertation provides insights into the adoption of form-based codes as an alternative to conventional zoning code, and the influence of special interests in the adoption of form-based codes, in effectively contributing to good city form.

Background and Context in Brief

Form-based codes are development regulations that emphasize the physical character of development to achieve a predictable built environment, whereas conventional "Euclidean" zoning codes primarily focus on the separation of land uses to minimize negative impacts (Barry, 2008; Form-Based Codes Institute, 2014; Katz, 2004; Madden & Spikowski, 2006; Sitkowski,

2007; Sperber, 2005). Scholars and practitioners have argued that conventional zoning limits a locality's ability to adapt to socioeconomic changes and to achieve important objectives, such as sustainability, livability, equity, and healthy communities (Ellis, 2002; Ewing et al., 2009; Hall, 2007; Parolek et al., 2008; Slone & Goldstein, 2008; Talen, 2005b, 2013; Wilson, Hutson, & Mujahid, 2008). Conventional zoning is also criticized as a key contributor to undesirable land patterns and urban forms commonly known as sprawl (Barry, 2008; Ewing 1994; Hall, 2007; Lewyn, 2006; Spikowski, 2010).

Form-based codes offer a distinct alternative to conventional zoning in several ways: 1) they focus on regulating built form, allowing for a mix of uses and diverse housing types, 2) they address the interface between buildings and streets to encourage the design of pedestrian-friendly, walkable communities, 3) they are most often prescriptive in that they state what is intended and expected, and 4) they are generally developed through extensive public participation in order to implement a community-based vision (Barry, 2008; Hansen, 2014; Inniss, 2007; Rouse & Zobl, 2004). Proponents of form-based codes claim that these regulations address many of the failings of conventional zoning and help create cities that are compact, pedestrian-friendly, environmentally sustainable, and socially equitable (Barry, 2008; Hansen, 2014; Katz, 2004; Lewyn, 2006; Ohm & Sitkowski, 2003; Rangwala, 2012; Talen, 2009, 2013). They are commonly considered the primary tool for achieving New Urbanist principles of increased density, walkability, mixed-use, and mixed housing (Inniss, 2007; Langdon, 2006; Ohm & Sitkowski, 2003).

Form-based codes are increasingly being adopted instead of conventional zoning to guide new development in cities throughout the United States. In the Codes Study, Borys and Talen (2017) identified over 600 codes in the United States that meet criteria established by the Form-

Based Codes Institute (FBCI). A high concentration of form-based codes is found in California and Florida, the second and third ranking states with the largest population increase from 2000 to 2010, respectively (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011). In California, the adoption of form-based codes by cities and counties was authorized with the passing of Assembly Bill 1268 in 2004, which clarified and expanded on the scope of zoning ordinances to include provisions for community intentions regarding urban form and design. Additionally, statewide efforts to address climate changes contributed, in part, to the adoption of form-based codes in California, as discussed in detail below.

In Southern California, some cities have adopted form-based codes to implement the recommendations of the region's metropolitan planning organization (MPOs), the Southern California Association of Government (SCAG), in its "Sustainable Communities Strategy." Most of these form-based codes are adopted for specific areas of the city, particularly areas primed for infill and redevelopment such as downtowns, historic areas, transit centers, and corridors (Garde, 2014). Many of these form-based codes are adopted with the purpose of producing built environments that will achieve important planning and design objectives such as environmental sustainability, economic vitality, aesthetic sensibility, and overall livability. However, there has yet to be an empirical evaluation of the effectiveness of form-based codes in contributing to a good urban form.

In addition, there is a growing body of research on the efficacy of form-based codes as it relates to participatory planning. Scholars argue that already disadvantaged stakeholders are further alienated from the planning process of form-based codes despite the emphasis on public involvement and the claim to a community-based vision (Beard & Sarmiento, 2014; Gonzales & Lejano, 2009; González, Sarmiento, Urzua, & Luévano, 2012; Inniss, 2007). Moreover, they find

that form-based codes are being developed to create New Urbanist neighborhoods which, they argue, embody a 'traditional' urban form that is not responsive to the cultural characteristics of demographically diverse urban communities (Gonzales & Lejano, 2009; Inniss, 2007). Beard and Sarmiento (2014) find that the planning process is unduly in favor of economic elites over low-income communities of color. More research is needed, however, to better understand the implications of public outreach efforts on the effectiveness of form-based codes, especially from a political economy perspective as various interest groups work to influence the planning process in their favor. Thus, this study addresses the gap in the existing literature on form-based codes.

Summary of Findings

The findings of this dissertation provide insights into the adoption of form-based codes as an alternative to conventional zoning codes, and the influence of special interests in the planning process of form-based codes in shaping the outcome of this process in a way that negatively contributes to achieving good city form. With this in mind, the major findings of this dissertation are that:

- Form-based codes do not necessarily promote principles of good city form to a greater extent than conventional zoning regulations;
- The pursuit of economic development, rather than the broader goal of growth as defined by Logan and Molotch (2007), compromise the effectiveness of form-based codes in contributing to good city form;
- Growth is not the sole and primary interest present in the planning process of form-based codes;

- Coalitions for special interests other than growth are readily formed during the planning process of form-based codes;
- The presence of any special interest, land-based or other, in the planning process of form-based codes appears to compromise the effectiveness of the adopted product in contributing to good city form.

These findings are considered in the context of zoning reform efforts and policies addressing contemporary urban issues at various government levels. I conclude that form-based codes can effectively address certain issues but are not in themselves a panacea. In essence, the adoption of form-based codes is an institutional response to the contemporary problems of urban development that does not go far enough in contributing more positively to facilitate good city form. Thus, the adoption of new development regulations such as form-based codes can be seen as a missed opportunity to adopt regulations that mitigate the effects of existing conventional zoning and contribute to an urban form that meets the needs and desires of the community and society at large.

Significance of Research

This dissertation holds theoretical and practical significance for the field of urban planning and design in a number of ways; 1) it reflects on two influential planning theories—the theory of good city form (Lynch, 1984) and the theory of the city as a growth machine (Logan & Molotch, 2007; Molotch, 1976)—within the context of modern urban development practices, 2) it presents an evaluation method with which to assess development regulations, both conventional and form-based, for their effectiveness in contributing to a good built environment,

and 3) it reveals best practices as well as areas for improvement in the regulatory content of form-based and conventional zoning codes, and their likely impact on built form.

Much has changed in the field of urban planning and development since the theories of good city form and the urban growth machine were first published. By using these theories as a framework to examine form-based codes, an alternative regulatory approach that is gaining traction in the U.S. and other countries, this dissertation holds these theories up to a mirror comprised of communities that are taking unconventional steps to address contemporary development problems such as climate change, housing affordability, and economic instability. While these theories are frequently cited in planning and design literature, their limitations in addressing good city form has not been examined in the context of new development regulations. Given this, the study also provides insights on the adequacy and explanatory power of these two theories to innovative current practices in urban planning and development.

In addition, the evaluation method developed in this dissertation and the findings of the evaluations contribute to the knowledge base of plan and policy evaluation research. This study operationalized the performance dimensions presented in the theory of good city form (Lynch, 1984) as a systematic means of assessing the effectiveness of development regulations in promoting good urban form. Thus, a similar approach can be used by cities considering zoning reform to weigh the pros and cons of their existing and proposed regulatory approach, regardless of whether it is a conventional, form-based, or hybrid approach, and determine which approach is most appropriate to guide future development that fits within the context of their community. Further, the evaluation of the development regulations of the four case studies in this dissertation shows how the evaluation method reveals the strengths and weaknesses of both form-based codes and conventional zoning. In general, regulatory standards with strong integration of good

city form principles can be considered best practices to encourage developments that effectively contribute to good urban form.

Structure of the Dissertation

The first chapter of this dissertation is an introduction to the subject of study in this dissertation research. It includes the purpose and objective of the research, the two main research questions, and the theoretical and analytical frameworks used in this dissertation. It also provides a brief discussion of the background and context for this study, a summary of the key findings of this research, and the study's significance. Chapter Two is an overview of conventional and form-based development regulations as they pertain to urban design and regulation of the built environment. I also discuss the paradigm shift in the approach to regulating future development and its implications for zoning reform. In Chapter Three, I provide an overview of the theory of good city form and a detailed description of the five performance dimensions used as the analytical framework in this dissertation. This chapter also includes a review of the literature on evaluations in urban planning and the strengths and limitations of the theory of good city form in assessing development regulations for their likely impact on the built environment. Chapter Four describes the urban growth machine thesis, explains key concepts of the thesis that are used in this dissertation, and reviews relevant literature in the field of urban planning. This chapter also discusses the applicability and implications of the growth machine theory to the study of form-based codes adoption. In Chapter Five, I discuss the main objective of this dissertation and the questions that guide this research. I also present the research design and methods. Chapters Six through Nine present the findings of each case study. I discuss the presence and influence of key players in the planning process of the form-based codes to determine the existence of the growth machine. I also show the extent to which form-based regulations integrate principles of good city

form, as compared to the conventional zoning regulations it replaced. Each of the chapters also include a brief description of the form-based code in study, contextual background of the cities from which the case studies are selected, a chronological review of the planning process of the form-based code, and a summary discussion of the conclusions for each case study. I conclude with a summary and discussion of the major findings, including those across cases, and overall conclusions in Chapter Ten.

Chapter 2: A Primer on Development Regulations

A Brief History of Zoning

The rapid, undisciplined growth of cities in the early 20th century created a need and desire for a tool by which government could effectively control the planning and design of the built environment (Ben-Joseph & Szold, 2005; Marantz & Ben-Joseph, 2011; Natoli, 1971; Talen, 2009; Wilson, Hutson, & Mujahid, 2008). Early development controls focused on the prevention of nuisances, or undesirable activities, from occurring in neighborhoods. These nuisance laws are the foundation of contemporary development regulations; thus, the authority for development control primarily relies on the police power to protect the health, safety, and well-being of the people (Ben-Joseph, 2005; Kayden, 2011). In early ordinances, physical design was only addressed at the most basic level—regulating building heights and setbacks to allow for light, air, and views, and to address traffic congestion issues (Bigham & Bostick, 1972; Frielich, 1971; Talen, 2009).

Zoning, the method of designating land for a single use, was initially devised and used in Germany and the Netherlands. It was introduced in the United States as an effective way to improve living conditions in urban areas by separating toxic uses, such as industrial and manufacturing facilities, from residential uses (Ben-Joseph & Szold, 2005; Inniss, 2007; Talen, 2009; Wilson, Hutson, & Mujahid, 2008). Proponents of zoning advocated its adoption as a tool to comprehensively regulate land development in a municipality (Bigham & Bostick, 1972). Since New York City's adoption of the first citywide zoning ordinance in 1916, most municipalities throughout the United States have adopted this type of zoning approach to guide future land development in their jurisdiction (Meck, 2002). Scholars argue, however, that zoning was also supported for its potential to stabilize property values, maximize land profit, and

exclude unwanted populations in certain areas (Burgess, 1998; Clingermayer, 2004; Marantz & Ben-Joseph, 2011; Silver, 1997; Talen, 2012). Today, zoning has gained a strong foothold in the statutory framework of contemporary land regulation, with widespread application throughout the country (Burgess, 1998; Ohm & Sitkowski, 2003).

Conventional Zoning: Characteristics, Critiques, and Consequences

As legislative action, zoning is a process by which local government regulates the use of land within its jurisdiction. Conventional zoning uses an exclusionary approach, dividing the city into various zones of a single land use, such as residential, commercial, industrial, institutional, and open space uses, with variations of degree and subcategorization (Silver, 1997). In the United States, zoning is commonly referred to as "Euclidean" zoning from the well-known Supreme Court case, Village of Euclid, Ohio v. Ambler Realty Co. (1926). This hallmark case reinforced the authority of local jurisdictions to plan for and enforce the separation of "incompatible uses" (Hall, 2007). With the primary focus on land use, development form is addressed through generic measures of density, massing, and placement of buildings. Because conventional zoning codes are exclusionary in nature these regulations are typically prohibitive; they define what cannot be built rather than what can (Sperber, 2005).

Critics of zoning cite the exclusionary nature of the conventional codes, failure to allow for mixed-uses, and inability to incorporate designs that define and enhance neighborhood character as some of its primary flaws (Bigham & Bostick, 1972; Langdon, 2006; Spikowski, 2010; Talen, 2005b; Wilson, Hutson, & Mujahid, 2008). Although conventional zoning codes only address development form at the most basic level, they have had immense influence on the quality of the built environment.

The separation of uses, in particular, has shaped postwar suburbia into a pattern of development that is contemptuously referred to as sprawl (Ben-Joseph & Szold, 2005; Spikowski, 2010). Urban sprawl is generally characterized by single-use, low-density, "leapfrog" development; poor accessibility; and a lack of a functional open space (Beatley & Manning, 1997; Burchell et al., 1998; Burgess, 1998; Ewing 1994, 1997; Galster et al. 2001; Hess et al., 2001; Johnson, 2001; Ziegler, 2003). The adverse impacts of sprawl and its resulting built environment are linked to the degradation of the three components of sustainability – environment, economy, and equity (Benfield, Raimi, & Chen, 1999; Brody et al., 2006; Bullard, Johnson, & Torres, 2000; Carruthers & Ulfarsson, 2003; Freilich & Peshoff, 1997; Johnson, 2001; Kahn, 2001; Leinberger, 2000; Wiewel & Schaffer, 2001). The homogenous form and character of conventional development patterns are found to be associated with increased land consumption, automobile dependency, environmental degradation, racial and socioeconomic segregation, and poor health (Bengston, Fletcher, & Nelson, 2004; Bigham & Bostick, 1972; Burgess, 1998; Dowling, 2000; Ewing 1997; Hall, 2007; Kahn, 2001; Kenworthy & Laube, 1999; Shlay & Rossi, 1981; Squires, 2002; Wilson, Hutson, & Mujahid, 2008; Ziegler, 2003). Studies also show that housing, infrastructure, and public service costs are higher in urban sprawl areas (Burchell & Mukherji, 2003; Burgess, 1998; Ewing, 1994). Moreover, the separation of housing types combined with exclusionary community covenants is considered to be the main reason for economical and racial divisions in neighborhoods and environmental spatial injustice. According to Dowling (2000) and Ewing (1994), these negative impacts on the physical built environment have rendered conventional development practices, and the regulations that guide them, undesirable.

Other Approaches to Guiding Future Development

Prior to the recent introduction of form-based codes, various alternatives and supplementary approaches were developed to provide greater flexibility than conventional zoning regulations and to encourage good urban design practices (Frielich, 1971; Sperber, 2005). These supplementary tools include overlay zones and floating zones that allow for context-specific regulations in addition to the general standards of the conventional zoning code (Ohm & Sitkowski, 2003; Staley & Claeys, 2005). Planned unit developments (PUDs), also considered a type of floating zone, have been used by cities to develop large tracts of land as residential clusters with common open space and some nonresidential uses. Other variations to zoning, such as performance zoning and incentive zoning, were introduced to encourage development to meet established development goals (Baker, Sipe, & Gleeson, 2006; Kendig, 1980; Lemmens, 2009; Sitkowski, 2007). Nonetheless, these approaches are not comprehensive in scope, and most local governments seldom go beyond these measures to control physical design, concerned for and wary of conflicting issues with private property rights. Other mechanisms guiding physical form, such as design guidelines and discretionary review processes, have also been put in place to supplement zoning codes. However, these methods are largely advisory and thus lack enforceability and the ability to consistently and effectively implement design features in development projects.

A Paradigm Shift in Regulating Urban Development

Increasing concern over the inadequacies of current land use regulations has brought reform of development regulations to the forefront of contemporary planning (Sperber, 2005; Talen, 2005b, 2009). Critics argue that incremental and auxiliary changes fail because the basic foundation of zoning itself is flawed (Ziegler, 2003). In particular, the poor connection between

development standards and their built outcomes, and heightened awareness of the impacts of the built environment on long-term quality of life have led to a reemphasis on physical planning and urban design as a central theme in development control regulations (Ben-Joseph & Szold, 2005).

The resurgence of interest in and passion for good urban form is attributed, in part, to a paradigmatic shift in the field of planning toward concepts of sustainable development, the emergence of New Urbanism, and greater acceptance of the idea of placemaking through physical design (Ben-Joseph, 2005; Rangwala, 2005; Shibley, 1998; Southworth & Parthasarathy, 1997). Indeed, certain aspects of physical design are central to new movements in planning such as New Urbanism, Smart Growth, Traditional Neighborhood Design (TND or neo-traditional design), and Transit-Oriented Design (TOD) (Barry, 2008; Berke, 2002; Danielsen, Lang, & Fulton, 1999; Duany & Talen, 2002; Katz, 1994; Langdon, 2006; Ohm & Sitkowski, 2003; Southworth, 2003; Starkweather, Low, & Pearlman, 2004; Duany & Talen, 2002b). For instance, the Charter of the Congress for New Urbanism (1999) promotes compact and coherent urban form, infill development, interconnected streets, and mixed land use as an alternative to sprawl. Similarly, neo-traditional design, transit-oriented design, and other models of sustainable urban form incorporate design concepts of compactness, walkability, higher density, mixed land-use, housing diversity, green design, and sustainable landscaping (Audirac & Shermyen, 1994; Berman, 1996; Jabareen, 2006). Building on this momentum, local governments, developers, and planning professionals have been devising ways to implement good and sustainable design with greater enforceability (Parolek et al., 2008).

Current efforts to reform development regulations emphasize better integration of design and built characteristics with land development practices (Duany & Talen, 2002b; Ohm & Sitkowski, 2003; Rouse & Zobl, 2004; Talen & Knaap, 2003). While most codes are intended to

ensure certain minimum standards of performance, it is increasingly recognized that they also limit certain possibilities. For instance, conventional zoning ordinances have, for the most part, prohibited developments and urban forms reflective of New Urbanism and Smart Growth principles (Barry, 2008; Duany & Talen, 2002b; Katz, 2004; Madden & Spikowski, 2006; Sperber, 2005). Consequently, many reform efforts have focused on increasing flexibility in use to respond to market demand while encouraging desired physical outcomes that promote walkability, transit use, and sustainability.

Local governments in the United States and other countries, such as Australia, Canada, and the United Kingdom, are increasingly replacing conventional zoning codes with form-based codes (Form-Based Codes Institute, 2014; Rouse & Zobl, 2004; Spikowski, 2010). Through a preliminary survey of cities in Southern California, I found that 24 cities have adopted form-based codes and 15 cities are in the process of adopting them (September 2012). Another independent study identifies over 600 adopted form-based codes throughout the U.S. (Borys & Talen, 2017). In addition to cities, state and regional governments are adopting form-based plans and policies to guide local action for future development (Form-Based Codes Institute, 2014).

Form-Based Codes: Characteristics, Claims, and Critiques

Although form-based codes are not an entirely new concept, the approach to regulating future development is significantly different from conventional codes founded on Euclidean zoning principles (Talen, 2009, 2011). They are intended to go beyond minimizing the adverse impacts of developments to advancing their livability and sustainability (Garde, 2004; Katz, 2004; Rangwala, 2012). Form-based codes place greater importance on regulating overall physical design than land use and are typically created around principles of spatial organization (Barry, 2008; Garvin & Jourdan, 2008; Rouse & Zobl, 2004; Sitkowski, 2007). They are

commonly considered implementation tools for New Urbanist ideas such as increased density, walkability, mixed-use, mixed housing, and traditional neighborhood structure (Inniss, 2007; Langdon, 2006; Ohm & Sitkowski, 2003).

Form-based codes can be adopted into a jurisdiction's regulatory framework using a variety of approaches that generally fall into three categories (Russell, 2004). These approaches are not mutually exclusive and are often used in combination concurrently or sequentially.

1. Comprehensive Regulatory Reform: Form-based codes replace the existing zoning ordinance in the city's municipal code.
2. Strategic Regulatory Intervention: Form-based codes are adopted as a modification to a part of the existing zoning code and/or as the development standards in a supplementary tool such as an overlay zone or floating zone.
3. Area Specific Regulation: Form-based codes are adopted as development standards for a specific area. They can be adopted as part of or in conjunction with a plan that guides future development.

All three approaches to adopting form-based codes use the same mechanisms of "zoning" the city into distinct districts; however, these zones are established by transect, building, street, or frontage type rather than a single land use (Kropf, 1996; White, 2009). Development standards in form-based codes typically regulate building form, typology, use, and the building's relationship with the public realm (Barry, 2008; Garvin & Jourdan, 2008; Rouse & Zobl, 2004; Sitkowski, 2007). They also address the character of new development and the design of streets and public open spaces (Barry, 2008; Katz, 2004; Sitkowski, 2007). By including prescriptive standards of development in the regulations, form-based codes are expected to offer greater predictability of the look and feel of the community (Barry, 2008; Duany & Talen, 2002b; Katz, 2004).

Advocates of form-based codes argue that in providing increased certainty as to what future development will look like, form-based codes provide a sense of security to investors and decision-makers, and simultaneously provides economic stability for future generations (Katz, 2004; Madden & Spikowski, 2006; Sitkowski, 2007; Sperber, 2005). Additionally, form-based codes place increased emphasis on the primacy of the public realm, mixing of uses and housing types, and the development of community character through design characteristics that are expected to contribute to social and spatial integration and economic diversity and lead to an enhanced sense of place (Katz, 2004). Also, because form-based codes are derived from a community vision created through public involvement initiated at the beginning of the planning process, they are customized to the place and its context. This consequently allows for a more streamlined administrative process for the approval of development projects (Barry, 2008). Thus, there are a variety of documented reasons why form-based codes are gaining increasing popularity as a tool for local governments that are considering regulatory reform.

However, form-based codes have met with considerable skepticism from scholars, practitioners, and the general public concerning their ability to actually achieve these purported objectives (Beatley & Manning, 1997; Southworth, 2003). For instance, several studies show findings contrary to the claim that New Urbanist developments—and form-based codes as a New Urbanist tool—have benefits in transportation and walkability, promote social cohesion and equity, and fight sprawl (Shibley, 1998; Skaburskis, 2006; Southworth, 2003). Berke (2002) questions the efficacy of New Urbanist principles with regard to environmental protection, social equity, and economic development. Others criticize New Urbanism for its inability to effectively address the decline of civic life (Inniss, 2007; Marcuse, 2000). It is also argued that the charrette process used in the development of form-based codes may further contribute to social inequality

by alienating those already disadvantaged (Inniss, 2007). Additionally, many scholars and practitioners are concerned that conflicts with existing policies and law that may arise because of the adoption and implementation of form-based codes (Clark, 2009; Garvin & Jourdan, 2008; Hall, 2006; Langdon, 2006; Rouse & Zobl, 2004; Sitkowski, 2007).

Zoning and Form-Based Codes in Orange County, California

California legislature gives cities maximum control over zoning matters; most zoning ordinances are developed and administered by the local government to fit the context of their locality. Like the majority of municipalities across the country, cities in Orange County, California have adopted zoning laws to regulate development within its jurisdiction primarily following Euclidean zoning principles of land use segregation. Researchers find that conventional zoning laws and fragmented governmental units have contributed to development patterns of sprawl in Southern California (Brookings Institution, 2001). With a continuously growing population in the county, cities are faced with pressures to accommodate this growth while preserving and enhancing the quality of life for its current residents. Many are considering form-based codes as part of zoning reform to course-correct conventional development patterns.

An increasing number of cities have adopted form-based codes, many of them in Southern California (Governor's Office of Planning and Research, 2010). Garde (2014) surveyed cities in the five-county Southern California region and found 21 cities have adopted form-based codes to regulate development in certain areas of each city. One, the city of Azusa, has adopted a citywide form-based code. In addition, two cities were considering form-based regulations and nine cities had considered form-based regulations but decided not to adopt them. Orange County had six cities with adopted form-based codes; two had adopted as form-based codes as part of Specific Plans, two had adopted them as part of the city's zoning code for a specific area in the

city, and two had adopted as them as regulations for overlay zones. Most of these form-based codes are adopted for specific areas of the city, particularly areas primed for infill and redevelopment such as downtowns, historic areas, transit centers, and corridors (Garde, 2014). Many of these form-based codes were adopted with the purpose of producing built environments that will achieve important planning and design objectives such as environmental sustainability, economic vitality, aesthetic sensibility, and overall livability.

The adoption of form-based codes in California is supported by state law. In 2004, California passed Assembly Bill (AB) 1268, which authorized local governments to adopt form-based regulations instead of conventional zoning and land-use regulations. Specifically, AB 1268 clarified and expanded on the scope of zoning ordinances to include provisions for community intentions regarding urban form and design. California's statewide efforts to address climate change, including the adoption of the Sustainable Communities and Climate Protection Act (SB 375) in 2008, also contributed to the adoption of form-based codes in California. SB 375 requires the state's metropolitan planning organizations (MPOs) to develop a "Sustainable Communities Strategy (SCS)" that will guide local governments in achieving sustainable development through an integrated approach to land use planning, housing, and transit. The Southern California Association of Government (SCAG), the MPO for the Southern California region, recommends in its SCS that local governments encourage walkable and compact developments near transit that include different housing types (SCAG, 2016). Several cities in Southern California have adopted form-based codes, in part, to implement SCAG's recommendations. However, not all cities are jettisoning conventional zoning in favor of form-based codes—some cities have amended existing zoning codes or adopted new conventional zoning regulations.

Chapter 3: Good City Form

The theory of good city form is a general normative theory that explains the form of the city in connection with human values. The theory was first presented in Kevin Lynch's seminal book *A Theory of Good City Form* in 1981 and republished as *Good City Form* in 1984. Since then, it has been and remains immensely influential in many areas of urban planning and design as scholars and practitioners continue to ask "what is good city form?" This chapter provides an overview of the theory of good city form and a detailed description of the five performance dimensions used as the analytical framework in this dissertation. It concludes with a review of the literature on plan and policy evaluations in urban planning and the strengths and limitations of the theory of good city form in assessing development regulations for their likely impact on the built environment.

The Theory of Good City Form

Kevin Lynch addresses the question "What makes a good city?" by connecting human values to the spatial, physical city. By viewing the physical environment as a culmination of values, he highlights the social aspect of the built environment which had previously been neglected in many urban theories. Lynch acknowledges the importance of decision theory (i.e., planning theory) and functional theory of cities but argues for a normative theory of city form that can address "how to know a good city when you see one" (Lynch, 1984).

Unlike other theories that attempt to deal with the form and function of the built environment, the theory of Good City Form does not propose a set of prescriptive formulas with which to design or evaluate the city. Rather, Lynch proposes using performance dimensions, which he defines as "certain identifiable characteristics of the performance of cities which are due primarily to their spatial qualities and which are measurable scales, along which different

groups will prefer to achieve different positions" (Lynch, 1984). He presents five performance dimensions—vitality, sense, fit, access, and control—which can be used to examine the goodness of a city. The performance dimensions have certain characteristics that allow them to be applicable to different sites, different cultures, and different forms at different scales: 1) they explicitly address the spatial form of the city, 2) they are general and at the same level of generality, 3) they can be connected to important cultural goals and values, 4) they are measurable and identifiable through available data, 5) they are independent of one another, and 6) they deal with qualities that change over time yet can be valued in the present.

Lynch also adds two meta-criteria applicable to all five performance dimensions—efficiency and justice. Efficiency is the cost of achieving the performance dimension, and justice is how the benefits and costs of each performance dimension get distributed. Lynch defines justice as the criterion which "balances the gains among persons" and efficiency as the criterion that "balances the gains among different values (Lynch, 1984)." In sum, Lynch states,

> [Good city form] is vital (sustenant, safe, and consonant); it is sensible (identifiable, structure, congruent, transparent, legible, unfolding, and significant); it is well fitted (a close match of form and behavior which is stable, manipulable, and resilient); it is accessible (diverse, equitable, and locally manageable); and it is well controlled (congruent, certain, responsible, and intermittently loose). And all of these are achieved with justice and internal efficiency. (Lynch, 1984)

Below, I provide a detailed description of each performance dimension and the key features of each performance dimension, which I use as organizing concepts for data analysis described in Chapter 5.

Performance Dimensions of Good Urban Form

Lynch's performance *dimensions* are used instead of performance *standards* in order to analyze and make general statements about any city form and/or context. Performance dimensions have certain characteristics that make them universally applicable, as mentioned above, whereas performance standards may or may not fit the context of a certain environment. As an example, in assessing the adequacy of sidewalk widths to accommodate pedestrian traffic, a performance standard may specify 20 feet in high traffic areas and 5 feet in other less traveled areas. Thus, the theory of good city form provides an instrumental as well as analytical framework by which the goodness of cities can be examined based on these five performance dimensions.

Vitality. Vitality is the degree to which the built environment supports people's health, good biological functions, and survival. Lynch presents three principal features of the physical environment that make it a vital place—sustenance, safety, and consonance. Healthy sustenance is the adequate supply of food, energy, water, air, and proper disposal of wastes. It is affected by population density, locational features of the environment, the effect of buildings and landscape on air and insulation, and conservation of space, soil, and vegetation. Safety addresses the absence or control of hazards, poisons, diseases, threats, and crime. Some safety concerns are air and water pollution, fire and flood prevention, earthquake resistance, and defense against attacks. Consonance is the fit between the spatial environment and the basic biological requirements of the human being and is related to human scale, physical activity, and microclimates. Examples of common regulations that address this concept of vitality include solar access to building sites, noise and light mitigation, stormwater drainage, and pedestrian-friendly design.

Sense. Lynch refers to the performance dimension of sense as "the join between the form of the environment and the human processes of perception and cognition" (Lynch, 1984). In other words, it is the degree to which the built environment can be clearly perceived, identified, and structured in time and space. It also addresses the congruent matching of place and function, the connection of built form to non-spatial concepts and values, and the conveyance of symbolic significance in the built environment. Lynch identifies five explicitly measurable aspects of sense—identity, structure, congruence, transparency, and legibility. Identity is related to the unique or particular character of a place, i.e., "a sense of place." Structure refers to how parts of a place fit together and a sense of orientation. Structure can be found in landmarks, historic preservation, panoramas, and other characteristic forms in a city. Congruence is the formal match between place and function. Transparency refers to how well the functions, activities, and processes of the city can be directly perceived by the senses. Legibility of the urban environment refers to the signage of a place, the ability to communicate via symbolic physical features, explicit and implicit. Signs for wayfinding are an example of an explicit form of legibility, whereas a gate implicitly signifies private membership to a community. Some other ways of achieving sense in city form are to clarify and create understandable street patterns, create streets and districts of strong visual identity, and conserve or enhance existing urban character.

Fit. The performance dimension of fit is the degree to which the built environment matches the customary or desirable activity of its users. It looks at the stability, resiliency, and manipulability of the built environment as it fits the behaviors and needs of its current and future users while acknowledging that users may adapt to fit the characteristics of a given place. Lynch emphasizes the importance of understanding that fit is dependent on culture, in other words on the "expectations, norms, and customary ways of doing things" (Lynch, 1984). Elements of fit

include adequacy, program, stability, and adaptability. Adequacy is discussed in both quantitative and qualitative terms, such as the sufficiency of open space as well as how well the space is used. Program refers to the match between spatial form and the set of desired behaviors for the place. The stability of the built environment is important to fit because it reinforces customary behaviors and reduces uncertainty and conflict of expected actions in the setting. Adaptability can be addressed in terms of manipulability and reversibility or resilience. Manipulability is the extent to which a place can change it is current use or form and whether that ability to change can be maintained in the near future. Resilience is the ability to undo changes and revert to a previous state. Some ways of providing adaptability are to provide excess capacity, improve access, reduce the interferences between parts, use modules and standardized parts, and use easily manipulated materials, tools and building technologies.

Access. The performance dimension of access is the ability to reach other persons, activities, resources, services, information, or places. Three important subdimensions of access are diversity, equity, and control. Lynch states that access should be provided to a moderate diversity "of people, of food, of jobs, of entertainment, of physical settings, of schools, of books" (Lynch, 1984, p. 191). Equity refers to access for different groups of the population, for instance physical access for persons in wheelchairs and access to housing for low-income households. Control of the level of access, such as the ability to limit access to local streets or neighborhoods, is considered important for political and economic reasons. Lynch notes that access is not only important to studies of the economy of the city but also to understanding the social system and analyzing the psychological impact of the city. Some examples of ways to improve access are by increasing road capacity, changing the mode of travel, reducing trip distance, and minimizing the

number of trips. Another important consideration is "subjective values," or what people want access to, in order to provide meaningful access.

Control. The performance dimension of control is the degree to which the spaces and activities are controlled by those who use, work, or reside in them. This includes use, access, creation, repair, modification, and management of the built environment and occurring activities. Three subdimensions of control are congruence, responsibility, and certainty. Congruence of use and control is the extent to which the actual users control the space relative to their stake in it. Lynch adds that congruence should also account for future and potential users. Responsibility balances congruence in that the "those who control a place should have the motives, information, and power to do it well, a commitment to the place and to the needs of other persons, a willingness to accept failure and to correct it" (Lynch, 1984). Certainty in control reduces conflict and ambiguity by providing an understandable and predictable control system so that people may feel secure about spatial rights, ownership and transferal. Control can be achieved by a number of physical means, such as marking boundaries with hedges and fences and monitoring space and manipulating access with walls, gates, and dead-end roads and symbolic controls such as low hedges, elevation changes, and painted lines.

Utilizing the Theory of Good City Form in Assessing Development Regulations

The main strengths of the five performance dimensions are that they are universal measures, applicable to different sites, cultures, and forms at different scales and they provide a normative description of how a city should be (Lynch, 1984). Numerous scholars and theorists have written on the characteristics of a good city with regard to its built form (Alexander et al, 1977; Bacon 1974; Barnett, 2003; Carmona, 2010; Jacobs, 1961; Katz, 1994; Sitte, 1965). However, they primarily present a descriptive rather than normative explanation of the physical

environment, and measurable qualities are limited. Some scholars have developed methods to evaluate city form but only include measures for certain spatial characteristics or specific urban environments thereby limiting the applicability and usefulness as a comprehensive assessment tool (Talen, 2005a; Oliveira, 2013; Oliveira & Pinho, 2010).

Lynch's use of the five performance dimensions to assess physical settings is premised on methods of observations and interviews. To evaluate development regulations—specifically, form-based codes in this dissertation—I developed operationally defined measures of each performance dimension by first identifying its key organizing concepts, or principles, and then identifying how these principles might be manifested in the form-based codes, which I call identifiers. Lynch provides detailed descriptions and examples of the performance dimensions and their qualities, which provided the basis for developing the thematic codes for analysis. The principles and identifiers for each performance dimension are described in detail in the data analysis section of Chapter Five. In brief, principles of vitality include health, safety, stability, and consonance; principles of sense are identity, event, order, structure, congruence, transparency, and legibility; principles for fit include adequacy, program, stability, and adaptability; principles for access are accessibility, diversity equity, and control; principles of control include congruence, responsibility, certainty, and physical means. Some of the principles of good city form align well with important planning objectives, such as walkability, community character, mixed use, diverse housing, and transit use. Nonetheless, the extent to which form-based codes can effectively achieve these objectives remains unexamined.

The evaluation of development regulations is not yet a widespread area of study in the field of urban planning and design. Laurian et al (2010) define evaluation in planning as the "systematic assessment of plans, planning processes, and outcomes compared with explicit

standards or indicators." Review of the literature in plan evaluation reveals that scholars have primarily focused on plan quality (Baer, 1997; Berke & Conroy, 2000), plan implementation (Brody & Highfield, 2005; Laurian et al, 2004), and plan evaluation methodology (Baer, 2007; Berke & Godschalk, 2009; Lichfield, 1970; Lyle & Stevens, 2014; Norton, 2008; Oliveira & Pinho, 2009; Talen, 1996). In addition, the substantive focus of plan evaluations has mainly examined sustainability and the environmental aspects of plans (Berke & Conroy, 2000; Berke et al, 2007; Brody & Highfield, 2005; Laurian et al, 2004). Following this trend in sustainable planning, scholars have recently evaluated zoning ordinances for the incorporation of sustainability and smart growth principles (Garde & Kim, 2017; Garde, Kim & Tsai, 2015; Jepson & Haines, 2014; Talen & Knaap, 2003).

This dissertation begins to fill this gap in scholarship in two ways; 1) by empirically examining the development regulations that implement plans, specifically form-based codes, and 2) by focusing on the physical form of the built environment and its implications for the quality of future development. In addition, I consider the political economy of the planning process of form-based codes, using the theory of the city as a growth machine which is discussed in the next chapter, thus adding another dimension to the field of research in urban design and plan evaluation.

Chapter 4: The City as A Growth Machine

The theory of the city as a growth machine is an urban political economy theory that explains city governance in terms of commodification of place and political power. It was first developed by Harvey Molotch in 1976 and later revised in collaboration with John Logan in 1987.[1] The growth machine theory has received many criticisms yet remains central to the study of urban politics and sociology, particularly in the contemporary urban context of the United States. This chapter provides an overview of the urban growth machine thesis, explains key concepts of the thesis used in this dissertation, and reviews relevant literature in the field of urban planning and political science. This chapter also discusses the applicability and implications of the growth machine theory to the study of form-based codes adoption.

The Theory of the City as a Growth Machine

Urban political economy theories provide explanations of the role of capital in government politics and policy making (Harvey, 1978; Molotch, 1976; Scott, 1980; Walker, 1981). Of such theories, the theory of the city as a growth machine (Logan & Molotch, 2007; Molotch, 1976) is an influential thesis that critically conceptualizes the process of urbanization by connecting community power and urban place with economic and social values. Central to this thesis is the argument that urban growth is the primary concern of political processes, not simply one among many equally important issues. Moreover, it asserts that elitist coalitions are formed in the collective interest of growth. Thus, urban growth is "the political and economic essence of virtually any given locality, in the present American context" (Molotch, 1976).

[1] Logan and Molotch's book *Urban Fortunes: The Political Economy of Place* was first published in 1987 and updated in 2007. All references in this dissertation are to the 2007 publication.

Molotch (1976) defines the meaning of "growth" to generally include a series of associated events that result in a constantly rising urban-area population. The pattern of growth generally comprises "an initial expansion of basic industries followed by an expanded labor force, a rising scale of retail and wholesale commerce, more far-flung and increasingly intensive land development, higher population density, and increased levels of financial activity" (Molotch, 1976). The growth machine theory particularly emphasizes the centrality of land development in the urban growth process.

Land is conceived as a market commodity that holds different types of values for its stakeholders in the urban growth machine framework. Drawing from Marxian economic theory, Logan and Molotch (2007) employ the terms use value and exchange value to describe land, not only as a place of personal and social activities but as an object that delivers financial gains. Residents are primarily concerned with use values, which link place to individuals' non-economic needs, desires, and feelings of attachment, and a sense of community (Farahani, 2017; Harvey, 2006). Land owners, developers, and other "place entrepreneurs" place greater focus on exchange value, and thus work to increase the monetary return from land.

The growth machine thesis is based on the fundamental conflict between those who strive to increase the exchange value of property and those who wish to maintain or enhance its use value. Moreover, it argues that land-based elites form coalitions, sometimes contrary to pluralistic interests, and actively work to encourage urban growth by intervening in "the wider sphere of decision-making, regulation, and investment outside of their direct control yet affecting their holdings" (Rodgers, 2009). Those who seek use value, on the other hand, typically do not have the time and resources to participate in, much less influence, local politics. This imbalance of power results in a "double disadvantage" (Logan & Molotch, 2007) for local residents as they

not only have unequal say in local decision-making, but they pay the price for the plans and developments of the place entrepreneurs (Logan & Molotch, 2007; Smith & Floyd, 2013; Nijman, 1997). In short, Logan and Molotch (2007) assert that the motives and actions of these growth coalitions shape the form of the city in a way that compromises use value and results in growth that does not benefit the public interest. In this way, the urban growth machine theory is particularly relevant to the political processes by which land-use policies and regulations are decided. According to the theory, coalitions of land-based elites, or place entrepreneurs, influence local decision-making processes in their collective interest for urban growth (Logan & Molotch, 2007).

An important aspect of the growth machine's mechanisms is the propagation of urban growth as value-free development in order to gain broader community support. In other words, the exchange value benefits for a few are de-emphasized and instead urban growth is promoted as an inherent collective good for the public (Farahani, 2017; Logan & Molotch, 2007; Rodgers, 2009). As such, place entrepreneurs view land use regulations as an endangerment to "both society at large and the specific localities favored as production sites" (Logan & Molotch, 2007). Because greater economic growth is believed to benefit the whole community, city governments are inclined to attract investors that will supposedly bring jobs, expand the tax base, and pay for city services (Peterson, 1981).

While some scholars support the view of economic growth as a benefit to all, Logan and Molotch (2007) argue that "local economic growth does not necessarily promote the public good." Moreover, with the help of local government "the legal creation and regulation of places have been primarily under the domination of those searching, albeit sometimes in the face of use value counter demands, for exchange value gains." Ultimately, Logan and Molotch (2007)

conclude that "the evidence on fiscal health and economic or social problems indicate clearly that the assumptions of value-free development are false" and that the "use values of a majority are sacrificed for the exchange gains of the few."

Molotch (1976) notes that the growth machine has historically worked openly and explicitly to procure preconditions for growth, such as railroads, ports, and infrastructure. Today, however, the modern urban growth machine works in more subtle ways to increase land values. For instance, cities work to create a good business climate in order to attract local investment in retail, industry, and development which in turn will have an effect on property values in the targeted area (Logan & Molotch, 2007; Molotch, 1976). Given this shift in strategic approach to facilitating growth, policy decision-making processes have become more important than ever as the arena of the growth machine.

Members of the Growth Coalition

The main participants in the growth coalition are local business people, particularly those in real-estate-related industries (Spaulding, 1951; Mumford, 1961; Walton, 1970). These individuals generally have the most to gain or lose in land-use decisions, and thus participate actively in local affairs (Logan & Molotch, 2007; Molotch, 1976). Land-based elites are typically affiliated and work closely with three other major players—local politicians, local media, and independent public or quasi-public agencies (Logan & Molotch, 2007; Molotch, 1976).

Business people who make money from land need local government in their daily "money-making routines," especially when they attempt to change the conditions that structure the real estate market. Scholars have found that local growth elite's continuous involvement in local politics and interactions with public officials gives them systemic power (Alford & Friedland, 1975; Stone, 1981, 1982). They play a major part in electing city officials through

private campaign financing, monitoring government activities, and influencing local decision-making processes. Thus, a key role of elected and appointed officials at times is that of "ambassador," promoting the business-friendly environment of their city to potential investors and industries (Molotch, 1976). Place entrepreneurs may also participate directly in city governance. Molotch (1976) argues that a high level of participation of businessmen in city leadership groups indicates the exercise of power on behalf of at least a portion of the elite. However, he does not assume that this portion of the elites is necessarily always united with others of high status on the concrete issues of local land use and the uses of local government (Molotch, 1976). For instance, some politicians prefer a conservative growth strategy that generally follows a free economy political model, while other, more liberal officials support long-term growth through overt government planning and programs (Swanstrom, 1985).

The local media and public or quasi-public agencies, such as utilities, often adopt a neutral, statesmanlike position rather than as an advocate for a certain type or distribution of growth (Logan & Molotch, 2007). Their general interest in urban growth stems from a direct concern with increasing their services to more users. Media sources, such as newspapers, television, and radio stations, want to expand their membership and utility agencies, such as water and transportation agencies, want to extend their services to broader areas. Logan and Molotch (2007) state that newspapers play a special role in the growth machine due to their ability, in part, to sell growth to the public. However, they caution that,

> Although newspapers may openly support "good planning principles" of a certain sort, the acceptable form of "good planning" does not often extend to limiting growth or authentic conservation in a newspaper's home ground. "Good planning principles" can easily represent the opposite goals. (Logan & Molotch, 2007)

In addition to the major players discussed above, cultural institutions are identified as auxiliary players that have less of a stake in the growth machine outcomes but nevertheless have a role in promoting and maintaining the economic growth of the city. These cultural institutions include universities, museums, theaters, expositions, and professional sports teams. The growth coalition also enlists the help of labor union leaders; retailers; self-employed professionals, such as doctors and lawyers; and corporate capitalists as the need arises.

Examining Form-Based Code Adoption for the Growth Machine

The growth machine thesis presents an important theoretical framework describing the key driving forces that influence urban development. It provides a lens with which to examine decision-making processes for the influence of specific actors and organizations, their motivation for involvement in local governance process, and their methods of influencing development policies and regulations. In some ways, the urban growth machine theory has commonalities with elite theory and urban regime theory in that they highlight powerful actors and organizations influencing government processes in a way to benefit from the outcome of the process (Hunter, 1953; Mills, 1959; Stone & Sanders, 1987; Stone, 1989, 1993).

Specifically, Hunter (1953) finds in his study of local power structure that a small group of elites holds most of the political power in the city and use their influence to affect local policy processes. Unlike the growth machine theory, however, he asserts that different members of the power elite champion different policy initiatives and that growth is one of several policy issues albeit a major one (Hunter, 1953). Stone (1989, 1993) introduced regime theory as an explanation of the power of growth-oriented elites in urban policy making, much like the urban growth machine theory, but emphasized the role of local government in creating collaborative coalitions, or regimes, with one or more private parties to achieve its main policy agenda such as

economic growth, sustainable development, or other urban development issue. In short, the premise of the theory of the city as a growth machine is similar to that of elitist and regime theories of urban politics but sets itself apart by identifying growth as the common motivation and goal of key players, land-based elites, and that they mobilize around this common goal to form growth coalitions (Logan & Molotch, 2007; Rodgers, 2009).

A number of studies examined the influence of the growth machine in the process of the adoption of early conventional zoning codes (Liebmann, 1990; Weiss, 1986, 1988). These studies revealed pecuniary motives behind powerful coalitions that contributed to discriminatory zoning and land development practices with adverse impacts on the overall quality of the built environment. In light of increasing adoption of form-based codes, it can be asked whether land-based interests also see the potential to profit from new land development regulations, i.e. form-based codes, in ways similar to the growth coalitions in the past, and what the potential effects may be. Thus, the growth machine theory serves as a useful theoretical framework to provide insights on the key players and their interest in the adoption of form-based codes and how it might contribute to achieving good city form.

The growth machine theory also provides a critical reflection on the practice of urban planning and new movements in planning and design. Logan and Molotch (2007) also caution against smart growth and New Urbanism, stating that "it could just be the same old growth machine but with a decorative skin." Indeed, Logan and Molotch (2007) assert that "planning, virtually from its inception in the United State, has primarily been at the service of the growth machine" and that "the overall thrust of urban programs has been to bolster development and rents, and rarely to enhance use values." With regard to regulatory frameworks, zoning in particular, they note that,

> Although much of the rationale for modern zoning has been couched in use value language—for example, zoning is the defense of "collective rights"—from its inception in the United States, zoning has served as a tool for safeguarding and increasing rents. (Logan & Molotch, 2007).

In a way, the urban growth machine theory undermines the integrity of the planning process and questions the effectiveness of planning policies and regulations in producing a good city. Moreover, the growth machine thesis dismisses the significance of good design of the built environment noting only its value as a market commodity. By empirically examining the planning process of form-based codes, this dissertation also re-examines the implications of the urban growth machine for urban planning and design.

Chapter 5: Research Design and Methodology

Development regulations have a direct impact on the physical form of the built environment as they dictate how lands can be physically developed. Accordingly, regulations with greater integration of principles of good city form will be more effective in contributing to a good city form when implemented. However, powerful players in the planning process may influence the contents, and consequently the outcomes, of the regulatory codes to achieve their goals for economic gain. Thus, the purpose of this dissertation is to examine form-based codes for their effectiveness in contributing to a good city form while considering growth machine dynamics in the planning process of the form-based codes.

To evaluate the extent to which the growth machine influences the integration of good city form principles in form-based codes, I use mixed methods to examine multiple case studies focusing on the following main research questions:

1. What is the extent to which form-based codes integrate principles of good city form?
2. Is there evidence of the growth machine in the planning process of form-based codes?

Research Design

I use a multiple case study design to explore the planning process of form-based codes and the product of this process, the adopted code, for the theoretical issues discussed in the previous chapters. According to Creswell (2013), the case study method "explores a real-life, contemporary bounded system (a case) or multiple bounded systems (cases) over time, through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information… and reports a case description and case themes." Specifically, a multiple case study focuses on understanding the dynamics of two or more observations of the same phenomenon, thus allowing replication by treating cases as separate instances of the focal phenomenon (Lewis-Beck, Bryman, & Liao,

2004). In this approach, the examination of similarities and differences within and between cases yields deeper insight into the phenomenon of study (Baxter & Jack, 2008; Creswell, 1998, 2002; Stake, 1995, 2013; Yin, 2014). Moreover, evidence from several empirical findings is considered strong and reliable and creates a more convincing theory (Baxter & Jack, 2008; Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007).

Qualitative data in this study include semi-structured interviews with individuals involved in the planning process of the form-based codes, and archival documents such as the code documents and meeting minutes. I rely on content analysis of the qualitative data to find evidence of the growth machine in the planning process of form-based codes. Content analysis is a systematic approach of coding and categorizing text to discern trends and patterns, frequency of words used, their relationships, and the discourses and structures of communication (Pope et al., 2006; Gbrich, 2007). The purpose of content analysis is to explain phenomena by examining who says what, to whom, and with what effect in the content of the document (Bloor & Wood, 2006).

Scholars have provided detailed methods for the use of content analysis in plan evaluation (Baer, 2007; Berke & Godschalk, 2009; Lichfield, 1970; Lyle & Stevens, 2014; Norton, 2008; Oliveira & Pinho, 2009; Talen, 1996). Some researchers have used content analysis to evaluate zoning ordinances (Garde & Kim, 2017; Garde, Kim & Tsai, 2015; Jepson & Haines, 2014; Talen & Knaap, 2003). I analyze the regulations in the form-based code documents for the extent to which they reflect a growth agenda and for their integration of principles of good city form. Data are analyzed and interpreted at the case level as well as across cases in order to highlight meaningful similarities, differences, and project-specific experiences.

Case Selection

This research focuses on four form-based codes in cities in Orange County, California. I applied purposeful sampling techniques and selected the cases on certain characteristics; 1) it must unambiguously be a form-based code, 2) it must be legally adopted into ordinance, and 3) it must be mandatory regulations for a specific area.

First, I identified all form-based codes adopted in a city in Orange County.[2] I limited the selection to cities within the same county to control for other, extraneous factors at different government levels and to ensure that municipal powers and local government structure were roughly the same for all cases.

Second, I confirmed that the code was clearly and unambiguously identified as a form-based code in the text of the planning document. This is because some code documents include form-based elements but are not considered 'official' form-based codes.

Third, I chose only the form-based codes adopted as the authoritative mechanism regulating development in the area defined by the code. This means that the form-based codes were adopted as the required development standards for the applicable project area, not as form-based guidelines or optional overlay zone regulations.

Ultimately, four form-based codes were selected as case studies for this dissertation. The selection of cases reflects the variety of ways form-based codes are adopted into local ordinance, in terms of regulatory approach and spatial focus. Table 1 presents the list of cities and their respective form-based code.

Table 1 Form-based codes selected for study

[2] As of September 2012, when I completed a preliminary survey of form-based code adopted in cities in Southern California. It should be noted that at the time of case selection, there was no more than one adopted form-based code for each city. However, several cities have since adopted additional form-based codes for other areas in their jurisdiction.

Form-Based Code	City	Start Date	Adoption Date
Fullerton Transportation Center Specific Plan	Fullerton	February 2005	November 2010
Beach & Edinger Corridors Specific Plan	Huntington Beach	May 2006	March 2010
Historic Town Center Code	San Juan Capistrano	October 2009	April 2012
Transit Zoning Code	Santa Ana	October 2005	June 2010

The form-based codes adopted in the City of Fullerton and the City of Huntington Beach are the regulatory standards in a Specific Plan. A Specific Plan typically includes important contextual information such as the history and process of the project, its purpose and goals, and administrative and implementation procedures as well as development regulations and guidelines. In California, a Specific Plan is often used to guide development for a specific project area and is adopted by jurisdictions as local ordinance, thus carrying the same authority and enforceability as local zoning codes. Therefore, in these two cases, the entire contents of the Specific Plan are analyzed in this study. The form-based code for the City of Santa Ana was adopted specifically to regulate development in and around the Santa Ana Transit Center. It is a modification and addition to the city's zoning code and, thus, considered in its entirety for analysis. The form-based code adopted in the City of San Juan Capistrano was adopted in conjunction with a Master Plan to guide the development of the city's historic town core. The Master Plan is intended to provide overarching policy direction for the project area, and the code is intended to implement the Master Plan. Although the Master Plan does provide important contextual information, it is not considered local ordinance—only the code has the authority and enforceability of law. Therefore, analysis of the planning process includes data on the Historic Town Center Master Plan but only the Historic Town Center Code is analyzed for the extent to which the regulations reflect a growth agenda and principles of good city form.

Data Collection

The data for this dissertation consists of interviews and archival documents. Data collection began in January 2012 and concluded in October 2017. The lengthy data collection period is primarily due to difficulties obtaining interviews with key individuals involved in the planning process of the form-based codes. Obtaining archived documents also required multiple requests and visits to the city clerk's offices. Detailed discussion of the data obtained for this study is provided below.

Interviews. I conducted semi-structured interviews from January 2016 to October 2017 to gather primary data on the form-based code planning process. Interviewees were purposively sampled from project documents, such as meeting minutes and comment letters. They included elected and appointed officials, city staff including urban planners and designers, and stakeholders such as residents, business owners, and developers. I first sent out interview requests to key individuals for their potential to provide insightful information for this study based on their professional expertise in planning and design, experience with planning projects, and familiarity with the form-based code. I then broadened the request to all identified individuals in the documents that I could obtain contact information for and followed up with additional requests.

A total of 88 interview request letters were sent via email and post. Additionally, one individual declined to interview but forwarded the request to an email listserv of approximately 150 members. The response rate to the interview requests was quite low despite multiple efforts to gain access. Ultimately, I obtained interviews with principal planners for three of the form-based codes, one business owner, and three residents. presents the list of interviewees.

Table 2 List of interviewees

Case Study	Role	Interview Date
Fullerton Transportation Center Specific Plan	Senior Planner	January 2016
	Resident	January 2016
Beach and Edinger Corridors Specific Plan	Principal Planner	November 2016
Historic Town Center Code	Principal Planner	November 2016
	Business Owner/Chamber of Commerce	October 2017
Transit Zoning Code	Resident	October 2017
	Resident/Current Planning Commissioner	October 2017

Semi-structured interviews were conducted using an interview guide with open-ended questions to collect information on the interviewee, the planning process, and the form-based code. Interviewee data primarily consisted of information on the interviewees' involvement in the project and experience in planning projects and/or with the relevant jurisdiction. Data on the planning process focused on the initiation of the form-based code project, active participants guiding the process, participants in support or opposition of the project, and main topics of discussion. Information on the form-based codes focused on the expectations of the adopted code, stakeholder's issues addressed in the code, and the successful or unsuccessful aspects of the code. Interviews were audio-recorded with permission and digitally transcribed for analysis. The interview guide and letters of request for interviews are included in Appendix A.

Archival Documents. Secondary data comprise public documents from on-line sources or the archives of the local jurisdiction. They include the form-based code (including Specific Plans), relevant sections of the municipal zoning code, environmental impact reports, project meeting records, correspondences, news articles, and blog posts.

I obtained the version of the form-based code at the time of its adoption to align the planning process dynamics to the adopted product without introducing extraneous factors.[3] I also collected the conventional zoning code regulations applicable to the same area as the form-based code. These include regulations for the previously applicable zoning designations as identified in the environmental impact report of each form-based code as well as general regulations for all zones such as regulations for landscaping, utilities, parking, signs, etc.

Project meeting records include documentation of city meetings and required public hearings, as well as any workshop, charrette, or event conducted for the form-based code project. City meeting agendas, minutes, staff reports, correspondences, and public comment letters were collected for meetings of the city council, planning commission, and any other branch of the local government involved in the planning process of the form-based codes, such as a design review board. Workshop and charrette documentation include presentations, handouts, and summary reports. The project meeting records, news articles, and interview transcripts were used to find evidence of the growth machine in the planning process of the form-based codes. For consistency between cases, I determined the start date of the planning process to begin on the date when city council approved the hiring of a consultant or developer to begin work on the form-based code project.

Data Analysis

I used Atlas.ti (version 7.1.8), a computer-assisted qualitative software program, as my primary tool for managing and coding data. I analyzed the primary and secondary data to address the following research questions: 1) what is the extent to which the form-based codes integrate

[3] Several of the form-based codes have been amended since their adoption.

principles of good city form, and 2) is there evidence of the growth machine in the planning process of the form-based codes? I discuss each analytical approach in detail below.

Evaluating Form-Based Codes for Good City Form. I evaluated the contents of the adopted form-based codes and the conventional zoning regulations it replaced for the extent to which they promote principles of good city form, drawing from Lynch's five performance dimensions—vitality, sense, fit, access, and control. I developed a code evaluation protocol using the analytical framework described below and a 5-point scale to evaluate the form-based and conventional zoning regulations for the extent to which they reflect principles of good city form. I describe the coding approach in detail below.

Both the form-based and conventional zoning regulations apply to a certain "zone," e.g. residential, commercial, town center. For consistency, I use zones as the organizing spatial tool in the form-based and conventional zoning regulations for this analysis. For the form-based regulations, I subsumed overlay zones, street-based regulations, and other special requirements into the applicable base area designation. As an example, the Fullerton Transportation Center Specific Plan has three designations in its land use plan—Mixed Use, Mixed Use/Multifamily Residential, and Multifamily Residential. However, allowed uses and development standards are regulated by building type. Therefore, I identified the applicable land use area designation for each building type and coded the regulations accordingly—e.g. regulations for building type A were assigned codes for zones Mixed-Use and Mixed-Use/Multifamily Residential. Regulations generally applicable to all zones were coded as "All Zones." A full description of the spatial organization of zones for each case study is in Appendix B. Table 3 shows the zones in the form-based and conventional zoning regulations analyzed for each case study.

Table 3 Applicable zones of the form-based and conventional zoning regulations analyzed in this study

Case Study	Form-Based Regulations	Conventional Zoning Regulations
Fullerton Transportation Center Specific Plan	Multi-Family Residential (MFR), Mixed Use (MU), Mixed Use/Multi-Family Residential (MU/MFR)	General Commercial (G-C), Central Business District Commercial (C-3), Manufacturing General (M-G), Public Land (P-L), and applicable general regulations for All Zones*
Beach and Edinger Corridors Specific Plan	Neighborhood Boulevard (NB), Neighborhood Center (NC), Neighborhood Parkway (NP), Residential Parkway (RP), Residential Transition (RT), Town Center Boulevard (TCB), Town Center Core (TCC), Town Center Neighborhood (TCN)	Commercial General (CG), Commercial Office (CO), Industrial General (IG), Industrial Limited (IL), Residential Low Density (RL), Residential Medium Density (RM), Residential Medium High Density (RMH), Specific Plans (SP) (includes SP-2 and applicable portions of SP-3), and applicable general regulations for All Zones
San Juan Capistrano Historic Town Center Code	Town Center (TC), Town Center Edge (TCE)	Tourist Commercial (TC), General Commercial (GC), Public and Institutional (P&I), General Open Space (GOS), Community Park (CP), Specific Plan/Precise Plan (SP/PP), and applicable general regulations for All Zones
Santa Ana Transit Zoning Code	Corridor (CDR), Downtown (DT), Transit Village (TV), Urban Center (UC), Urban Neighborhood 1 (UN-1), Urban Neighborhood 2 (UN-2)	General Commercial (C2), Arterial Commercial (C5), Light Industrial (M1), Heavy Industrial (M2), Professional (P), Two-Family Residence (R2), Multiple-Family Residence (R3), Specific Developments (includes SD No.19, SD No.30, SD No.37, SD No.47, and SD No.71), and applicable general regulations for All Zones

*General Commercial (G-C) was previously referred to as C-2.

It should be noted that the Transit Zoning Code includes zoning designations for Industrial Overlay (I-OZ), Government Center (GC) and Open Space (O) which were not analyzed in this dissertation. The I-OZ applies to areas previously zoned for Light Industrial (M1) and Heavy Industrial (M2), and occupied with an industrial use at the time of the adoption of the Transit Zoning Code. It allows the industrial property owner the option to use the applicable base zoning district regulations in the Transit Zoning Code or existing industrial use regulations in the Santa Ana Municipal Code to develop their property. The GC and O zones, which are identified in the regulating plan of the Transit Zoning Code, were not included in the analysis for comparison because they are subject to the requirements of the Santa Ana Municipal Code, not the Transit Zoning Code. Additionally, the conventional zoning regulations for the Fullerton Transportation Center Specific Plan area included the Restaurant Overlay District (ROD), which was not analyzed because it includes only operational standards, and the Community Improvement District (CID) Overlay, which is no longer available in the city's municipal zoning code.

To develop operational measures of the five performance dimensions, I first characterized each performance dimension in terms of its key organizing concepts, or principles. I then identified how these principles might be manifest or addressed in the development regulations, i.e. identifiers. For instance, the performance dimension of vitality includes the principle of sustenance and health as important to good city form. This principle can be found in regulations that address food supply, infrastructure such as drainage, sewage, water, waste disposal, energy and air, the effect of buildings and landscapes on insulation and air movement, and the conservation and adaptation of space, soil, and plants. Table 4 provides the list of principles and identifiers for each performance dimension.

Table 4 Principles and identifiers of Lynch's five performance dimensions

Performance Dimension	Principles	Identifiers
Vitality	Sustenance/Health	- Supply of food - Infrastructure (drainage, sewage, water, waste disposal) - Energy and air - Effect of buildings/landscapes on insulation/air movement - Space, soil, plant conservation/adaptation
	Safety	- Prohibition of toxic uses, hazards, poisons, disease - Air, water pollution - Policing, defenses against violent attack - Earthquake resistance - Exposure to sunlight - Traffic safety
	Consonance/Stability	- Climate/microclimate - Environmental elements fitted to human size/powers - Encourages active use of body - Noise, light pollution - Present/future effect on other species, environment, plants
Sense	Identity/Event	- Sense of place - Familiarity, local ownership - Districts with strong visual identity - Sense of occasion - Community celebrations
	Structure	- How parts fit together - Sense of orientation (time/space) - Recognition of characteristic form or activity - Landmarks, path/edge, continuities - Visible/audible landmarks at strategic points/times - Sequential linkages, directional relations - Historic preservation/conservation - Conserve or enhance existing urban character
	Congruence	- Formal match between place and function
	Transparency	- Ability to perceive the operation of the various functions, activities, includes signs that are explicit (flags, billboards, etc.) and implicit (fences, gates, etc.)
	Legibility/Order	- Symbolic significance - Creating understandable street patterns - Creating identity of streets

Performance Dimension	Principles	Identifiers
Fit	Competence	- Productive efficiency - Comfort, satisfaction, flexibility, functional design
	Adequacy	- Behavioral fit in terms of quantity and/or quality
	Program	- The desired behaviors and spatial qualities appropriate to them, rather than a statement of quantities of space by type
	Stability	- Match between form, function, and expectation of user
	Adaptability	- Ability to be manipulated and/or reversed; Resilience - Can be achieved by providing excess capacity, use of modules, and reducing the interference between parts so that a change to any one part will not force change on another
Access	Accessibility	- Access to buildings and units, open space, services and utilities, parking and transit - Fire and emergency access - Street frontage - Vehicular circulation and street connectivity - Bike and pedestrian connectivity - Access compliant with the American Disabilities Act (ADA)
	Diversity	- Access to multiple modes of transportation, multiple destinations, a variety of services and amenities
	Equity	- Affordable housing - Access for different groups of the population, - Access to certain areas
	Control	- Secured access - Private access
Control	Congruence	- The extent to which the actual users of a space control it, in proportion to the degree or permanence of their stake in it
	Responsibility	- Who has the motives, information, and power to control a place well.
	Certainty	- Degree to which people understand the control system, can predict its scope, and feel secure with it
	Physical Means	- Means by which control may be allocated and secured - Can be achieved by marking of boundaries—hedges, fences, signs, landmarks, monitoring—defensible space, manipulating access—walls and barriers, dead-end roads, gates, and symbols—low hedges, painted lines, elevation

I developed a 5-point scale to assess the regulatory strength of the regulations and account for the variation in level of command. Regulations that are "required" contained key words such as *shall*, *must*, or *require*. These were given a score of four (4). Regulations that are "recommended" contained key words such as *should*, *encourage*, or *will*. These were given a score of three (3). Regulations that are "allowed" contained key words such as *may*, *allow*, *permit*, or *could*. These were given a score of two (2). Regulations that are "intended" contained key words such as *intend*, *aim*, or *envision*. These were given a score of one (1). A zero (0) score indicates no presence of any good city form principle.

I coded the form-based and conventional zoning regulations for the three pieces of information describe above: 1) the designated zone, i.e., All Zones or a specific zone, such as Zone TC (Town Center), 2) the good city form principle as addressed by the identifier, and 3) the score for the regulatory strength of the regulation. I refer to all normative statements as regulations and recognize that not all such statements may actually be development regulations. For instance, in the Transit Zoning Code, the statement "each zone is aimed at generating or maintaining a distinct character through the allocation of appropriate building and frontage types and the placement of those types on parcels" (City of Santa Ana, 2010) is not a development regulation per se but is considered a "regulation" for purposes of this study because it indicates a certain level of directive. The coding process was iterative and conducted until the coding method was refined to ensure maximum level of reliability. Table 5 presents examples of how the evaluation method was applied to the form-based codes.

Table 5 Examples of the analytical coding approach

Regulation example	Applicable good city form principle	Assigned score and rationale
"Common open space areas shall include features that encourage people to gather and socialize. Such features include, but are not limited to playgrounds, outdoor dining areas, seating areas, spas, and barbeque facilities." (City of Fullerton, 2010)	Program in the performance dimension of fit	*Score of 4.* The regulation is a mandatory requirement, as indicated by the word *shall*, and specifies certain spatial qualities to achieve desired behaviors (Lynch, 1984).
"Bollards should be installed at the entrances of large commercial or civic buildings to prevent a vehicle from crashing through the front doors of the building." (City of Huntington Beach, 2010)	Safety in the performance dimension of vitality	*Score of 3.* The regulation is recommended, as indicated by the word *should,* and addresses defensible space created by the use of physical elements (Lynch, 1984).
"Low walls (24 inches to 36 inches in height) may be used to divide space, create a variety in landscaping and to define site edges." (City of San Juan Capistrano, 2012)	Physical means in the performance dimension of control	*Score of 2.* The regulation is a permitted standard, as indicated by the word *may*, that specifies the use of physical barriers to mark the boundaries of a space by which control can be allocated and secured (Lynch, 1984).
"The standards of this zone are intended to reinforce the form and character represented by pre-World War II buildings and recognized as a National Historic District, through restoration, rehabilitation, and context-sensitive infill." (City of Santa Ana, 2010)	Structure in the performance dimension of sense	*Score of 1.* The regulation is an intended standard, as indicated by the word *intended*, and addresses form and existing urban character through historic preservation and conservation (Lynch, 1984).
		Score of 0. No good city form principle was addressed or has any relevance in the regulations.

Results are reported as raw frequencies (*F*) and score means (*M*) for each of the good city principles reflected in the form-based and conventional zoning regulations. Raw frequency scores indicate the sum of instances that principle was identified in the data. Mean scores indicate the average of all scores received by the principle. Higher frequencies and mean scores indicate a greater extent to which the regulations promote a particular good city form principle. I also calculated the average of means for principles reflected in the regulations applicable to all zones and specific zones (M_A) and the average of means for principles reflected in the regulations applicable to specific zones only (M_S). The mean scores are primarily used to interpret the results based on thresholds to infer the strength of these scores, as presented in Table 6.

Table 6 Mean score thresholds and interpretation

Score Threshold		Interpretation of Threshold
	$M \geq 2.75$	The good city form principle is strongly addressed in the regulations
	$1.25 < M < 2.75$	The good city form principle is moderately addressed in the regulations
	$M \leq 1.25$	The good city form principle is weakly addressed in the regulations

Finding Evidence of the Growth Machine. I examined the data for evidence of the growth machine in two ways. First, I conducted thematic analysis of the data to identify key players that actively worked to influence the adoption process and content of form-based codes. I obtained information on their professional background and association with the project and analyzed their stated position of support or opposition and the topics they were concerned with. Per the growth machine framework, I looked specifically for business owners, property owners, and developers who actively advocated for issues that would be profitable to them. Such issues included, for instance, reduced parking requirements, streamlined development approval processes, and a successful retail environment. I also kept track of individuals and organizations

opposing the project and their issues and concerns. Moreover, I looked for evidence that these key players actually mobilized to form coalitions in support or opposition to growth-related items in the planning process of the form-based codes.

In addition, I looked at the representation of business interests in city leadership as an indicator of the growth machine per Logan and Molotch (2007). According to Logan and Molotch (2007), land-based elites that constitute the growth coalitions driving the growth machine tend to manipulate planning and/or development regulations by inserting themselves into local government. These individuals recognize that many government decisions can have an effect on land values and growth potentialities and thus attempt to influence it from city leadership positions. Molotch (1976) argues that a high level of participation by businessmen in city leadership groups indicates the exercise of power on behalf of at least a portion of the elite. Numerous studies show that the growth coalition is highly represented in local city councils, planning commission, and other decision-making bodies as well as local chamber of commerce committees and commissions (Logan & Molotch, 1987).

I use the socioeconomic composition and diversity of the main decision-making body, the city council, as an indicator for identifying the presence of the growth machine. To develop a measure for the extent of representation in city council, I obtained certain information for their members: profession/professional background, affiliated or endorsed organization(s), and years served. This information was collected from project documents, member's resumes, and online profiles, to the extent available. In addition, through content analysis of document data, I traced the actions of the council members, especially their position of support or opposition to the project, the issues they were concerned with, the topics they brought to the table, and any potential conflicts of interest. I also maintained record of the actions and positions of members of

pertinent commissions and committees within local government that played an active role in the planning process of the form-based codes. The use of multiple sources of data allowed for the triangulation of findings to ensure reliability of data and results.

Limitations of the Study

This study also has methodological limitations that should be considered in interpreting the results. This research used two theoretical frameworks to explore the process and product of form-based code adoption. While the findings provide multidimensional views of the subject being studied, the results should not be construed to indicate correlation or causality. In addition, this dissertation used a multiple case study design for its ability to offer insights and gain a deeper understanding of the planning process of form-based codes and evaluation of the form-based code. The use of a case study design is common in applied fields of study, such as the evaluation of policies and programs, as it can provide a rich account and holistic understanding of the phenomenon being studied. However, the research method of this dissertation has limitations similar to those of any case-study method that relies on qualitative evaluation of data, including the problems of variability in coding and generalizability of findings (Yin, 2014). Hodkinson and Hodkinson (2001) note that analysis and reporting of findings may be difficult due to the large amount of data collected in case study research. However, Campbell (1975) provides that the robustness of a case study can be enhanced by using a multiple-case design and replicating the case through pattern-matching to link the results to a theoretical framework.

Chapter 6: Findings from the case study of the Fullerton Transportation Center Specific Plan

The Fullerton Transportation Center Specific Plan provides a development plan and regulating code for 39 acres in the downtown Fullerton area. The Specific Plan area is within and adjacent to the Central Business District and includes the city's transit center, a major transportation hub in Orange County consisting of the Orange County Transportation Authority (OCTA) Bus Transfer Terminal and the Santa Fe Train Depot. The Burlington Northern & Santa Fe (BNSF) Railroad bisects the Specific Plan area traversing east to west. It is bordered to the north and west by Commonwealth Avenue and Harbor Boulevard, two main arterials in the city of Fullerton. The Specific Plan area includes a wide range of land uses including seven designated historic structures and the Fullerton Fire Department headquarters and station. The area consists mostly of single story structures and has an abundance of surface parking. The Specific Plan area is entirely surrounded by development, consisting of commercial, residential, retail, office space, manufacturing, and industrial uses.



Figure 1 Map of Fullerton Transportation Center Specific Plan area

The Fullerton Transportation Center Specific Plan established maximum allowable development for the area and assumed two build out scenarios—a high office/low residential scenario and a low office/high residential scenario. The high office/low residential scenario allows for 108,134 square feet of office use and 1,650 dwelling units and the low office/high residential scenario allows for 57,134 square feet of office use and 1,697 dwelling units. Both scenarios also include 138,440 square feet of retail, 120 hotel rooms, and 40,220 square feet of gathering space. The two scenarios are intended to give property owners and developers flexibility to develop properties with a mix of retail, office, residential, live-work and hotel uses based on future market demand. The majority of the properties within the Specific Plan area is expected to be redeveloped with mixed-use and multi-family residential development projects.

Contextual Background: The City of Fullerton and the Urban Development Context of the Fullerton Transportation Center

The City of Fullerton covers 22.4 square miles in northern Orange County. It is the sixth most populous city in the county with a total population of 142,234 (State of California, Department of Finance, 2017). Between 2000 and 2016, the city had a population growth rate of 13.1 percent, which was greater than that of Orange County (Southern California Association of Governments, 2017). The ethnic composition of the city's population has recently shifted to a Hispanic majority from a non-Hispanic White population and the non-Hispanic Asian population continues to grow in the city as well (SCAG, 2017). Fullerton has a median household income of $69,813 and approximately a third of the city's population earn $100,000 or more (SCAG, 2017). The city has 48,725 housing units at an average density of 2,175.2 units per square mile (CADOF, 2017). The city's housing stock is relatively affordable in comparison to the county overall with a median home sales price of $555,000 in 2016 (SCAG, 2017).

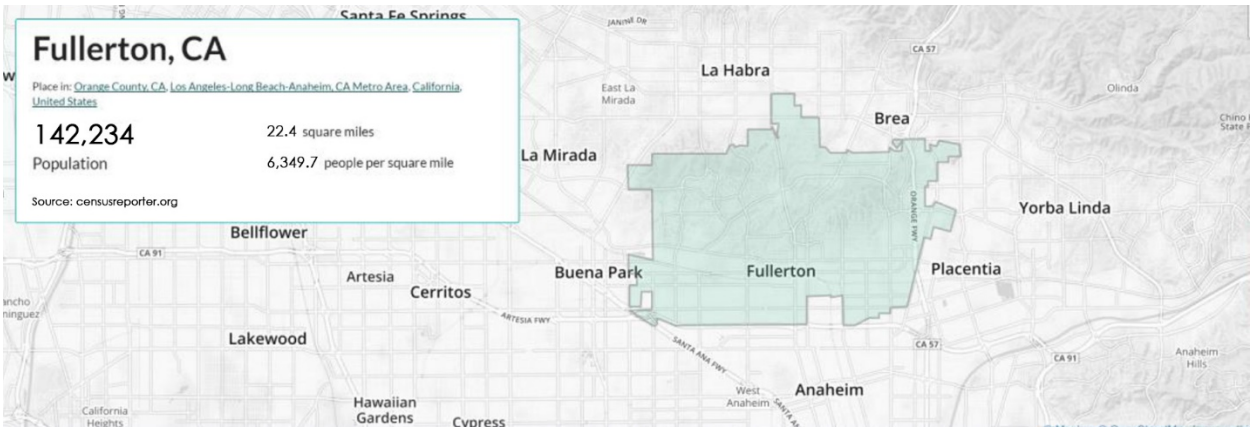


Figure 2 Locational map of Fullerton

The city is largely built out with only five percent of its land standing vacant (City of Fullerton, 2012). The majority of the land is designated for residential use and primarily consists of single family residential homes. Higher density multifamily uses can be found in clusters near California State University, Fullerton, the downtown area, the Fullerton Municipal Airport area, and along some parts of the Riverside Freeway (SR-91) and Santa Ana Freeway (I-5). The city identifies twelve focus areas in its General Plan within which to concentrate future community-based planning efforts. The Fullerton Transportation Center Specific Plan area is located within the Transportation Center Focus Area which is projected to build out at 1,562 residential units (not including additional units that may be constructed per California Density Bonus Law) and 783,402 square feet of non-residential use by the year 2030 (City of Fullerton, 2012).

To date, however, there has been little development activity under the adopted Specific Plan aside from a parking structure for the train depot. Outside of the Specific Plan area, a large public parking structure was completed in 2012 and provides access to the train station via a pedestrian bridge across Harbor Boulevard. Several mixed-use developments have recently been built in the proximity of the transportation center, such as the Malden Station apartments and Ventana affordable senior apartments.

Overview of the Planning Process of the Fullerton Transportation Center Specific Plan

Planning efforts for the Fullerton Transportation Center Specific Plan began in early 2005 with direction from City Council, acting as the Redevelopment Agency at the time, to update the 1995 Transportation Center Study. A host committee, comprising representatives from various City commissions and committees and the City Council, was formed to assist in the planning process of the Fullerton Transportation Center Specific Plan. At a planning commission meeting, the Redevelopment Project Manager discussed developments in the area over the last 10 years, and the need to review the growth and the physical limits of downtown (City of Fullerton, 2005). He added that the focus of the update will be to define study area boundaries, consider new areas for study, review the vision and land use recommendations, and discuss urban design techniques for new development to minimize impacts on existing residences and businesses (City of Fullerton, 2005). In addition, significant outreach would be conducted with about 1,200 invitations sent out to residents and business owners, and posters would be placed throughout the downtown (City of Fullerton, 2005). Throughout the course of the year, four community workshops were held to gain input from the community on the visioning for the downtown and transportation center area.

Following the workshops, the city distributed a request for qualifications (RFQ) in search of a developer to partner with the city/agency to plan and develop the Fullerton Transportation Center area. When questioned by a planning commissioner on using a RFQ process instead of a request for proposals (RFP), the project manager responded that the RFQ process is more desirable in selecting a developer partner for parcel-level planning and development of a mixed-use project at the Transportation Center because it is a formless, open setting, and the end result is reached together in a public setting of workshops (City of Fullerton, 2005).

The city selected the team of JMI Realty, LLC and The Morgan Group, Inc. as the developer partner in February 2006 (City of Fullerton, 2006). JMI Realty and The Morgan Group were selected because they had experience developing the baseball stadium area in San Diego, Petco Park and the city wanted a similar 'sense of place' to be reflected in the Transportation Center Area (Personal communication, January 2016). Two planning workshops for the Fullerton Transportation Center were planned in late 2006 but took place as a public discussion due to a lack of quorum of the City of Fullerton Redevelopment Agency. Nonetheless, the participants discussed a variety of urban design concepts, such as street character, scale, retail experience, cultural and civic spaces, open space, and traffic, and developed several goals and objectives for the Specific Plan (Johnson Fain, 2007). These include the following:

- Goal 1: Develop a mixed-use project that respects the scale and character of Downtown Fullerton, and the existing historic buildings.
- Goal 2: Program retail uses that are neighborhood serving, family-oriented, and include a mix of national, regional, and independent retailers.
- Goal 3: As part of the mixed-use environment, incorporate cultural and civic spaces such as the Rail Experience (a railroad museum), outdoor performance areas, and a public plaza in the project.
- Goal 4: Program the outdoor public open spaces to accommodate the needs of various user groups, such as residents, commuters, visitors, and children.
- Goal 5: Include pedestrian and bike connections as key elements in the project.

Based on the feedback from the community workshops and additional input from city staff, OCTA, and local stakeholders a framework plan was developed that included three alternative design concepts for the Fullerton Transportation Center Specific Plan area. A

preferred alternative was selected at a third community workshop in March 2007 and the framework plan was completed. On June 25, 2007, the framework plan was presented to city council/redevelopment agency and the public. After discussion of the framework plan, city council directed staff and the developer team to proceed with preparation of the Specific Plan and accompanying environmental impact report (EIR) (City of Fullerton, 2007). They also requested a financial report including ranges of operating and capital costs, alternative financing plans, and a business plan for the proposed Southern California Railroad Experience (City of Fullerton, 2007).

The city contracted with RBF Consulting in 2009 to assist in the preparation of the Specific Plan. Interviews with property owners and stakeholders, additional community workshops, and a design charrette were conducted in winter and spring of that year to refine the framework plan. Additionally, city staff and the Specific Plan consultant delivered an informational presentation on form-based codes first to the planning commission and then to city council. Mr. Jones explained the advantages of form-based codes as being prescriptive and proactive, allowing for a mix of uses based on market demand, creating a higher level of certainty, allowing streamlined development review process, and implementing a specific vision for a neighborhood (City of Fullerton, 2009). He also noted the challenges to adopting form-based codes as new types of standards required internal and external training, amendments are more complicated and expensive, and preparation requires coordination with multiple disciplines (City of Fullerton, 2009).

In early 2010, other city committees and commissions, such as the Redevelopment Design Review Committee, Bicycle Users Subcommittee, and Parks and Recreation Commission, updated of the status of the Fullerton Transportation Center Specific Plan. The Bicycle Users

Subcommittee discussed the Specific Plan at length at its meeting on August 18, 2010. Discussion topics included concern for existing businesses in the center, proposed bike paths and facilities, funding for bike stations, and safe bike storage (City of Fullerton, 2010). The subcommittee unanimously voted to support the Specific Plan with three addendums: 1) an alternative bus terminal location be presented for further review, 2) provide 24-hour access over or under the train tracks for bicyclists between Lemon Street and Harbor Boulevard, and 3) establish criteria for in-lieu bike fee with a recommendation to encourage disbursement bicycle parking, rather than consolidated in one area (City of Fullerton, 2010). The Redevelopment Design Review Committee voted on the Specific Plan on August 26, 2010. The issues discussed at this meeting emphasized parking, such as the efficiency of shared parking, potential for underground parking, and the concern that on-site parking could affect the amount of buildable retail space, and the proposed project review process in the Specific Plan, in particular the hiring of a town architect and the reduced role of the Redevelopment Design Review Committee in project review processes (City of Fullerton, 2010). After much discussion, the committee unanimously voted to recommend approval of the project to the planning commission and city council (City of Fullerton, 2010). The Parks and Recreation Commission discussed the Fullerton Transportation Center Specific Plan at a meeting on September 13, 2010. The main topics of discussion were parking, in particular commuter and retail parking, the programming of paseos, LEED certification requirement, specification of parks, and preference for certain alternative concepts for proposed parks in the Specific Plan area (City of Fullerton, 2010). Also, at this meeting, a public speaker representing a group of residents living in the Specific Plan area spoke in concern about potential acquisition of homes for redevelopment (City of Fullerton, 2010). Commissioners and staff reassured her that the city would not be acquiring any properties in the

Specific Plan area (City of Fullerton, 2010). The Parks and Recreation Commission voted unanimously to recommend approval of the Fullerton Transportation Center Specific Plan to city council (City of Fullerton, 2010).

The Fullerton Transportation Center Specific Plan first came before planning commission on September 22, 2010. Planning commissioners were generally supportive of the draft Specific Plan. They discussed costs of hiring a town architect, LEED requirements, and several environmental mitigation measures for traffic (City of Fullerton, 2010). During public comments, several community members spoke with concern about the lack of efficiency in the transit station design, guarantee for preservation of historic and potentially historic buildings, and the lack of support for hotel use in the plan despite its potential for greater tax revenue benefits to the city (City of Fullerton, 2010). Additionally, a couple of residents complained about the lack of public notice and thus the reason why not more than ten community members were present at the meeting (City of Fullerton, 2010). In consideration of the speaker's comments and several requests from commissioners for more information and to re-notice the project to the public the planning commission voted to continue the item to a special meeting on October 6, 2010 (City of Fullerton, 2010). More community members did attend the meeting in October. Most of the public comments were similar to those expressed previously concerning historic preservation, transit service, bicycle facilities, and parking (City of Fullerton, 2010). The planning commission voted unanimously to recommend that city council approve the Specific Plan with certain recommendations, including removing the Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design (LEED) mandate, including the Redevelopment Design Review Committee in the project review process, and readjusting the boundaries of the central business district to exclude overlapping properties in the Specific Plan area (City of Fullerton, 2010).

City council considered the Fullerton Transportation Center Specific Plan on October 19, 2010. Several members of the public spoke in support of the Specific Plan, though more community members spoke in opposition to it ((City of Fullerton, 2010). In one instance, owners of a property requested to be removed from the Specific Plan area because they did not wish to change the land use per the Specific Plan and was approved by the city council (City of Fullerton, 2010). A councilmember, Quirk-Silva, motioned to continue the item to a study session for further discussion on building heights, fiscal impacts, and the bus terminal; however, it failed to pass (City of Fullerton, 2010). Ultimately, city council voted to adopt the Fullerton Transportation Center Specific Plan with councilmembers Bankhead, Keller, and Jones for and Quirk-Silva against the adoption (City of Fullerton, 2010).

Growth Machine Dynamics in the Planning Process of the Fullerton Transportation Center Specific Plan

In this section I present findings from analysis of the data on the planning process of the Fullerton Transportation Center Specific Plan for evidence of the growth machine. For the most part, records of city meetings do not reveal any organized force working to further growth and development in the Specific Plan area for personal economic gains. Rather, analysis reveals a balanced dialogue of needs and desires amongst city officials, advocacy groups, and members of the general public representing various interests in the city. I find that city officials were mindful of conducting an inclusive participatory process and attentive to the arguments of advocacy groups. However, I also found the presence of online activist groups in the City of Fullerton critical of the Specific Plan and local government. Their involvement in the Fullerton Transportation Center Specific Plan was minimal but merits discussion as it holds implications for urban development in Fullerton and, more broadly, planning in the digital era.

City Officials. In general, city councilmembers, planning commissioners, and members of various other city commissions and committees were supportive of the Fullerton Transportation Center Specific Plan. Although the city partnered with a developer to develop the Specific Plan, there is no strong evidence that special interests in land development influenced the planning and decision-making process. Rather, analysis reveals efforts to include various stakeholders not usually included in planning processes such as tenants and commuters and others that do not typically attend city meetings. For instance, at a Redevelopment Design Review Committee meeting, members asked for clarification if the property owners and tenants were noticed, or just the owners upon hearing that the city had sent out invitations to meet with the property owners (City of Fullerton, 2010). At a planning commission meeting, one of the commissioners suggested polling community residents buy in on the Specific Plan, including those not able to attend meetings (City of Fullerton, 2005).

This dissertation also looked at the background of city council members involved in the planning process of the Fullerton Transportation Center Specific Plan to see if there was high representation of business interests that may indicate the presence of the growth machine. For the most part, the council members did not have a business or development related background (see Table 7). An interviewee opines that developers and backers of campaigns have access to council on a regular basis but their influence is not evident in the data (Personal communication, January 2016). It is interesting to note that Councilmembers Bankhead and Jones have long held positions on city council. They were both voted out of office in the 2012 recall election that ushered in a new council majority that's younger, more ideological and more populist (Sewell, 2012). Councilmember Bankhead was previously recalled in 1994 but was re-elected to council later in the same year.

Table 7 Councilmember composition for the Fullerton Transportation Center Specific Plan

Councilmember	Years Served	Professional Background	Adoption Vote
Don Bankhead	1988-2012	Police Captain	Aye
F. Richard Jones	1996-2012	Colonel/Doctor	Aye
Leland Wilson	2002-2006	Real Estate/Small Business Owner	-
Shawn Nelson	2002-2016	Attorney	Recused
Sharon Quirk-Silva	2004-2012	Teacher	No
Pam Keller	2006-2010	Educator/ Executive Director of Fullerton Collaborative	Aye

Advocacy Groups. A couple of advocacy groups were involved in the planning process of the Fullerton Transportation Center Specific Plan such as Fullerton Heritage and Transit Advocates of Orange County. Fullerton Heritage is a non-profit public benefit corporation that works "to foster an appreciation of our city's cultural history and to ensure the preservation of our historic architectural resources and environments (Fullerton Heritage, n.d.)." In the Fullerton Transportation Center Specific Plan, members of Fullerton Heritage persistently advocated for guaranteed protection of the several historic structures in the Specific Plan area from future development. They claim credit for getting the council to reduce building height limits in the Specific Plan area. To quote, "at the urging of the Fullerton Heritage, the City Council reduced the heights to 2-3 stories along Commonwealth and between the depots… (Galvin, 2010)." In addition, they say that "at the request of city staff and Fullerton Heritage, the City Council reinstate the Redevelopment Design Review Committee as part of the review process in the Plan (Galvin, 2010)."

The Transit Advocates of Orange County were concerned with the design of the bus depot, which was planned for the ground floor of the parking structure, and accessibility for disabled persons. The city planner points out that the transit advocates were not comfortable with

the proposed concepts for the bus depot and referred to a dark and uninviting depot bus stop in another city as an example, "so there was a commitment made that [the bus depot in the parking structure] would be the nicest parking garage, bus depot that you could see (Personal communication, January 2016)." The city planner adds that this created challenges with the Orange County Transportation Authority because they were reluctant on the proposed concepts and did not want to fund the facility. He also adds though that,

> Because we're doing a form-based code, both a) it was good because it allowed us an opportunity to work through the physical dimensions of circulation but also b) it was challenging because we had to work through the physical dimensions of something that we didn't fully understand, not being bus facility designers. (Personal communication, January 2016)

Online Activists. Fullerton has quite a few local media sources both in-print and online. The media coverage on the Fullerton Transportation Center Specific Plan was found to be mostly informational with little bias for or against the project. However, online articles and blogs, such as those posted by Friends for Fullerton's Future and Friends for a Livable Fullerton, present a different picture pointing out concerns with certain components of the Specific Plan in a way that emphasizes the activists' issues. For instance, a Friends for Fullerton's Future post is titled *Fullerton Transit center: Amerige Court*[4] *on Steroids?* and goes on to say that the Specific Plan's "maximum buildout would be about 2 dozen (!) 3- to 9-story buildings (Kiger, 2010)." The post also states that "an unusual aspect of this plan is the large number of City-admitted significant environmental impacts the City Council will be called upon to "override" due to the project benefits outweighing the impacts" and that transit advocates had suggested a different

[4] Amerige Court is a six-story mixed-used development in downtown Fullerton. It was also a contested project by some members of the community for its massing and removal of free public parking on the development site.

design concept for the bus depot but "these plans were rejected in order to provide more land for development (Kiger, 2010)." The comments on the article also show a certain level of mistrust in local government. For instance, one commenter rhetorically asks "any more doubt that the Redevelopment Agency is looking out for itself instead of us? (Kiger, 2010)."

Promoting Good City Form in the Fullerton Transportation Center Specific Plan Area

In this section, I first compare the results of the analysis for good city form principles in the form-based and the previously applicable conventional zoning regulations for the Fullerton Transportation Center Specific Plan area. A summary comparison of the analysis results for the form-based and conventional zoning regulations are presented in Table 8. Next, I discuss in greater detail how each performance dimension is addressed in the form-based regulations of the Specific Plan as compared to the conventional zoning regulations it replaced. Results of the analysis of the form-based regulations and the conventional zoning regulations for the extent to which they integrate principles of good city form are presented in Tables 9 and 10, respectively. The results are presented in rank order of the average of means (M_A) of the performance dimensions, and subsequently for their principles, for the form-based regulations.

Overall, both the form-based and conventional zoning regulations show moderate integration of good city form principles but the form-based regulations' results are stronger than the conventional zoning regulations. The form-based regulations address all principles of the five performance dimensions, most to a moderate to strong extent. The conventional zoning regulations also address most of the principles from a moderate to strong extent but fail to integrate four of the good city form principles—legibility/order in sense, certainty in control, and adaptability and stability in fit.

The form-based regulations more strongly reflect the performance dimensions of sense, control, and fit as compared to the conventional zoning regulations. For the performance dimension of sense, congruence is the only principle that is reflected more strongly in the conventional zoning regulations as compared to the form-based regulations, primarily because it includes a longer list of permitted uses. The principle of transparency in sense is strongly integrated in both the form-based and conventional zoning regulations. In the form-based regulations, transparency is mainly addressed in the frontage regulations requiring a certain percentage of windows along the building façade. The conventional zoning regulations address transparency in standards for window coverage, such as signs, tints, and blinds. Legibility/order is addressed in the form-based regulations for street connectivity and distinct street character.

Vitality is the most strongly addressed performance dimension in the conventional zoning regulations, exceeding the extent to which all principles of vitality are reflected in the form-based regulations. In particular, the principle of health/sustenance is the most strongly addressed principle in the conventional zoning regulations out of all the principles. The form-based regulations still reflect the principles in vitality to a moderate extent. The performance dimension of access is similar overall in the form-based and conventional zoning regulations, however the conventional zoning regulations more strongly reflect three out of four of the principles in access as compared to the form-based regulations. The principle of control in access is the only principle that is more strongly integrated in the form-based regulations. Nonetheless, most of the principles in the performance dimension of control are addressed to a moderate degree in both the form-based and conventional zoning regulations.

Table 8 Summary comparison of results for good city form principles addressed in the Fullerton Transportation Center Specific Plan case study

Performance Dimensions & Principles	Form-Based Regulations		Conventional Zoning Regulations	
	M_A (SD)	M_S (SD)	M_A (SD)	M_S (SD)
Sense	**2.66 (0.06)**	**2.67 (0.07)**	**1.88 (0.83)**	**1.76 (0.91)**
S: Transparency	3.51 (0.34)	3.58 (0.37)	2.92 (1.67)	2.65 (1.80)
S: Structure	2.73 (0.15)	2.79 (0.13)	2.57 (1.45)	2.51 (1.67)
S: Legibility/Order	2.71 (0.31)	2.57 (0.19)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
S: Congruence	2.38 (0.24)	2.26 (0.07)	2.43 (0.70)	2.12 (0.13)
S: Identity/Event	1.96 (0.41)	2.14 (0.25)	1.50 (0.87)	1.50 (1.00)
Vitality	**2.51 (0.33)**	**2.35 (0.11)**	**3.12 (1.00)**	**3.05 (1.15)**
V: Safety	2.63 (0.45)	2.41 (0.06)	2.70 (1.56)	2.67 (1.80)
V: Health/Sustenance	2.55 (0.38)	2.44 (0.38)	3.65 (0.29)	3.69 (0.31)
V: Consonance/Stability	2.35 (0.44)	2.20 (0.40)	3.00 (1.69)	2.79 (1.87)
Control	**2.50 (0.38)**	**2.43 (0.43)**	**1.70 (1.19)**	**1.63 (1.36)**
C: Responsibility	3.74 (0.21)	3.66 (0.15)	2.40 (2.19)	2.00 (2.31)
C: Congruence	2.27 (0.62)	2.08 (0.59)	1.60 (2.19)	2.00 (2.31)
C: Physical Means	2.50 (1.00)	2.00 (0.00)	2.80 (1.64)	2.50 (1.73)
C: Certainty	1.50 (1.73)	2.00 (1.73)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Access	**2.43 (0.34)**	**2.36 (0.37)**	**2.43 (1.81)**	**2.79 (1.87)**
A: Control	3.71 (0.57)	3.62 (0.66)	2.16 (1.99)	2.70 (1.82)
A: Accessibility	2.28 (0.23)	2.23 (0.24)	3.16 (1.77)	2.95 (1.97)
A: Equity	2.01 (0.71)	2.00 (0.87)	2.27 (2.07)	2.83 (1.90)
A: Diversity	1.71 (0.49)	1.58 (0.52)	2.13 (1.97)	2.67 (1.81)
Fit	**1.78 (0.47)**	**1.55 (0.03)**	**0.96 (0.34)**	**0.93 (0.38)**
F: Adequacy	3.74 (0.15)	3.80 (0.11)	2.55 (1.46)	2.27 (1.52)
F: Adaptability	2.25 (0.32)	2.11 (0.19)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
F: Program	1.91 (0.21)	1.82 (0.09)	1.98 (0.18)	2.06 (0.05)
F: Competence	0.50 (1.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
F: Stability	0.50 (1.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
TOTAL AVERAGE	**2.38 (0.34)**	**2.27 (0.43)**	**2.02 (0.81)**	**2.03 (0.87)**

Notes: M_A = Average of Means for All Zones and Specific Zones; M_S = Average of Means for Specific Zones

Sense. All principles in the performance dimension of sense are addressed in the form-based regulations of the Fullerton Transportation Center Specific Plan. The conventional zoning regulations address all but the principle of legibility/order in sense. Of all the principles in sense, the principle of transparency is the most strongly incorporated in both the form-based and conventional zoning regulations, primarily through requirements for visibility of ground-floor facades. The overall score is weaker for the conventional zoning regulations, however, because the principle is not addressed in the regulations for Zone PL (Public Land). The principle of structure is addressed to a moderate extent in both the form-based and conventional zoning regulations, but again the conventional zoning regulations do not address this principle in the regulations for Zone PL Structure is addressed in both types of regulations for setback and building heights but the form-based regulations also reflect it in standards for how buildings relate to other buildings, streets, and open spaces. The principle of legibility/order is moderately incorporated in the form-based regulations through street improvements standards to improve circulation and amenities to create identity of streets in specific zones. The conventional zoning regulations do not address legibility/order in sense at all. Congruence in sense is moderately addressed in the form-based regulations. It is primarily reflected in the designation of uses in specific areas, such as the requirement for mixed-use buildings abutting parking structures to conceal views of the parking levels from the Transit Plaza and Santa Fe Avenue. Likewise, the conventional zoning regulations also integrate congruence in sense to a moderate extent. The principle is however integrated to a stronger extent in its regulations for all zones because it includes several mandatory requirements related to the placement and function of signs in specific places. The form-based regulations incorporate the principle of identity/event by recommending programs for proposed public open spaces such as the transit plaza and

neighborhood parks and encouraging the use of physical thematic elements that reflect the unique history and heritage of Fullerton. The conventional zoning regulations reflect identity/event through standards for special events in all zones except Zone PL.

Vitality. The principle of safety in vitality is integrated in both the form-based and conventional zoning regulations to a moderate extent. The form-based regulations reflect safety more in its general regulations for all zones than it does in the regulations for specific zones. The form-based regulations focus on traffic safety, adequate exposure to sunlight, and safety measures for bicycle facilities. The conventional zoning regulations reflect safety to a strong extent in all zones except Zone PL. The conventional zoning regulations address safety in regulations for hazardous and toxic materials, traffic safety, air pollution, and provision of shade. The principle of health is moderately addressed in the form-based regulations for stormwater drainage, water and energy efficiency, and active pedestrian environments. On the other hand, health is strongly reflected in the conventional zoning regulations, especially in general regulations for all zones regarding landscaping and irrigation. The principle of consonance/stability in vitality is generally moderately found in the form-based regulations for lighting, both for enhancing safety and minimizing light spillage and glare; pedestrian-friendly environments; and provision of shade to mitigate the effect of building heat and glare. It also sets goals of creating development that will contribute to a sustainable natural and built environment and, more specifically, requires new developments to have a "net-zero" impact on the city's existing water supply. The conventional zoning regulations reflect consonance/stability strongly in regulations for all zones and specific zones except Zone PL. This principle is mainly addressed in the requirements to reduce and mitigate excessive noise and lighting levels.

Control. The performance dimension of control is the least frequently addressed performance dimension in both the form-based and conventional zoning regulations. The form-based regulations incorporate the principle of responsibility quite strongly, mainly due to the requirement in each of the zones for the maintenance of landscaping by the property owner or the homeowners' association. The principle of congruence of control is reflected in the form-based regulations to a moderate extent, primarily by addressing the ownership and maintenance of parking for residential and office uses. The conventional zoning regulations address congruence in control in the requirement for site cleanup and maintenance by the owner or operator for businesses selling alcohol in the commercial zones only. The principle of physical means is integrated in the form-based regulations to a moderate extent overall. It is strongly reflected in regulations for all zones through a requirement that the design of benches and seating shall be "in a way that discourages inappropriate use by skateboarders and stunt bikers, and discourages people from sleeping on the bench (City of Fullerton, 2010)." Physical means are also incorporated in the form-based regulations for specific zones through standards that "allow the ground floor to be slightly elevated above the sidewalk to create a greater sense of privacy for interior uses (City of Fullerton, 2010)." The conventional zoning regulations integrate physical means in control to a moderate extent through requirements for walls bordering alcohol serving businesses and parking areas and along property lines in the MG (Manufacturing General) Zone adjacent to public and residential uses. The principle of certainty is reflected in the form-based regulations for marking bicycle routes as "sharrows" to remind motorists to share the road with bicyclists in the MU (Mixed Use) and MU/MFR (Mixed Use/Multi-Family Residential) Zones. Certainty in control is not addressed in the conventional zoning regulations.

Access. The principle of control is strongly, if not frequently, addressed in the form-based regulations. It is reflected in the requirement for all zones that "bicycle spaces for residents and employees shall be secure, enclosed spaces that are located in key-accessed areas that are easily accessible to residents and employees with bicycles (City of Fullerton, 2010)." In regulations for specific zones, control is required for private access to ground-floor units/tenants with public street frontage. The conventional zoning regulations integrate control in access in regulations for secured bicycle storage, secured storage of recyclable materials, and emergency access control in the commercial and industrial zones. The principle of accessibility is moderately incorporated in the form-based regulations through standards for fire access; vehicular circulation, including potential new street, pedestrian, and bicyclist mobility; and convenient parking to the transit center and retail shops. Accessibility is strongly reflected in the conventional zoning regulations generally applicable to all zones and specific zone regulations except Zone PL. It is generally integrated in requirements for access to parking, emergency access, and circulation. In the form-based regulations, the principle of equity in access is addressed not only in the regulations for affordable housing but in promotion of parking and public open space for a diverse group of users. The conventional zoning regulations reflect equity in access in its parking standards for a wide range of users such as handicapped persons, carpool/vanpool users, visitors, and bicyclists. Diversity in access is moderately reflected in the form-based regulations, primarily because they emphasize diverse access to various modes of transportation. Likewise, diversity in access is addressed in the conventional zoning regulations for access to alternative modes of transportation but it is only included in the regulations for commercial and industrial zones.

Fit. For the performance dimension of fit, the scores for the form-based regulations are weak overall because they integrate two of the principles to a weak extent in the general regulations for all zones only even though they strongly integrate the principle of adequacy in fit. Likewise, the conventional zoning regulations also strongly reflect adequacy in fit but do not address three of the five principles in the performance dimension of fit. Adequacy in fit is reflected in the minimum requirements for floor heights, open space, and parking standards in both types of regulations. The principle of adaptability is integrated in the form-based regulations to a moderate extent and is found in provisions for the allowed use of moveable amenities, exceptions to strict standards, and consideration of future alterations and modifications to buildings of significance. Adaptability in fit is not addressed at all in the conventional zoning regulations. In the form-based regulations, the principle of program in fit is primarily integrated in the allowed-use standards and the design standards for public spaces that are intended to encourage people to gather and socialize. The conventional zoning regulations reflect program in fit mainly in its permitted uses for specific zones. The principles of competence and stability are only addressed in the regulation generally applicable to all zones in the form-based regulations. Competence is addressed in the form-based regulations to give "property owners flexibility to develop properties with a mix of retail, office, residential, and live-work uses based on future market demand (City of Fullerton, 2010)." Stability in fit, which addresses how well the built environment is in accord with user expectations, is reflected in the intent of the form-based regulations to create a sustainable, urban neighborhood that is consistent with the direction of the city's general plan. The conventional zoning regulations do not address the principles of competence and stability in fit at all.

Table 9 Results for principles of good city form addressed in the form-based regulations in the Fullerton Transportation Center Specific Plan case study

Performance Dimensions & Principles	All Zones		Zone MFR		Zone MU		Zone MU/MFR		M_A	M_S
	F	*M*	*F*	*M*	*F*	*M*	*F*	*M*		
Sense	**141**	**2.62**	**64**	**2.70**	**167**	**2.72**	**101**	**2.59**	**2.66 (0.06)**	**2.67 (0.07)**
S: Transparency	7	3.29	6	4.00	11	3.45	7	3.29	3.51 (0.34)	3.58 (0.37)
S: Structure	62	2.56	30	2.93	67	2.69	43	2.74	2.73 (0.15)	2.79 (0.13)
S: Legibility/Order	9	3.11	8	2.38	17	2.76	14	2.57	2.71 (0.31)	2.57 (0.19)
S: Congruence	56	2.73	16	2.19	58	2.26	33	2.33	2.38 (0.24)	2.26 (0.07)
S: Identity/ Event	7	1.43	4	2.00	14	2.43	4	2.00	1.96 (0.41)	2.14 (0.25)
Vitality	**179**	**2.99**	**34**	**2.32**	**60**	**2.26**	**51**	**2.48**	**2.51 (0.33)**	**2.35 (0.11)**
V: Safety	36	3.31	14	2.43	26	2.35	22	2.45	2.63 (0.45)	2.41 (0.06)
V: Health	86	2.88	3	2.00	9	2.67	6	2.67	2.55 (0.38)	2.44 (0.38)
V: Consonance/ Stability	57	2.79	17	2.53	25	1.76	23	2.30	2.35 (0.44)	2.20 (0.40)
Control	**11**	**2.71**	**8**	**1.96**	**14**	**2.55**	**11**	**2.79**	**2.50 (0.38)**	**2.43 (0.43)**
C: Responsibility	3	4.00	2	3.50	5	3.80	3	3.67	3.74 (0.21)	3.66 (0.15)
C: Congruence	7	2.86	3	2.33	5	1.40	4	2.50	2.27 (0.62)	2.08 (0.59)
C: Physical Means	1	4.00	3	2.00	3	2.00	3	2.00	2.50 (1.00)	2.00 (0.00)
C: Certainty	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	3.00	1	3.00	1.50 (1.73)	2.00 (1.73)
Access	**76**	**2.65**	**30**	**1.99**	**63**	**2.35**	**62**	**2.73**	**2.43 (0.34)**	**2.36 (0.37)**
A: Control	3	4.00	1	4.00	7	2.86	2	4.00	3.71 (0.57)	3.62 (0.66)
A: Accessibility	29	2.45	22	1.95	36	2.31	45	2.42	2.28 (0.23)	2.23 (0.24)
A: Equity	19	2.05	1	1.00	4	2.50	2	2.50	2.01 (0.71)	2.00 (0.87)
A: Diversity	25	2.08	6	1.00	16	1.75	13	2.00	1.71 (0.49)	1.58 (0.52)
Fit	**82**	**2.49**	**37**	**1.52**	**94**	**1.54**	**58**	**1.57**	**1.78 (0.47)**	**1.55 (0.03)**
F: Adequacy	47	3.55	21	3.90	38	3.82	29	3.69	3.74 (0.15)	3.80 (0.11)
F: Adaptability	3	2.67	2	2.00	3	2.00	3	2.33	2.25 (0.32)	2.11 (0.19)
F: Program	24	2.21	14	1.71	53	1.89	26	1.85	1.91 (0.21)	1.82 (0.09)
F: Competence	4	2.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0.50 (1.00)	0.00 (0.00)
F: Stability	4	2.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0.50 (1.00)	0.00 (0.00)
TOTAL	**489**		**173**		**398**		**283**			

Notes: F = Frequency; M_A = Average of Means for All Zones and Specific Zones; M_S = Average of Means for Specific Zones; MFR = Multi-Family Residential; MU = Mixed Use; MU/MFR = Mixed Use/Multi-Family Residential

Table 10 Results for principles of good city form addressed in the conventional zoning regulations in the Fullerton Transportation Center Specific Plan case study

Performance Dimensions & Principles	All Zones		Zone C3		Zone GC		Zone MG		Zone PL		M_A	M_S
	F	*M*	*F*	*M*	*F*	*M*	*F*	*M*	*F*	*M*		
Sense	**25**	**2.40**	**125**	**2.18**	**130**	**2.18**	**141**	**2.27**	**11**	**0.40**	**1.88 (0.83)**	**1.76 (0.91**
S: Transparency	3	4.00	10	3.30	10	3.30	3	4.00	0	0.00	2.92 (1.67)	2.65 (1.80
S: Structure	11	2.82	40	3.35	41	3.37	22	3.32	0	0.00	2.57 (1.45)	2.51 (1.67
S: Legibility/Order	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00
S: Congruence	9	3.67	72	2.26	76	2.21	115	2.02	11	2.00	2.43 (0.70)	2.12 (0.13
S: Identity/ Event	2	1.50	3	2.00	3	2.00	1	2.00	0	0.00	1.50 (0.87)	1.50 (1.00
Vitality	**100**	**3.39**	**41**	**3.67**	**45**	**3.69**	**15**	**3.50**	**1**	**1.33**	**3.12 (1.00)**	**3.05 (1.15**
V: Safety	15	2.80	17	3.71	19	3.74	8	3.25	0	0.00	2.70 (1.56)	2.67 (1.80
V: Health	78	3.50	4	3.75	4	3.75	4	3.25	1	4.00	3.65 (0.29)	3.69 (0.31
V: Consonance/ Stability	7	3.86	20	3.55	22	3.59	3	4.00	0	0.00	3.00 (1.69)	2.79 (1.87
Control	**5**	**2.00**	**4**	**2.75**	**4**	**2.75**	**1**	**1.00**	**0**	**0.00**	**1.70 (1.19)**	**1.63 (1.36**
C: Responsibility	4	4.00	2	4.00	2	4.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	2.40 (2.19)	2.00 (2.31
C: Congruence	0	0.00	1	4.00	1	4.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1.60 (2.19)	2.00 (2.31
C: Physical Means	1	4.00	1	3.00	1	3.00	1	4.00	0	0.00	2.80 (1.64)	2.50 (1.73
C: Certainty	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00
Access	**4**	**1.00**	**34**	**3.58**	**34**	**3.58**	**16**	**4.00**	**0**	**0.00**	**2.43 (1.81)**	**2.79 (1.87**
A: Control	0	0.00	5	3.40	5	3.40	1	4.00	0	0.00	2.16 (1.99)	2.70 (1.82
A: Accessibility	4	4.00	20	3.90	20	3.90	10	4.00	0	0.00	3.16 (1.77)	2.95 (1.97
A: Equity	0	0.00	6	3.67	6	3.67	4	4.00	0	0.00	2.27 (2.07)	2.83 (1.90
A: Diversity	0	0.00	3	3.33	3	3.33	1	4.00	0	0.00	2.13 (1.97)	2.67 (1.81
Fit	**15**	**1.8707**	**206**	**1.31**	**215**	**1.05**	**181**	**0.97**	**11**	**0.40**	**0.96 (0.34)**	**0.93 (0.38**
F: Adequacy	12	3.67	131	3.11	133	3.13	78	2.82	0	0.00	2.55 (1.46)	2.27 (1.52
F: Adaptability	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00
F: Program	3	1.67	75	2.11	82	2.10	103	2.04	11	2.00	1.98 (0.18)	2.06 (0.05
F: Competence	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00
F: Stability	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00
TOTAL	**149**		**410**		**428**		**354**		**23**		**2.02 (0.81)**	**2.03 (0.87**

Notes: F = Frequency; M_A = Average of Means for All Zones and Specific Zones; M_S = Average of Means for Specific Zones; C3 = Central Business District Commercial; GC = General Commercial; MG = Manufacturing General; PL = Public Land

Summary and Discussion of Findings

Fullerton sought to accommodate future growth and stimulate economic activity by concentrating development in several focus areas throughout the city, one of which was the Fullerton Transportation Center. Within the vehicle of a Specific Plan, the city chose to regulate future development with a form-based codes for its flexibility to adapt to market changes and predictability in envisioning the built outcomes. A city planner, previously with the city at the time the Specific Plan was being developed, states that "the idea of doing a form-based code was really to help define the character of what was going to be proposed and make it clear to everybody what the end product would look like (Personal communication, January 2016)."

The city, acting as the redevelopment agency at the time, partnered with a developer team in the planning effort of the Fullerton Transportation Center Specific Plan. The partnership was intended to facilitate development of the area and "actually make something happen (Personal communication, January 2016)." In the partnership, the city would sell or give several city-owned parcels in the area to the developer in exchange for rights to transit parking that the developer would build.

Despite the partnership between the city and developer in the Specific Plan effort, findings from the analysis for the growth machine do not show strong evidence of land-based interests influencing the planning and decision-making process of the Fullerton Transportation Center Specific Plan. Examination of the professional background of city council members also did not show any indication that they may favor business and development interests. Instead, I find that city officials encouraged inclusive public participation and was attentive to the concerns of local advocacy groups for historic preservation and transit. Nonetheless, critics of certain elements of the Specific Plan remained skeptical that city leaders were working in the

community's best interest and used online forums to post opiniated articles of the Specific Plan and engage in colorful exchanges in the comments.

The findings of this research challenge the theory of the growth machine in a number of ways. It refutes the proposition that a small group of powerful land-based interests dominate the policy making process and instead shows the presence of an "attentive public" and the government working to represent multiple interests. I borrow the term "attentive public" from Sabatier & McLaughlin (1988) to describe individuals and groups that take an active interest in city politics and policy-making. They are generally lay people that seek to stay well-informed of the policy area but only infrequently seek to influence the policy-making process. In Fullerton, these people are what one interviewee refers to as "the usual suspects (Personal communication, January 2016)." Most of these individuals do not advocate for just one specific issue, nor do they become involved in all planning projects.

In the planning process of the Fullerton Transportation Center Specific Plan, the main areas of concern were general planning issues, such as higher density and intensity in development, preservation of historic structures, and optimal transit accessibility. In an interview with a stakeholder, she discusses how several members of the public were involved in multiple planning projects throughout the city for different reasons. For instance, open space preservation was the main issue with the West Coyote Hills Specific Plan, a residential development project, high density housing in the Downtown Core and Corridors Specific Plan, and the closure of street in the CollegeTown Specific Plan. Interestingly, the political challenges with the West Coyote Hills project led to the incorporation of standards for net zero water use in the Fullerton Transportation Center Specific Plan. A planner with the city notes that,

> "The Transportation Center Specific Plan includes within it a net zero water use, not really a form-based code concept but it was a political issue that was incorporated after considering what the cost of that would be. Any development that would occur within the Fullerton Transportation Center Specific Plan was intended to offset its water use by doing conservation outside the specific plan. So that was a political issue. It was also something we felt would be a good thing to do for the community and would set this specific plan, this development project, separate from other "green projects." This was intended to incorporate certain green characteristics. Probably one of the bigger challenges of how to get around the political aspect of going concurrent with West Coyote Hills but also creating a marketing environment for the developer of a high-quality housing." (Personal communication, January 2016).

Results from the analysis for good city form principles in the Fullerton Transportation Center Specific Plan show, for the most part, that the form-based regulations better incorporate the principles of good city form than the conventional zoning regulations it replaced. Thus, the form-based codes are an overall improvement over the previous conventional zoning regulations in promoting good city form. The form-based regulations address all principles of the five performance dimensions, most to a moderate to strong extent, and more strongly reflect the performance dimensions of sense, control, and fit as compared to the conventional zoning regulations. It also incorporates new standards that address several of the principles of good city form, including legibility/order in sense, certainty in control, and adaptability in fit.

The results show that the Fullerton Transportation Center Specific Plan capitalized on the features of form-based codes to effectively address the relationship between the public and private realm and to contribute positively to facilitating good city form. This is commented on in an interview where the city planner states that,

> "The other things that became really important was that with the typical Euclidean type of code, you're really doing private property only. You're not really planning for the streets, the parks, what have you. A big part of the Specific Plan was the central plaza. So how do you ensure that the central plaza that's built relates well to the buildings that surround it, face on it, and whether it was ultimately to be a public space or a private space with a public easement? Because there are a couple of open space areas planned that are like that. The idea was that a form-based code could regulate those spaces, could regulate street widths, circulation, and to do it in a way that correlated with private development was very important." (Personal communication, January 2016).

The findings of this analysis complement those of Garde (2017) that find the form-based regulations of the Fullerton Transportation Center Specific Plan integrate sustainability principles to a greater extent than the previously applicable conventional zoning regulations. Overall, the findings of this research indicate a healthy planning culture in the City of Fullerton that strives to achieve a balance between growth and preservation, is responsive to the needs and desires of the community at large and contributes to good city form.

Chapter 7: Findings from the case study of Beach and Edinger Corridors Specific Plan

The Beach and Edinger Corridors Specific Plan regulates land use and development along two primary commercial corridors, Beach Boulevard and Edinger Avenue, in the City of Huntington Beach. The Specific Plan area comprises approximately 459 acres along Beach Boulevard from the Coastal Zone boundary in the south to Edinger Avenue, and along Edinger Avenue from Beach Boulevard westward to Goldenwest Street.

Beach Boulevard provides north-south access from Interstate 405 to Pacific Coast Highway and downtown Huntington Beach. The Beach Boulevard area primarily consists of single-story "strip center" commercial uses and includes a high number of automobile dealerships. Larger clusters of neighborhood serving retail uses are located at most major intersections as well as several concentrations of office and medical-office uses. Some residential uses are located along Beach Boulevard south of Adams Avenue. Several large developments have been built in the Beach Boulevard corridor including Oceana, an affordable housing complex, Elan, a mixed-use development, and Beach &

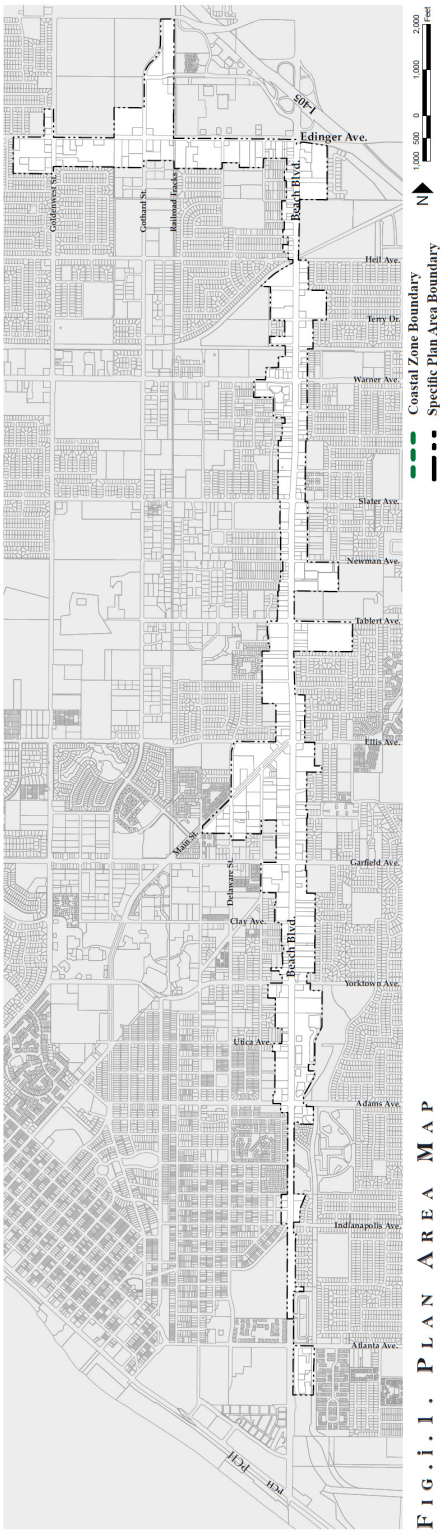


FIG. 1.1. PLAN AREA MAP

Figure 3 Map of Beach and Edinger Corridors Specific Plan area

Ocean, a multifamily apartment complex.

Edinger Avenue is a major east-west arterial in the City of Huntington Beach. The segment within the Specific Plan area is adjacent to Golden West College, Bella Terra shopping mall, and the Goldenwest Transportation Center. At the time of adoption of the Specific Plan in 2010, this area had several large, underutilized parcels. A number of high density developments have been constructed since then including the Village at Bella Terra, Boardwalk, and Avalon Huntington Beach, as well as a hotel, Springhill Suites by Marriott. Another multifamily development, Monogram Apartments, is expected to be complete in early 2018.

The Beach and Edinger Corridors Specific Plan established a maximum amount of net new development (MAND) for 4,500 dwelling units, 350 hotel rooms, and 850,400 square feet of retail and office uses in the Specific Plan area (City of Huntington Beach, 2010). The Specific Plan provides guidance for the amount of development allowed in each corridor but does not designate intensities or densities by parcel. The Environmental Impact Report for the Specific Plan estimated that residential development would be the only additional net growth in the Specific Plan area. Retail and office space is expected to decrease at buildout compared to existing conditions as redevelopment of most commercial properties would include demolition of existing structures (City of Huntington Beach, 2010).

Within a year of adoption of the Beach and Edinger Corridors Specific Plan more than 1,000 residential units and over 28,000 square feet of commercial development had been approved (City of Huntington Beach, 2011). As of 2015, approximately 1,900 residential units had been approved or built within the Specific Plan area, and an additional 1,193 were under review (Carpio, 2015). The rapid implementation of the Specific Plan, however, has not been

met favorably by city residents, especially those concerned with overpopulation, traffic congestion, and preservation of the California lifestyle and identity of the city.

Contextual Background: The City of Huntington Beach and the Development Context of the Beach and Edinger Corridors

Huntington Beach was founded in the late 1880s and incorporated as a charter city in 1909. Located along the Pacific coast, the city covers approximately 27.1 square miles of land and encircles the Bolsa Chica Wetlands conservation area. It is the fourth most populous city in Orange County with an estimated population of 197,574 (CADOF, 2017). However, the city's population growth rate was low at 2.9 percent between 2000 and 2016, in comparison to the average of Orange County's 11.8 percent growth rate (SCAG, 2017). The majority of the city's population is Non-Hispanic White although other ethnic populations continue to increase in the city (SCAG, 2017). The city's median household income is $83,771 and approximately 42 percent of households earn over $100,000 (SCAG, 2017). The median home value is $659,700, which is 25 percent higher than the amount in the Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, California Metro Area (U.S. Census Bureau, 2016). Huntington Beach is nicknamed "Surf City" for its sandy beaches, mild climate, and ideal ocean swell conditions for surfing.

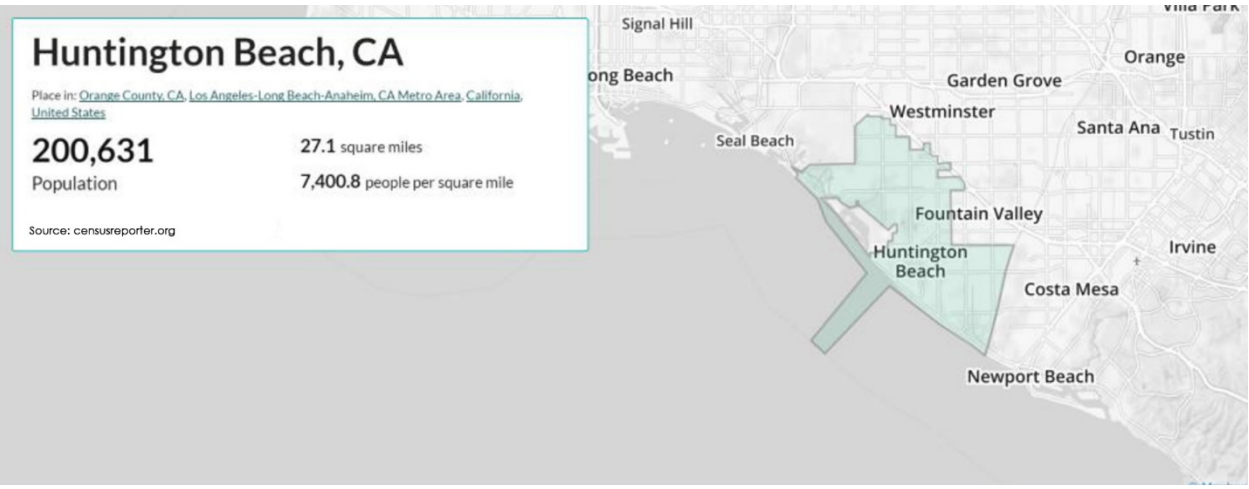


Figure 4 Locational map of Huntington Beach

The land in the city is mostly developed and predominantly single family residential (City of Huntington Beach, 2017; SCAG, 2017). The city saw a sharp rise in residential development between 2012 and 2014, largely due to increased multifamily housing production (SCAG, 2017). The majority of the residential units were constructed under the newly adopted Beach and Edinger Corridors Specific Plan and took advantage of the streamlined approval process. The sudden increase in high density development alarmed many of the city's residents not only because of its potential impacts to traffic, safety, and quality of life but also because it "threatens the existing aesthetic of Surf City" (Dixon, 2016). Opponents of these new developments claim that they negatively impact the city's unique lifestyle and identity as a beach town. Still others argue it is necessary to 'build-up' because the city is largely built out and will help boost economic development in the city.

In 2015, the city reconsidered the original Beach and Edinger Corridors Specific Plan and amended it in an effort to slow the rate of development along the two corridors. Part of the amendment was limiting residential development to 2,100 dwelling units. However, this change prompted a lawsuit against the city by the Kennedy Commission, a nonprofit affordable-housing advocacy group. The suit claims the city would be unable to meet state mandated affordable

housing requirements because by capping the allowed maximum dwelling units, the city reduced the number of affordable housing units planned in the Specific Plan area from 783 units for low- and very-low-income housing to 123 units. The trial court ruled in favor of the Kennedy Commission but ultimately, the city won in the appeals court based on its status as a charter city, which allows it greater autonomy in making and enforcing ordinances and resolutions. Nonetheless, the city proposed alternative plans to accommodate affordable housing in other areas of the city but was again met with opposition from the community.

Overview of the Planning Process of the Beach and Edinger Corridors Specific Plan

The Beach and Edinger Corridors Specific Plan was formally initiated in 2007. It evolved from the efforts of two separate projects—the Beach Boulevard Revitalization Study, which was led by the Planning department, and the Edinger Corridor Specific Plan (Specific Plan No. 14), headed by the Economic Development department. Talks of combining the planning efforts on Beach Boulevard and Edinger Corridor began in early 2006, with city council proposing "a project related to visioning of all corridors (City of Huntington Beach, 2006)."

The combined effort began in earnest after planning commission held a study session and public hearing for the adoption of the Edinger Corridor Specific Plan. Although the Specific Plan was near completion, planning commissioners and members of the public raised a number of concerns, primarily with regard to traffic impacts, building height limits, and lack of clarity on expectations from landowners and developers (City of Huntington Beach, 2006). As a result, planning commission unanimously voted to continue the project to a later date and requested that staff conduct two additional community workshops with property and business owners and one workshop with the planning commission before the next public hearing (City of Huntington Beach, 2006). In addition, commissioners requested that staff address several items before the

next meeting, including creating incentives for owners regarding floor-area ratios, more opportunities for mixed-use development, and discussions with Golden West College representatives regarding future development (City of Huntington Beach, 2006).

From the comments received at these workshops, city staff made the determination to discontinue the consulting services of EDAW for the Edinger Corridor Specific Plan and hire a new consultant to prepare both a revised Edinger Corridor Specific Plan and the Beach Boulevard Revitalization Study (City of Huntington Beach, 2006).[5] However, city council directed staff to create a Specific Plan for both corridors that not only addressed expanding development along the two corridors but explored "possibilities focused on sustainability and quality of life development" (City of Huntington Beach, 2006). Freedman, Tung and Bottomley, the original consultant on the Beach Boulevard Revitalization Study, was selected for this combined effort and began work in early 2007.

A series of six community workshops were held between May 2007 and February 2008 to receive community input on the Specific Plan. Approximately 4,000 property owners and tenants were notified of the workshops, and information on the project and public participation opportunities were posted on the city's website (City of Huntington Beach, 2008). The first community workshop discussed existing conditions and community aspirations for the Specific Plan area. Comments received from the first workshop included concerns on the identity of the city, the character and walkability of Beach Boulevard, and the potential for new development at Five Points, a retail mall on Beach Boulevard, as well as the need for increased residential density and the benefits of mixed-use development (City of Huntington Beach, 2007). The second and third community workshops presented revitalization concepts with development

[5] As well as a consultant to prepare an economic revitalization plan for the two corridors.

alternatives and trade-offs and discussed traffic concerns (City of Huntington Beach, 2007). The fourth workshop discussed near-term opportunities and the vision for Edinger Avenue (City of Huntington Beach, 2007). The fifth workshop provided planning and design specifications for future development, focusing on the character and identity of the two corridors (City of Huntington Beach, 2008). The final workshop provided a summary of the vision for the corridors and an implementation strategy (City of Huntington Beach, 2008).

In addition to the community workshops, city council held two study sessions and a joint study session with planning commission. At the first study session, Michael Freedman, the land use consultant, presented feedback received at the community workshops, and Tim Mulrenan, the marketing and economics consultant, presented preliminary market findings for Edinger Avenue (City of Huntington Beach, 2008). The proposed vision for the Beach and Edinger corridors and a revitalization strategy were presented at the second city council study session (City of Huntington Beach, 2008). The joint study session, held on October 20, 2008, was the first public review of the draft Specific Plan. Key issues discussed during the joint study session included density requirements and its impacts on the community, provision of parks, affordable housing quality, retention and expansion of auto dealerships, walkability, massing, and quality design of residential development to deter crime (City of Huntington Beach, 2008).

Prior to the joint study session with city council, planning commission held a separate workshop and conducted a field trip to key properties in the Specific Plan area, including the Newland Center (19640 Beach Boulevard), the intersection at Beach Boulevard and Ellis Street, the Five Points Shopping Center (18543 Main Street), the Marshall's Center (16672 Beach Boulevard), and the vacant Levitz Furniture site (7433 Edinger Avenue). Additionally, in 2009, the planning commission held eight study sessions to review and discuss the proposed Specific

Plan, and its environmental impact report (EIR), in detail. At the first study session, planning commissioners discussed protecting the sales tax base and businesses in the Beach and Edinger corridors and the redevelopment of several focus areas, which included Murdy Commons at the northeast corner of Edinger Avenue and Gothard Street, the intersection of Beach Boulevard and Ellis Avenue, and the intersection of Beach Boulevard and Warner (City of Huntington Beach, 2009). The second study session focused on the form-based development standards in the specific plan, including density, floor-area-ratio (FAR), building heights, sidewalk widths, and parking standards and configuration (City of Huntington Beach, 2009). Specific land uses, such as car dealerships, entertainment recreation, cemeteries, and public open space in multifamily developments were discussed at the third study session (City of Huntington Beach, 2009). The fourth study session primarily addressed street configuration, including streetscape elements, sidewalk widths, and changes to traffic lanes (City of Huntington Beach, 2009). Public comments at this study session raised concerns about traffic on the McFadden Street bridge (City of Huntington Beach, 2009). Study sessions five and six addressed the public comments received on the proposed specific plan (City of Huntington Beach, 2009). The environmental impact report for the specific plan was the focus of study sessions seven and eight (City of Huntington Beach, 2009).

On January 12, 2010, the project came before the planning commission for approval, with staff's recommendation to amend the general plan and zoning text and map and establish the Beach and Edinger Corridors Specific Plan. Representatives of Huntington Beach Tomorrow, the Goldenwest Homeowners Association, and the McFadden/Sugar Street Safe Exit, an ad-hoc citizens group, spoke in opposition to the proposed plan, stating concerns with traffic, density, open space, and water conservation (City of Huntington Beach, 2010). On the other hand, a

number of developers and land owners spoke in support of the specific plan, commenting on its flexibility and requesting additional building heights and ground-floor uses (City of Huntington Beach, 2010). In response to public comments, the planning commission made several revisions to the specific plan, including less-strict approval of variances, allowing live-work units along Warner Avenue, and increasing building heights up to six stories within 500 feet of Interstate 405 (City of Huntington Beach, 2010). A motion to reduce the maximum building height from six stories to five stories was recommended by Commissioner Scandura but failed, with all other commissioners voting no (City of Huntington Beach, 2010). Planning commission approved staff recommendations with the new modifications, and the project was forwarded to city council for adoption (City of Huntington Beach, 2010).

City council held a public hearing on the Beach and Edinger Corridors Specific Plan on March 1, 2010. Councilmembers discussed items concerning eminent domain, park and open space requirements, density, building height, street design, and affordable housing credits for mobile homes (City of Huntington Beach, 2010). Several communications were submitted from members of the public, and about 20 people spoke during the public hearing (City of Huntington Beach, 2010). Supporting and opposing sides both included several residents and property owners. Community members in support of the project stated that the project would improve the city, increase the city's tax base, provide needed open space, make the area a successful regional destination, and keep the community livable (City of Huntington Beach, 2010). Residents and land owners opposing the Specific Plan held different reasons for their opposition. Generally, residents were concerned with the increased density, traffic impacts to the community, large-scale buildings, and increased strain on city utilities and safety resources (City of Huntington Beach, 2010). On the other hand, land owners—including residential and commercial property

owners—voiced concern with the development standards that would apply to their property, such as the minimum setback requirements, frontage standards, and building height limits (City of Huntington Beach, 2010).

After hearing the public comments, the city council discussed the issues raised, specifically addressing concerns about parking requirements, development requirements, and improvements to mitigate traffic impacts and improve walkability and connectivity (City of Huntington Beach, 2010). The motion to approve the project as recommended by staff and with the modifications of the planning commission passed with ayes from councilmembers Carchio, Dwyer, Bohr, Coerper, and Hansen, and noes from councilmembers Green and Hardy (City of Huntington Beach, 2010). The Beach and Edinger Corridors Specific Plan was adopted into ordinance on March 15, 2010, with the same councilmembers voting for and against the adoption (City of Huntington Beach, 2010).

Growth Machine Dynamics in the Planning Process of the Beach and Edinger Corridors Specific Plan

In this section I present findings from analysis of the data on the planning process of the Beach and Edinger Corridors Specific Plan for evidence of the growth machine. First, I discuss the presence and influence of land-based interests, primarily business and property owners, throughout the planning process of the Specific Plan. Additionally, I show how members of city government supported these land-based interests in the development and adoption of the Specific Plan. However, there is weak evidence that those in support of the Specific Plan for its development potential were highly influential in its development or that they actually mobilized to form growth coalitions. Instead, I find that alliances were formed amongst local residents advocating for the community traffic safety.

Business and Property Owners. Several business and property owners, represented in groups and as individuals, were highly active in the planning process of the Beach and Edinger Corridors Specific Plan, as evidenced in the data. Individuals consist of large commercial property owners and developers. Organized groups included the Huntington Beach Auto Dealers Association and the city's chamber of commerce.

The influence of property owners is notable in the evolution of the Beach Boulevard Revitalization Study and the Edinger Corridor Specific Plan to the Beach and Edinger Corridors Specific Plan. At the planning commission meeting on the original Edinger Corridor Specific Plan, the owner of Huntington Executive Park, Steve Dodge, stated that "the plan should not be based on a ten-year-old general plan" and suggested "updating the Specific Plan for the area" (City of Huntington Beach, 2006). Additionally, several landowners requested more dialogue between property and business owners and the planning commission, and one commented on the lack of clarity on what is expected of landowners and developers (City of Huntington Beach, 2006). As a result, deliberation of the Edinger Corridor Specific Plan was continued to a later date and several workshops were conducted at the planning commissioners' request. A planner, previously with the city at that time, recollects that

> [The Beach and Edinger Corridors Specific Plan] initially started with just analyzing Edinger to have that corridor improved. We had a series of workshops with the public. As a result of that there were larger parcels that were selected to have mixed-use development based on the owner's desire to move forward with those particular projects. Shortly after, we started receiving more inquiries from different owners to have their properties included in the mixed use. At the same time, City Council was also looking at Beach Boulevard and that corridor and

how we could improve that to revitalize it, to make it more economically stimulating. (Personal communication, November 4, 2016)

The interest of several large commercial property owners to potentially redevelop their land as mixed-use development encouraged the city to proceed with combining the planning efforts for the Beach Boulevard and Edinger Avenue corridors. These property owners generally supported the adoption of the Specific Plan, especially as a tool to encourage public and private investment in the area. However, the influence of land owners in the development of the Specific Plan is limited and thus is questionable that these individuals constitute a part of the growth machine. For instance, their efforts to relax development standards, particularly building height limitations, were unsuccessful. The most vocal and involved property owners in the planning process included Steve Dodge, owner of Huntington Executive Park, Bijan Sassounian, owner of the shopping center at the southeast corner of Beach Boulevard and Atlanta Avenue, and Tom Schiff, owner of Decron Properties and manager of Plaza Huntington. They attended numerous planning commission and city council meetings and actively voiced their concern with regulations that would limit potential development of their properties, such as building height limitations, large setbacks, and required parking minimums.

They presented their argument in the interest of the public good stating that these development standards impeded their ability to develop their properties in ways that would benefit the City of Huntington Beach. For instance, they expressed the need for greater height allowance to be able to design and build significant, grand-scale structures that would ensure more open space and serve as the gateway to Huntington Beach (City of Huntington Beach, 2008). A developer in the process of purchasing property at northwest corner of Beach Boulevard and Main Street at the time also voiced opposition to the Specific Plan's building

height limitation of four to six stories (City of Huntington Beach, 2008). He explained that developers typically build up to four stories to avoid the cost of restrictions imposed by the Fire Department for six-story structures and added that eight or more stories would not only be financially beneficial but it would allow him to "design a magnificent structure and gateway to [the city's] downtown (City of Huntington Beach, 2008)."

Despite these requests for greater building heights, the adopted Specific Plan maintained a maximum height limit of six stories, mainly allowed in close proximity to the I-405 freeway. One planning commissioner motioned to reduce the maximum number of stories from six to five but failed to get it approved (City of Huntington Beach, 2010). Ultimately the adopted Specific Plan included development standards pertaining to building height, setback and parking that were not significantly different than those of the existing zoning code or what had been approved in the area in the recent past.

In contrast to the individual property owners, the Huntington Beach Auto Dealers Association was found to have some influence in the planning process of the Beach and Edinger Corridors Specific Plan. The Auto Dealers Association includes 11 new car dealerships on Beach Boulevard. The association has been active in the city since 1990; its purpose is to "develop cooperative community and marketing plans and better serve their industry and the City of Huntington Beach" (Huntington Beach Auto Dealers Association, 2014). Members attended several public meetings, met with staff, and submitted a letter to city council expressing their concern about how future business and development might be impacted because of the Specific Plan. In the letter they emphasize the tax revenue generated by the dealerships for the city stating that,

> ... sales tax generated by the car dealers is about $3.8 million annually, or about 4.5 times greater than [the city's] largest retail center. This contribution represents about 13% of the total city-wide sales tax generated from all sources. Protecting, improving and increasing this long-term source of revenues should be a top priority. (Huntington Beach Auto Dealers Association, 2008)

Concern for the auto dealerships is evidenced in the proceedings of planning commission and city council meetings. The issue was raised numerous times throughout the planning process not only by members of the Auto Dealers Association but also members of the chamber of commerce and planning commissioners. For instance, Richard Harlow, a member of the chamber raised the issue about the Ford dealership site being in the residential transition area, which included stricter development standards than areas for commercial uses. He asked the planning commission to carefully consider auto dealers and their economic benefits to the city (City of Huntington Beach, 2009). Additionally, at the final planning commission meeting before adoption of the Beach and Edinger Corridors Specific Plan, a commissioner inquired about the meeting between city staff and members of the Auto Dealers Association to discuss the Specific Plan and whether staff had received any additional comments from the Association since the meeting (City of Huntington Beach, 2010).

Unlike the property owners and developers discussed above, members of the Auto Dealers Association did not request specific standards to be included in the Specific Plan for the dealership sites. Rather, they asked for clarification during the process and incentives to be included in the Specific Plan for auto dealerships to remain and expand in the Specific Plan area. In a letter to city council, the Huntington Beach Automobile Dealers Association stated potential impacts of the Beach and Edinger Corridors Specific Plan to dealerships in the area and inquired

about incentives that would encourage them to continue their businesses. They made their position, and expectations of the city, quite clear, stating,

> We are pleased to conduct our business here. We applaud the continued leadership generated by City Staff in support of both protecting the sales tax base we have and to plan accordingly for future growth…. We assume you would want to keep us here and viable, for as long as we can sustain ever changing market conditions…. The more cars we sell the better for both of us." (Huntington Beach Auto Dealers Association, 2008)

The adopted Specific Plan explicitly addresses auto dealerships as one of the priorities of the revitalization strategy included in the Specific Plan. It states that city leadership intends to "support the continued presence and expansion of auto dealerships along Beach Boulevard (City of Huntington Beach, 2010)." Specifically, it will,

> i) Permit existing auto dealerships to expand anywhere on the corridor; ii) encourage new auto sales dealership development along segments closer to 405, particularly north of Five Points; and iii) work with existing auto dealerships to investigate the potential for off-site overflow fleet storage, and to support the retention, expansion and eventual clustering of the auto dealership offerings along Beach Boulevard. (City of Huntington Beach, 2010)

Overall, it is evident that business and property owners attempted to influence the planning process of the Beach and Edinger Corridors Specific Plan for private economic interests. However, there is little evidence that these individuals worked collectively to influence the development of the Specific Plan towards a common goal. Property owners argued for specific standards to increase their development potential whereas members of the Auto Dealer

Association argued for guarantees and incentives to maintain their business and development potential. It should be noted that the identified property owners, developers and most of the members in the Huntington Beach Auto Dealers Association are all members of the Huntington Beach Chamber of Commerce. However, common affiliation with an organization does not necessarily constitute the growth machine.

While the Huntington Beach Chamber of Commerce was indeed active in the planning process and in support of the Beach and Edinger Corridors Specific Plan, their position was more generally concerned with the overall economic development of the city. The chamber members involved in the planning process did not own properties or businesses in the Specific Plan area and they primarily spoke in support of the project emphasizing its potential to provide increased tax revenue to the city. Thus, it cannot be concluded that these active players mobilized under a growth agenda in the planning process of the Beach and Edinger Corridors Specific Plan.

City Leadership. The city had a highly pro-business, pro-development leadership at the time the Beach and Edinger Corridors Specific Plan was being developed. A former city planner notes that "certainly, city council were very supportive of the changes from just the Edinger study to involving Beach Boulevard and expanding that vision" (Personal communication, November 4, 2016). She adds,

> At that time those that were seated on council were very pro-business and very much in support of change and the form-based code and really envisioned a more modern approach to development that would encourage businesses to go to Huntington Beach, especially in that particular district. (Personal communication, November 4, 2016)

The Huntington Beach city council has seven members, each of whom is elected to a four-year term and limited to two consecutive terms. Most of the councilmembers involved in the Specific Plan process at the beginning in 2005 voted on its adoption in 2010. A look at the composition of city council shows that the majority of the councilmembers had a business-related professional background. The composition of city councilmembers involved in the adoption process of the Beach and Edinger Corridors Specific Plan is presented in Table 11

Table 9 City councilmember composition for the Beach and Edinger Corridors Specific Plan

Councilmember	Years Served	Professional Background	Adoption Vote
Dave Sullivan	2002-2006	Orthodontist	-
Debbie Cook	2002-2008	Business Owner	-
Jill Hardy	2002-2010	Teacher	No
Cathy Green	2002-2010	Nurse and Lawyer – Self-Employed	No
Gil Coerper	2002-2010	Police Officer	Aye
Keith Bohr	2002-2010	Business Owner	Aye
Don Hansen	2004-2012	Commercial Financial Executive	Aye
Joe Carchio	2006-2010	Restaurant Owner	Aye
Devin Dwyer	2009-2013	Business Owner, Former Commissioner	Aye

Councilmembers particularly vocal in their support of business interests were Councilmembers Carchio and Bohr. Councilmember Carchio widely supported the Specific Plan as a tool to encourage profitable developments and create more opportunities for sales tax revenue for the city. He recommended that "consultants and staff work with the developers to get this program off the ground" (City of Huntington Beach, 2008), and stated the need to partner with business and property owners to encourage new development on Beach Boulevard. Councilmember Carchio was also more receptive to the positions of business and property owners suggesting that the city "explore increased height limitations where warranted and

higher-end dealerships to generate more revenue for the city" (City of Huntington Beach, 2008). He acknowledged that there might be resistance to taller buildings from citizens and council but emphasized "the importance of tough decisions being made in order to move forward" (City of Huntington Beach, 2008).

Councilmember Bohr was also an ally to business interests, proposing the increase of building height allowances for existing buildings at certain locations near the freeway and requesting incentives for certain land owners, such as the property owner at the northeast corner of Beach Boulevard and Edinger Avenue. He also supported greater retail and mixed-use development, such as the proposed retail at Bella Terra II of 156,000 square feet, to increase sales tax revenues to the city.

Interestingly, Councilmembers Hardy and Green, who at the time of adoption were mayor and mayor pro tem respectively, supported the Specific Plan in the beginning of the process but ultimately voted against its adoption. For instance, Councilmember Hardy commented on the "benefits of developing criteria up front to design residential next to retail with anticipated way to minimize potential conflicts (City of Huntington Beach, 2008)." Councilmember Green was supportive of the process commenting on the success of the public workshops and even invited the consultant, Freedman, Tung & Bottomley, to speak about the Specific Plan at the City's joint Annual Economic Conference with the Chamber of Commerce. However, they were concerned that the Specific Plan did not sufficiently address certain important issues, such as diverse architectural design, increased residential density and traffic congestion, and lack of planned open space, and thus voted against its adoption.

The high representation of business interests on city council may be seen as an indicator of the growth machine. Logan and Molotch (2007) contend that land-based elites assertively seek

leadership positions in the city to be able to advance business and development interests. However, there is little evidence that councilmembers allied with business and property owners under the common goal of urban growth. Rather, in the case of the Beach and Edinger Corridors Specific Plan, planning commission members seem to have worked more closely with the community to garner support of the Specific Plan. Records show that several commissioners interacted with members of the public regarding the Beach and Edinger Corridors Specific Plan, including residents, property owners, and members of Huntington Beach Tomorrow. Interestingly, Huntington Beach Tomorrow changed their stance on the Specific Plan and ultimately supported its adoption after meeting with staff and planning commission.

It was also found that commissioners actively supported land interests by suggesting incentives for property owners regarding floor area ratios, public improvement funding, and more mixed-use potential (City of Huntington Beach, 2006). Planning commission members were also highly concerned with how the Specific Plan would impact the auto dealerships on Beach Boulevard. Commissioner Dwyer, who later was elected to city council and voted in favor of adoption of the Beach and Edinger Corridors Specific Plan, first noted concern for auto dealer sites at a community workshop in 2008. Additionally, planning commissioners Mantini and Scandura repeatedly discussed how auto dealerships were being addressed in the Specific Plan. Commissioner Mantini stated at the first planning commission study session that she would like to protect the sales tax base for auto dealerships, and she inquired about car dealerships at several subsequent meetings as well. (City of Huntington Beach, 2009). She repeatedly inquired about the Ford dealership site and how the form-based code might affect its current use and development. Commissioner Scandura also inquired about the compatibility of existing auto

dealerships with form-based codes (City of Huntington Beach, 2009). It is notable that both commissioners Mantini and Scandura were affiliated with the city's chamber of commerce.

An interdepartmental communication shows that the planning commission also created an "Edinger Corridor Sub-committee" at a planning commission meeting early in the planning process to assist staff in addressing the concerns and issues on the planning commission's "issues list" and to participate in the information-gathering process; however, there are no other records of this subcommittee's existence or activities (City of Huntington Beach, 2006).

Other Players. A few other players were identified in the planning process of the Beach and Edinger Corridors Specific Plan that hold implications for the urban growth machine theory. These include Huntington Beach Tomorrow, a local community advocacy group, and McFadden/Suagar Safe Exit, an ad-hoc citizen's group.

The advocacy group Huntington Beach Tomorrow states its mission is "to preserve and enhance the quality of life in Huntington Beach" by working for public good such as greater citizen participation, a clean and healthy environment, efficient and safe traffic, an open and responsive government, preservation of open space, responsible planned growth, sound infrastructure, responsible spending by the city government, recreational opportunities for all, and a sustainable tax base for the city (Huntington Beach Tomorrow, n.d.). At the time of the Beach and Edinger Corridors Specific Plan project process, the board of Huntington Beach Tomorrow comprised one former mayor and four former planning commission chair persons (Huntington Beach Auto Dealers Association, 2008). Members of the group submitted letters and spoke at several city council and planning commission meetings with concerns about the specific plan. Initially, the representatives of Huntington Beach Tomorrow spoke in opposition to the proposed specific plan, stating that the proposed plan contained conflicting recommendations

and that significant and unavoidable impacts after mitigation, as identified in the EIR, were unacceptable. They also requested that the city delay approval of the plan until "all land uses along the Edinger Corridor can be considered together with their inter-relationships" (City of Huntington Beach, March 1, 2010).

Records show that Councilmember Hansen asked Robert Dingwall, then president of Huntington Beach Tomorrow, to "schedule a meeting with him to discuss Huntington Beach Tomorrow's official position in further detail" (Huntington Beach Auto Dealers Association, 2008). Also, planning commissioners Farley and Livengood disclosed that they had spoken to members of Huntington Beach Tomorrow during the planning process. At the final city council public hearing, Karen Jackie, president of Huntington Beach Tomorrow, spoke in support of planning commission's recommendation to adopt the specific plan with modifications, although she voiced concern on issues of eminent domain, traffic impacts, and the location of affordable housing near high-voltage power lines (City of Huntington Beach, 2010).

The ad-hoc citizen's group, McFadden/Sugar Safe Exit, emerged as a voice of the community during the planning process of the Beach and Edinger Corridors Specific Plan. Initially, a number of individual residents spoke at planning commission meetings, concerned with potential traffic impacts on the McFadden Street bridge which crosses over the Interstate 405 immediately north of the Specific Plan area. Later, they represented themselves as members of the McFadden/Sugar Safe Exit citizens' group, submitted letters to city council, and spoke at several planning commission and city council public hearings. In a letter to city council, one resident states that he is concerned that increased traffic due to new development proposed in the specific plan would increase the potential for accidents at the McFadden Street and Sugar Street intersection (Nelson, 2009). At the final city council public hearing, a representative of

McFadden/Sugar Safe Exit spoke in support of the planning commission's recommendation to lower the number of dwelling units for associated traffic impacts, although she still had concerns about the visual impact of four- to six-story buildings as well as their impact on utilities and safety resources (City of Huntington Beach, 2010).

Logan and Molotch (2007) point out that universities also play a role in the dynamics of the growth machine. In the case of the Beach and Edinger Corridors Specific Plan, records show that Golden West College participated in one of the community workshops and that there were plans for planning commissioners to meet with representatives of the college to discuss future development (City of Huntington Beach, 2006). However, there is no further evidence that Golden West College played a significant role in the planning process of the Specific Plan or actively participated to influence the decision-making process.

Promoting Good City Form in the Beach and Edinger Corridors Specific Plan Area

In this section, I first compare the results of the analysis for good city form principles in the form-based and the previously applicable conventional zoning regulations for the Beach and Edinger Corridors Specific Plan. A summary comparison of the analysis results for the form-based and conventional zoning regulations is presented in Table 12. Next, I discuss in greater detail how each performance dimension is addressed in the form-based regulations of the Beach and Edinger Corridors Specific Plan as compared to the conventional zoning regulations. Results of the analysis of the form-based regulations and the conventional zoning regulations for the extent to which they integrate principles of good city form are presented in Tables 13 and 14, respectively. The results are presented in rank order of the average of means (M_A) of the performance dimensions, and subsequently for their principles, for the form-based regulations.

In general, both the form-based and conventional zoning regulations reflect principles of good city form to a moderate extent. However, the overall results are weaker for the form-based regulations than the conventional zoning regulations. The number of principles not addressed in the two different types of regulations are the same, however, more principles are reflected to a greater extent in the conventional zoning regulations than in the form-based regulations. The conventional zoning regulations address three good city form principles—control in access, certainty and responsibility in control—that are not addressed at all in the form-based regulations and the form-based regulations address three principles—identity/event in sense and stability and adaptability in fit—that are not addressed in the conventional zoning regulations. Competence in fit is not addressed in either the form-based or conventional zoning regulations.

Of the five performance dimensions, sense is the only performance dimension that is more strongly reflected in the form-based regulations as compared to the conventional zoning regulations. Specifically, the form-based regulations reflect the principles of transparency, legibility/order, congruence, and identity/event in sense more strongly than the conventional zoning regulations; however, the principle of structure is more strongly reflected in the conventional zoning regulations than the form-based regulations. The conventional regulations include a greater number of mandatory provisions in quantitative measures than the form-based regulations, thus the stronger results. Some examples of these standards include required minimum setbacks, separation distances between buildings, and clearance heights. The form-based regulations also have similar standards but it includes more standards that convey intent, permission or recommendations than requirements. Likewise, the principles for the performance dimension of vitality are stronger in the conventional zoning regulations because more of its standards are mandatory as compared to the form-based regulations.

The greatest difference between the form-based and conventional regulations is in the results for the performance dimensions of access and control. Although the principles of equity and accessibility in access and congruence in control are stronger in the form-based regulations, the conventional zoning regulations also reflect these principles to a strong extent. Moreover, the conventional zoning regulations integrate other principles in access and control to a greater extent than the form-based regulations, including several that are not addressed in the form-based regulations at all. Lastly, the performance dimension of fit is reflected only slightly stronger in the form-based regulations.

Table 10 Summary comparison of results for good city form principles addressed in the Beach and Edinger Corridors Specific Plan case study

Performance Dimensions & Principles	**Form-Based Regulations**		**Conventional Zoning Regulations**	
	M_A (SD)	***M_S (SD)***	***M_A (SD)***	***M_S (SD)***
Sense	**3.15 (0.19)**	**3.19 (0.16)**	**2.12 (0.50)**	**2.00 (0.39)**
S: Transparency	3.67 (0.17)	3.69 (0.17)	3.54 (0.45)	3.48 (0.45)
S: Legibility/Order	3.27 (0.26)	3.34 (0.15)	0.89 (1.76)	0.50 (1.41)
S: Structure	3.08 (0.12)	3.08 (0.13)	3.57 (0.19)	3.60 (0.18)
S: Congruence	2.93 (0.10)	2.92 (0.10)	2.59 (0.45)	2.45 (0.15)
S: Identity/Event	2.81 (0.68)	2.93 (0.63)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Vitality	**2.96 (0.56)**	**2.93 (0.59)**	**3.69 (0.10)**	**3.69 (0.11)**
V: Consonance/Stability	3.43 (0.27)	3.46 (0.28)	3.91 (0.09)	3.90 (0.09)
V: Health/Sustenance	3.40 (0.17)	3.43 (0.15)	3.57 (0.22)	3.58 (0.24)
V: Safety	2.04 (1.77)	1.90 (1.84)	3.58 (0.16)	3.60 (0.15)
Access	**2.04 (0.14)**	**2.04 (0.15)**	**3.30 (0.49)**	**3.35 (0.50)**
A: Equity	3.98 (0.06)	4.00 (0.00)	3.45 (0.46)	3.42 (0.48)
A: Accessibility	3.62 (0.27)	3.66 (0.26)	3.62 (0.17)	3.59 (0.14)
A: Diversity	0.56 (0.53)	0.50 (0.53)	2.51 (1.70)	2.82 (1.51)
A: Control	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	3.61 ().23)	3.57 (0.19)
Control	**1.56 (0.04)**	**1.56 (0.04)**	**2.80 (0.91)**	**2.84 (0.96)**
C: Congruence	3.94 (0.17)	4.00 (0.00)	3.51 (1.32)	3.94 (0.08)

Performance Dimensions & Principles	Form-Based Regulations		Conventional Zoning Regulations	
	M_A (SD)	M_S (SD)	M_A (SD)	M_S (SD)
C: Physical Means	2.30 (0.20)	2.25 (0,15)	3.47 (0.62)	3.40 (0.62)
C: Certainty	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0,00)	2.00 (2.00)	2.00 (2.14)
C: Responsibility	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	2.22 (2.11)	2.00 (2.14)
Fit	**1.30 (0.51)**	**1.12 (0.02)**	**1.12 (0.06)**	**1.13 (0.06)**
F: Adequacy	3.73 (0.11)	3.70 (0.04)	3.40 (0.28)	3.47 (0.23)
F: Program	2.01 (0.26)	1.93 (0.08)	2.20 (0.15)	2.17 (0.11)
F: Stability	0.44 (1.33)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
F: Adaptability	0.30 (0.89)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
F: Competence	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
TOTAL AVERAGE	**2.20 (0.83)**	**2.17 (0.88)**	**2.60 (1.02)**	**2.60 (1.04)**

Notes: M_A = Average of Means for Zone All and Specific Zones; M_S = Average of Means for Specific Zones

Sense. All principles in the performance dimension of sense are addressed in the form-based regulations of the Beach and Edinger Corridors Specific Plan. The majority of these principles are quite strongly emphasized in regulations applicable to all zones and in the regulations for specific zones in the form-based regulations. The conventional zoning regulations address all principles with the exception of the principle of identity/event. The principle of identity/event is incorporated in the form-based regulations to a moderate to strong extent through standards that encourage the use of streetscape elements that evoke a "beach and surf culture."

Of all the principles for sense, the principle of transparency is the most strongly incorporated in both the form-based and conventional regulations. Transparency is typically addressed in requirements for building orientation, minimum window coverage of building facades, and sign standards. The principle of legibility/order is also addressed strongly in the form-based regulations, though it is more strongly incorporated in the regulations of specific zones than in the regulations applicable to all zones. This is most likely because legibility/order

is primarily addressed through regulations pertaining to street improvements to enhance connectivity, the identity of specific zone areas, and visual distinction through the use of built form elements. For example, the Specific Plan states that "entrances and pedestrian 'gateways' should be announced by posts or pilasters, and may be combined with trellises, special landscaping, decorative lighting, public art or other special features" and also that "variations of the roof and/or eave line should be used to mark main building entrances and also to differentiate between individual units within attached residential buildings (City of Huntington Beach, 2010)." Interestingly, the principle of legibility/order is minimally addressed, albeit strongly, in the conventional zoning regulations and only in the general and specific plan regulations.

The principle of structure in sense is the most frequently addressed principle in the form-based regulations. Structure is found in the standards for setbacks, building heights, building and open space orientation, and frontage treatments. However, the conventional zoning regulations integrate the principle of structure more strongly than the form-based regulations, though not as frequently, mainly because they address this principle in more mandatory requirements. The most frequently addressed principle in the conventional zoning regulations is congruence in sense. Congruence is primarily reflected in the permitted uses of each zone. The form-based regulations do not specify as many detailed uses as the conventional zoning regulations but nonetheless strongly integrates congruence in sense by indicating the use and frontage type for each zone.

Vitality. The performance dimension of vitality is well reflected overall in both the form-based and conventional zoning regulations. However, in comparison to the conventional zoning regulations, the form-based regulations show weaker integration of the principles in vitality, especially safety in vitality. Safety is quite strongly reflected in the general and specific zone

standards of the conventional zoning regulations, whereas the form-based regulations primarily address safety in its general regulations. Safety is primarily addressed in standards for traffic safety, provision of shade, and lighting for safe places.

The principle of consonance/stability is quite strongly addressed in both form-based and conventional regulations. It is mostly addressed in standards pertaining to elements of pedestrian scale, such as façade compositions and story heights, and light pollution. The form-based regulations also include standards for special materials in consideration of impacts to plants and trees. The conventional zoning regulations do not address consonance as frequently as the form-based regulations. However, where it does reflect consonance in vitality its standards are mostly mandatory whereas the form-based regulations address consonance in standards of intent, permission, recommendations and requirements. The principle of health/sustenance is strongly reflected in both form-based and conventional regulations for all zones and for specific zones. Regulations for stormwater management, water efficiency, and landscape irrigation best practices reflect the principle of health/sustenance.

Access. The principles of equity and accessibility are strongly addressed for the performance dimension of access in both form-based and conventional zoning regulations. Equity, which addresses access for different population groups, is strongly emphasized through strict requirements for affordable housing and development that complies with the American Disabilities Act (ADA). In the form-based regulations, equity is also reflected in the regulations applicable to all zones through the promotion of a range of various new housing choices. The principle of accessibility is integrated in the form-based regulations through standards for connectivity of the circulation network for vehicles, bicycles, and pedestrians. The conventional

zoning regulations address connectivity and circulation as well but also include standards for access to services such as utilities and communication networks.

The conventional zoning regulations better integrate the principle of diversity in access than the form-based regulations. The form-based regulations state intent, but do not provide requirements, on providing access to diverse modes of transportation. The conventional zoning regulations, on the other hand, include requirements for transit facilities and a variety of other services. Interestingly, these regulations are more strongly integrated in the regulations for non-residential zones than the residential zones. Control in access is not addressed at all in the form-based regulations but is integrated strongly in the conventional zoning regulations, mainly through standards on security such as privacy gates and secure bicycle facilities.

Control. The performance dimension of control is the least frequently addressed performance dimension in the form-based and conventional zoning regulations for the Beach and Edinger Corridors Specific Plan area. Nonetheless, it is incorporated from a moderate to strong extent when it is addressed in both types of development regulations. The principle of congruence in control is reflected in the form-based regulations that address the user and the extent to which they control the space, such as a private patio or public plaza. The conventional zoning regulations also address congruence in the maintenance of landscaped areas, parking designations, and use and ownership of accessory units. Physical means are integrated in the form-based and conventional regulations for walls, fences, and landscaping to denote property boundaries. However, the form-based regulations do not have any mandatory standards pertaining to these physical boundaries whereas the conventional regulations often specify required heights, placement, and materials.

The principles of certainty and responsibility in control are not addressed at all in the form-based regulations. The conventional zoning regulations do address these two principles in its general standards as well as in its regulations for residential zones and in the specific plans. These principles are primarily found in the regulations for residential zones as they generally pertain to topics of ownership. For instance, the condition that "the second unit shall not be sold separately from the main dwelling unit (City of Huntington Beach, 2010)" is an example of the principle of certainty in the conventional zoning regulations. An example of the principle of responsibility in control is the provision that "the property owner shall be responsible for the care and maintenance of landscape area(s) and wall(s) and required landscape area(s) (City of Huntington Beach, 2010)."

Fit. The performance dimension of fit is addressed the weakest of the five performance dimensions in both the form-based and conventional zoning regulations. This is primarily because the principles of adaptability, stability, and competence are weakly or not at all integrated in the regulations. The conventional zoning regulations do not address these three principles at all. The form-based regulations do not address competence in fit, and only address stability and adaptability in its general regulations for all zones. Stability is reflected in the Specific Plan's objective for mobility and community development to "enable continued market-driven growth and development while…furthering patterns of land use and development that contribute toward long-term regional mobility and livability (City of Huntington Beach, 2010)." Adaptability is integrated in a few provisions that allow excess open space in consideration of other requirements and the flexibility to configure new street connections.

Despite the overall weak scores for the performance dimension of fit, the principle of adequacy is strongly reflected in both the form-based and conventional zoning regulations. This

is mainly because fit is reflected in standards for minimum requirements for open space, parking, and other quantitatively measured standards which are found ubiquitously in both types of regulations. The principle of program in fit is integrated in both the form-based and conventional regulations to a moderate extent. This principle is generally found in regulations that encourage certain activities in a specific place and specifies the appropriate physical qualities. As an example, a regulation from the form-based regulations states that "city street sidewalks should be wide and unobstructed to provide ample room for pedestrians to walk, and to encourage activities including outdoor dining, locations for kiosks, food carts, and flower stalls (City of Huntington Beach, 2010)." The principle of program in fit regularly coincides with the principle of congruence in sense because it reflects the use of place.

Table 13 Results for principles of good city form addressed in the form-based regulations in the Beach and Edinger Corridors Specific Plan case study

Performance Dimensions & Principles	All Zones		Zone NB		Zone NC		Zone NP		Zone RP		Zone RT		Zone TCB		Zone TCC		Zone TCN		M_A	M_S
	F	*M*	*F*	*M*	*F*	*M*	*F*	*M*	*F*	*M*	*F*	*M*	*F*	*M*	*F*	*M*	*F*	*M*		
Sense	**161**	**2.82**	**135**	**3.22**	**141**	**3.33**	**128**	**3.39**	**101**	**3.36**	**92**	**2.99**	**178**	**2.98**	**129**	**3.11**	**172**	**3.17**	**3.15 (0.19)**	**3.19 (0.16)**
S: Transparency	20	3.50	10	3.40	6	3.50	7	3.86	6	3.83	7	3.71	9	3.67	7	3.86	9	3.67	3.67 (0.17)	3.69 (0.17)
S: Legibility/ Order	26	2.69	17	3.29	24	3.58	19	3.47	18	3.44	19	3.26	33	3.12	17	3.35	32	3.22	3.27 (0.26)	3.34 (0.15)
S: Structure	89	3.04	63	3.19	63	3.16	56	3.20	48	3.08	43	2.86	84	2.93	64	3.19	76	3.03	3.08 (0.12)	3.08 (0.13)
S: Congruence	10	3.00	42	2.86	36	2.89	40	2.93	24	3.04	21	3.10	43	2.84	37	2.92	39	2.79	2.93 (0.10)	2.92 (0.10)
S: Identity/ Event	16	1.88	3	3.33	12	3.50	6	3.50	5	3.40	2	2.00	9	2.33	4	2.25	16	3.13	2.81 (0.68)	2.93 (0.63)
Vitality	**149**	**3.20**	**26**	**2.61**	**38**	**3.73**	**19**	**2.37**	**17**	**2.38**	**14**	**2.29**	**52**	**3.05**	**42**	**3.49**	**41**	**3.49**	**2.96 (0.56)**	**2.93 (0.59)**
V: Consonance/ Stability	73	3.23	19	3.32	27	3.63	14	3.71	12	3.75	11	3.55	36	2.89	32	3.47	30	3.37	3.43 (0.27)	3.46 (0.28)
V: Health/Sustenance	27	3.19	6	3.50	9	3.56	5	3.40	5	3.40	3	3.33	10	3.60	6	3.50	9	3.11	3.40 (0.17)	3.43 (0.15)
V: Safety	49	3.18	1	1.00	2	4.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	6	2.67	4	3.50	2	4.00	2.04 (1.77)	1.90 (1.84)
Access	**45**	**2.03**	**12**	**1.86**	**12**	**1.92**	**13**	**1.95**	**13**	**1.95**	**17**	**2.21**	**18**	**2.14**	**12**	**2.25**	**23**	**2.04**	**2.04 (0.14)**	**2.04 (0.15)**
A: Equity	6	3.83	3	4.00	3	4.00	3	4.00	3	4.00	3	4.00	3	4.00	3	4.00	3	4.00	3.98 (0.06)	4.00 (0.00)
A: Accessibility	36	3.31	9	3.44	9	3.67	10	3.80	10	3.80	13	3.85	14	3.57	8	4.00	17	3.18	3.62 (0.27)	3.66 (0.26)
A: Diversity	3	1.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	1.00	1	1.00	1	1.00	3	1.00	0.56 (0.53)	0.50 (0.53)
A: Control	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Control	**7**	**1.54**	**5**	**1.58**	**4**	**1.50**	**6**	**1.58**	**6**	**1.58**	**6**	**1.58**	**5**	**1.58**	**4**	**1.50**	**5**	**1.58**	**1.56 (0.04)**	**1.56 (0.04)**
C: Congruence	4	3.50	2	4.00	2	4.00	3	4.00	3	4.00	3	4.00	2	4.00	2	4.00	2	4.00	3.94 (0.17)	4.00 (0.00)
C: Physical Means	3	2.67	3	2.33	2	2.00	3	2.33	3	2.33	3	2.33	3	2.33	2	2.00	3	2.33	2.30 (0.20)	2.25 (0,15)
C: Certainty	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0,00)
C: Responsibility	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Fit	**55**	**2.67**	**86**	**1.14**	**93**	**1.16**	**77**	**1.12**	**53**	**1.13**	**47**	**1.10**	**108**	**1.10**	**92**	**1.12**	**99**	**1.13**	**1.30 (0.51)**	**1.12 (0.02)**
F: Adequacy	45	4.00	63	3.68	71	3.73	58	3.74	46	3.67	40	3.63	80	3.66	72	3.71	76	3.75	3.73 (0.11)	3.70 (0.04)
F: Program	6	2.67	23	2.00	22	2.05	19	1.84	7	2.00	7	1.86	28	1.86	20	1.90	23	1.91	2.01 (0.26)	1.93 (0.08)
F: Stability	1	4.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0.44 (1.33)	0.00 (0.00)
F: Adaptability	3	2.67	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0.30 (0.89)	0.00 (0.00)
F: Competence	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
TOTAL	**417**		**264**		**288**		**243**		**190**		**176**		**361**		**279**		**340**			

Notes: F = Frequency; M = Mean; M_A = Average of Means for All Zones and Specific Zones; M_S = Average of Means for Specific Zones; NB = Neighborhood Boulevard; NC = Neighborhood Center; NP = Neighborhood Parkway; RP = Residential Parkway; RT = Residential Transition; TCB = Town Center Boulevard; TCC = Town Center Core; TCN = Town Center Neighborhood

Table 14 Results for principles of good city form addressed in the conventional zoning regulations in the Beach and Edinger Corridors Specific Plan case study

Performance Dimensions & Principles	All Zones		Zone CG		Zone CO		Zone IG		Zone IL		Zone RL		Zone RM		Zone RMH		Zone SP		M_A	M_S
	F	*M*	*F*	*M*	*F*	*M*	*F*	*M*	*F*	*M*	*F*	*M*	*F*	*M*	*F*	*M*	*F*	*M*		
Sense	**94**	**3.01**	**158**	**1.99**	**115**	**2.03**	**119**	**1.80**	**121**	**1.80**	**105**	**1.79**	**136**	**1.83**	**136**	**1.83**	**68**	**2.95**	**2.12 (0.50)**	**2.00 (0.39)**
S: Transparency	6	4.00	2	4.00	2	4.00	2	3.00	2	3.00	6	3.33	8	3.25	8	3.25	2	4.00	3.54 (0.45)	3.48 (0.45)
S: Legibility/ Order	3	4.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	3	4.00	0.89 (1.76)	0.50 (1.41)
S: Structure	43	3.35	48	3.65	48	3.65	42	3.62	42	3.62	59	3.29	88	3.51	88	3.51	35	3.94	3.57 (0.19)	3.60 (0.18)
S: Congruence	42	3.71	108	2.31	65	2.52	75	2.40	77	2.39	40	2.35	40	2.40	40	2.40	28	2.79	2.59 (0.45)	2.45 (0.15)
S: Identity/ Event	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Vitality	**80**	**3.65**	**26**	**3.67**	**26**	**3.67**	**24**	**3.69**	**24**	**3.69**	**12**	**3.46**	**30**	**3.80**	**30**	**3.80**	**48**	**3.75**	**3.69 (0.10)**	**3.69 (0.11)**
V: Consonance/ Stability	17	4.00	7	3.86	7	3.86	5	3.80	5	3.80	2	4.00	6	4.00	6	4.00	14	3.86	3.91 (0.09)	3.90 (0.09)
V: Health/Sustenance	22	3.55	9	3.67	9	3.67	10	3.70	10	3.70	2	3.00	11	3.64	11	3.64	15	3.60	3.57 (0.22)	3.58 (0.24)
V: Safety	41	3.39	10	3.50	10	3.50	9	3.56	9	3.56	8	3.38	13	3.77	13	3.77	19	3.79	3.58 (0.16)	3.60 (0.15)
Access	**39**	**2.91**	**32**	**3.62**	**32**	**3.62**	**23**	**3.81**	**23**	**3.81**	**15**	**2.54**	**24**	**2.88**	**24**	**2.88**	**33**	**3.62**	**3.30 (0.49)**	**3.35 (0.50)**
A: Equity	7	3.71	2	3.50	2	3.50	1	4.00	1	4.00	2	2.50	7	3.29	7	3.29	4	3.25	3.45 (0.46)	3.42 (0.48)
A: Accessibility	26	3.92	19	3.47	19	3.47	11	3.73	11	3.73	9	3.33	11	3.64	11	3.64	16	3.69	3.62 (0.17)	3.59 (0.14)
A: Diversity	0	0.00	7	4.00	7	4.00	7	4.00	7	4.00	1	1.00	1	1.00	1	1.00	11	3.55	2.51 (1.70)	2.82 (1.51)
A: Control	6	4.00	4	3.50	4	3.50	4	3.50	4	3.50	3	3.33	5	3.60	5	3.60	2	4.00	3.61 ().23)	3.57 (0.19)
Control	**6**	**2.50**	**9**	**2.00**	**9**	**2.00**	**10**	**1.89**	**10**	**1.89**	**13**	**3.56**	**16**	**3.68**	**16**	**3.68**	**10**	**4.00**	**2.80 (0.91)**	**2.84 (0.96)**
C: Congruence	0	0.00	1	4.00	1	4.00	1	4.00	1	4.00	6	3.83	7	3.86	7	3.86	3	4.00	3.51 (1.32)	3.94 (0.08)
C: Physical Means	2	4.00	8	4.00	8	4.00	9	3.56	9	3.56	5	2.40	7	2.86	7	2.86	5	4.00	3.47 (0.62)	3.40 (0.62)
C: Certainty	1	2.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	4.00	1	4.00	1	4.00	1	4.00	2.00 (2.00)	2.00 (2.14)
C: Responsibility	3	4.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	4.00	1	4.00	1	4.00	1	4.00	2.22 (2.11)	2.00 (2.14)
Fit	**117**	**1.88**	**263**	**1.87**	**221**	**1.88**	**155**	**1.09**	**157**	**1.09**	**101**	**1.12**	**143**	**1.14**	**144**	**1.14**	**98**	**1.27**	**1.12 (0.06)**	**1.13 (0.06)**
F: Adequacy	111	2.90	173	3.29	174	3.29	93	3.29	93	3.29	68	3.47	112	3.59	112	3.59	75	3.92	3.40 (0.28)	3.47 (0.23)
F: Program	6	2.50	90	2.07	47	2.13	62	2.16	64	2.16	33	2.12	31	2.13	32	2.13	23	2.43	2.20 (0.15)	2.17 (0.11)
F: Stability	0	0.00	1	4.00	1	4.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
F: Adaptability	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
F: Competence	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
TOTAL	**336**		**488**		**403**		**331**		**335**		**246**		**349**		**350**		**257**			

Notes: F = Frequency; M = Mean; M_A = Average of Means for All Zones and Specific Zones; M_S = Average of Means for Specific Zones; CG = Commercial General; CO = Commercial Office; IG = Industrial General; IL = Industrial Limited; RL = Residential Low Density; RM = Residential Medium Density; RMH = Residential Medium High Density; SP = Specific Plans (includes SP-2 and applicable portions of SP-3)

Summary and Discussion of Findings

The Beach and Edinger Corridors Specific Plan was adopted in 2010 as the country was beginning to recover from the fallout of the real-estate market and implement measures to revive economic growth. Despite the decline of the housing market, the City of Huntington Beach had several large mixed-use developments underway and other land owners interested in redeveloping their properties. Accordingly, the Beach and Edinger Corridors Specific Plan was established "to orchestrate private and public investment activities along the Beach Boulevard and Edinger Avenue Corridors, and to support and promote investment that will enhance the beauty and vitality of these, the City's primary commercial corridors" (City of Huntington Beach, 2010).

Findings from analysis of the planning process for the growth machine show that the Specific Plan was indeed supported by several business and property owners as well as a pro-business city council and planning commission. However, the extent to which the business and property owners influenced the development of the form-based regulations in the Specific Plan to achieve their land-based interests varies. Specifically, auto dealership owners were much more influential than other large commercial property owners in including favorable provisions for dealerships in the Specific Plan. Property owners looking to intensify their development potential through greater building heights, less setbacks, and lower parking requirements were not as successful. Moreover, there is weak evidence of that these land-based interests formed a coalition to collectively pursue growth in the Specific Plan area. Therefore, evidence of the growth machine in the planning process of the Beach and Edinger Corridors Specific Plan is inconclusive.

Analysis results of the form-based regulations and the previously applicable conventional zoning regulations for the Specific Plan area show that the form-based code was weaker overall in integrating principles of good city form, despite the plan's purpose "to enhance the functionality and beauty of the Beach and Edinger Corridors" (City of Huntington Beach, 2008). The form-based regulations do show stronger integration of several good city form principles, including legibility/order and identity/event in sense and equity in access. However, these findings, and those of the analysis for the growth machine, should be considered in the context of recent issues and changes to the Specific Plan.

The adopted Specific Plan included streamlined approval processes which enabled the construction of a number of large mixed-use and multifamily developments in the Specific Plan area within a few years of its adoption. The rapid development pace under the Beach and Edinger Corridors Specific Plan alarmed many of the city's residents, not only because of the increased density and traffic but also the visual impacts of the developments. Many residents regard the new buildings, such as the Elan mixed-use development at Beach Boulevard and Ellis Avenue, as monstrosities that are "not in keeping with the town's beachy, suburban feel (Williams, 2015)."

As mentioned previously, the integration of the principle of identity/event in sense more strongly reflected in the form-based regulations of the Specific Plan as compared to the previously applicable conventional zoning regulations. The principle of identity/event is incorporated in the form-based regulations to a moderate to strong extent through standards that encourage the use of streetscape elements that evoke a "beach and surf culture." These standards apply primarily to the public realm and compatibility with the surrounding environment is addressed in standards for materials, colors, and finishes for streetscape elements such as light

fixtures, walls, and fences. Compatibility of structures with the physical character of the surrounding area is actually addressed to a greater extent in the conventional zoning regulations, as is reflected in the higher scores for the principle of structure in sense for the conventional zoning regulations. As an example, for residential infill developments in the residential zones (which include the RL, RM, and RMH zones), the zoning code states that "compatibility considerations should include, but not be limited to, lot size, lot frontages, building layout, building configuration and design, building materials, product type, grade height and building height relative to existing dwellings, and visual intrusion concerns (City of Huntington Beach, 2017)." The form-based regulations include standards for building frontages, building orientation, and other massing elements but do not explicitly discuss compatibility considerations of buildings on privately-owned property with the surrounding environment. Therefore, large-scale private developments may be built that are not harmonious with its immediate surroundings.

With increasing community opposition to the influx of big housing developments, city council approved amendments to the Beach and Edinger Corridors Specific Plan in May 2015 in order to slow development along the two corridors. The amendment restricts development in a number of ways. Administratively, the streamlined approval process was changed to require all new projects to be reviewed through public hearings by the planning commission and city council. New development standards limit building height to four stories and require a minimum 30-foot setback as well as an additional 10-foot setback for the fourth floor. For new residential projects, the amendment increases the minimum parking requirements and requires commercial use to be included in the project. It also reduces the maximum allowed number of residential units to 2,100 dwelling units, less than half of what was allowed in the adopted Specific Plan.

The requirement for public review is a direct response to concerns about public input and community involvement during the planning process of the Beach and Edinger Corridors Specific Plan despite the number of public meetings and outreach efforts. For instance, at a public hearing, a member of the public stated his opinion that notification did not reach all affected members of the community (City of Huntington Beach, 2008). At another, a resident voiced concern about what he described as "the institutional behavior of Council" (City of Huntington Beach, 2008). A homeowner wrote "I fear as a tax payer and resident that we may not be being well represented" (Nelson, 2009), and a member of the McFadden/Sugar Safe Exit Group stated that, in her opinion, "Specific Plan 14 [the Beach and Edinger Corridors Specific Plan] lacks concerns for existing residents" (City of Huntington Beach, 2010).

Scholars have argued that the planning process of form-based codes further alienates already disadvantaged members of the community and unduly favors economic elites despite the emphasis on public participation (Beard & Sarmiento, 2014; Gonzales & Lejano, 2009; González, Sarmiento, Urzua, & Luévano, 2012; Inniss, 2007). This dissertation also finds in the case of the Beach and Edinger Corridors Specific Plan that city leadership focused on actively involving land-based elites—more so than residents—by conducting workshops with property and business owners; focus groups with property owners, business owners, and developers; and meetings with members of the Auto Dealers Association (City of Huntington Beach, 2010). Thus, the amendment to require public review of all new development projects not only gives the community a greater voice in the decision-making process of new development projects in the Specific Plan area but is also positive step toward more inclusive decision-making processes that challenge elitist theories in planning.

Additionally, the changes to the development capacity of the original Beach and Edinger Corridors Specific Plan also hold implications for the theory of the growth machine. The modified development standards present greater challenges for property owners and developers that are looking to redevelop at higher intensities. Though the amendments passed through planning commission and city council, not all councilmembers and commissioners approved of this change. In the interest of the developers, one planning commissioner comments that "the amendments are a raw deal for developers because the city had led them to believe they could build along the corridors (Carpio, 2015)." She further adds that, "it's really terrible what we've done to the developers…they basically invested in their plans to improve the properties in the specific plan based on specific rules Hunting Beach adopted that they relied on (Carpio, 2015)." A councilmember also commented on the city's vote to halt development that "we can't send a message to the business community that we're closed for business (Williams, 2015)." Interestingly, the amendment also includes a provision to "allow greater flexibility for car dealerships" revealing the continued influence of the auto dealerships and importance of their tax revenue contribution to city.

Lastly, the reduced maximum allowable residential development in the Beach and Edinger Corridors Specific Plan area may impact the effectiveness of the form-based regulations in promoting the good city form principles of equity in access. As mentioned previously, the Kennedy Commission claims the amended Specific Plan impacts the ability of the city to provide affordable housing. Equity in access, which is addressed through standards for affordable housing, is one of the good city form principles that is more strongly integrated in the form-based regulations as compared to the conventional zoning regulations. The original Beach and Edinger Corridor Specific Plan included stricter requirements in addition to greater provision of

affordable housing. However, with the recent amendment to the Specific Plan, implementation of these regulations is unlikely. Moreover, the modified development approval process to include greater public review may further impede development of affordable housing if opposition in the community remains strong.

Overall, it seems the struggle between competing interests has hindered the City of Huntington Beach from achieving certain important goals for its citizens. Additionally, the form-based regulations of the original Specific Plan were not a major improvement from the conventional zoning regulations in achieving good built form for the Specific Plan area. Amendments to the Specific Plan have reduced development scale and capacity along the city's two primary commercial in an attempt to preserve the current character of the city and quality of life for its current citizens but the issue of economic vitality and the need to accommodate future growth remains. The provision of affordable housing is also unresolved as alternative plans to accommodate affordable housing in other areas of the city continues to be met with community opposition.

Chapter 8: Findings from the case study of Santa Ana Transit Zoning Code

The Transit Zoning Code is a remnant of the Renaissance Specific Plan, a comprehensive planning effort to revitalize of Santa Ana's downtown and transit station area. Community opposition to the Specific Plan resulted in its dismantling into the Transit Zoning Code and the Station District Development Plan. The Transit Zoning Code comprises the form-based regulations developed as part of the Renaissance Specific Plan. It was adopted as an amendment to the city's municipal code and provides development regulations for an area of approximately 450 acres that includes the civic center, downtown, two residential neighborhoods, and the rail station district. The Station District Development Plan covers 94 acres in the area and is subject to the Transit Zoning Code.

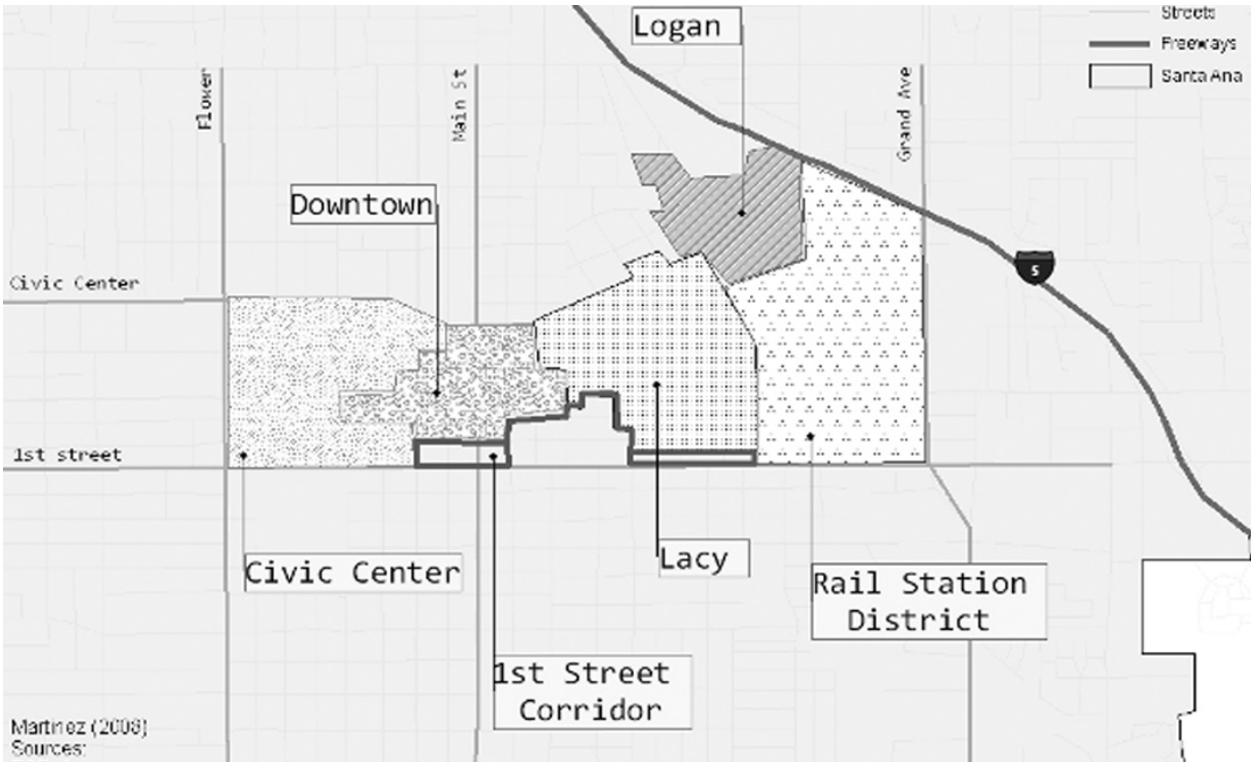


Figure 5 Map of Transit Zoning Code regulated area

The Transit Zoning Code covers an area with several distinctive spatial characteristics, a wide range of uses, and diverse stakeholder groups. The civic center reflects the importance of Santa Ana as the seat of the county government and a regional employment center with numerous local, state, and federal buildings. The downtown district is characterized by historic landmarks such as the Old Orange County Courthouse coexisting with newer 'artsy' mixed-use development in the Santiago Art District and the Artists Village. It is also an active commercial district with a distinct Latino atmosphere, particularly along Fourth Street, otherwise known as La Calle Cuatro. The adjacent residential neighborhoods, called the Lacy and Logan neighborhoods, primarily consist of low density housing in an architectural style reminiscent of pre-World-War-II development. The majority of the residents are Mexican and Vietnamese working-class immigrants and long-time residents of the city. The rail station district consists of industrial uses and the Santa Ana Regional Transportation Center (SARTC), also known as The Depot. The SARTC is a major transportation hub for Orange County serviced by Amtrak, Metrolink, Orange County Transit Authority, intercity and interstate bus transportation, and airport and taxi services.

Contextual Background: The City of Santa Ana and the Development Context of the Downtown and Transportation Center Area

Located in the heart of Orange County, Santa Ana is the largest city in the county covering a little over 27.1 square miles along the Santa Ana River. The city is largely built out leaving little vacant land available for new development. Much of the city's planning efforts have focused on redevelopment and revitalization of several priority areas, such as the historic downtown, primary commercial corridors, and underutilized industrial areas. Santa Ana also has an Enterprise Zone, which promotes business and employment growth by providing various

incentives to companies located within the zone boundaries, and a Foreign Trade Zone, where international business can be conducted without paying duties while in the zone area.

More than half of the city's land area is devoted to residential uses; however, the development of new housing has not kept pace with the city's population growth (City of Santa Ana, 2010). The city's population has increased dramatically since its incorporation in 1886 and experienced peak growth in the 1960s (CADOF, 2013). Santa Ana is currently the second most populous city in Orange County (CADOF, 2017). It has the highest population density of all cities in Orange County and is the fourth most densely populated city nationally among cities of over 300,000 residents following New York City, San Francisco, and Boston (U.S. Census Bureau, 2016). The U.S. Census Bureau (2016) estimates that 98 percent of the city's housing is occupied and more than half are renter-occupied. The city's median household income was $55,397 in 2016, with 17.2 percent of the population living below the federal poverty line (U.S. Census Bureau, 2016). The median value of owner-occupied housing units in Santa Ana was $383,900 and the median gross rent was $1,354 in 2016 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2016).

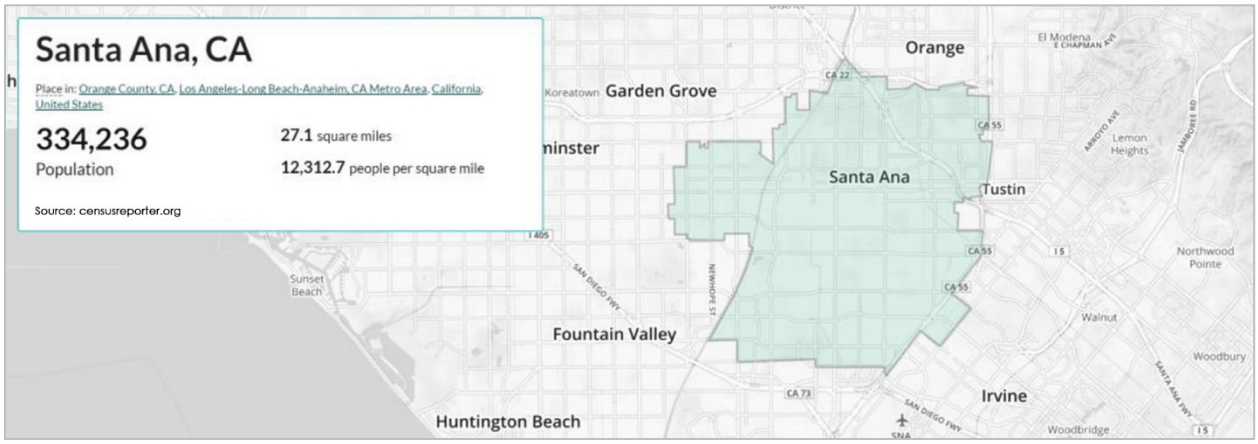


Figure 6 Locational map of Santa Ana

The high population density and built out lands have raised concerns about the availability of affordable housing and the prevalence of overcrowding in the city. It is estimated

that approximately 65 percent of renters in Santa Ana spend more than 30 percent of their household income on rent (U.S. Census Bureau, 2016). Moreover, Santa Ana has a higher than average household size with over 40 percent of all households in the city having 5 or more people (SCAG, 2017, U.S. Census Bureau, 2016). In addition to economic and physical constraints, the larger average household size is attributed in part to the city's Hispanic working-class immigrant population that is culturally based in extended family households (Garcia, 1993). The need for larger affordable housing units is expected to continue in order to accommodate the rising number of families, especially as the Hispanic and Asian populations continue to grow in Santa Ana while other ethnic groups in the city are diminishing (SCAG, 2017).

The ethnic base of the city contributes to Santa Ana's strong cultural identity which is reflected in its residential neighborhoods and local businesses, particularly in the downtown area. However, community members are concerned with gentrification of their neighborhoods as more mixed-use developments, higher end restaurants, and national chain stores find their way into the city replacing older single-family homes and ethnically-based retail stores and services. A local writer remarks in a recent KCET article, "where once Mexican culture was celebrated on Calle Cuatro, today white-walled coffee shops and trendy barbers are replacing quinceañera stores and chasing away fruteros (fruit vendors) (Goldner, 2017)." Artists, once criticized for displacing local residents and raising rents, are also moving out due to further increases in rents as mainstream businesses locate in the historic downtown.

An Overview of the Planning Process of the Transit Zoning Code

In 2005, Santa Ana's city council held a one-day workshop to discuss development related issues and to establish priority focus areas for the City (City of Santa Ana, 2005). They identified the Santa Ana Boulevard Corridor as one of the top three priority focus areas in the

city. This area had previously been the focus of a Specific Plan intended, in part, to support the CenterLine, an Orange County Transportation Authority (OCTA) project for a light rail transit system through multiple cities in Orange County. The Specific Plan was put on hold when the CenterLine project was suspended due to lack of funding and congressional support. City council directed staff to renew the process of developing a Specific Plan and, as part of the Specific Plan, to develop a form-based code for the area (City of Santa Ana, 2005). After a public consultant selection process, Moule & Polyzoides Architects and Urbanists was awarded the contract to assist the city in the preparation of the Renaissance Specific Plan.

The city began the planning process for the Specific Plan in late 2005. Its purpose, goals, and objectives were established as well as the boundaries for the Specific Plan project area. The planning process for the Specific Plan included numerous public outreach efforts conducted from Spring 2006 to Fall 2007. These included interviews with individual stakeholders, four community workshops, six day-long design charrettes, over twenty outreach workshops, approximately thirty project update meetings and more than ten study sessions at meetings of the City Council and other city agencies including the Planning Commission, Historic Resources Commission, Environmental Transportation Advisory Committee, Redevelopment and Housing Authority, and Board of Recreation and Parks. Staff stated they sent out 45,000 utility bill inserts, 3,000 mailers to property owners, businesses and neighborhood representatives, and multiple press releases and interviews (City of Santa Ana, 2007). Letters for individual interviews were sent to select residents, business owners, developers, members of the Chamber of Commerce, and community organization leaders. Records show that approximately 200 attendees participated in the four community workshops (City of Santa Ana, 2006). Additionally, city staff

and the consultant also held several meetings with the Downtown Property Owners and Merchants Working Group.

Issues raised during the community outreach process included preservation of the area's historic and cultural resources, enhancing the economic strength of downtown Hispanic businesses, high density, biological impacts to wildlife and plants, displacement of existing population, and affordable housing. In addition, several industrial property owners voiced concern that the rezoning of the industrial properties would limit the potential of further development on their lands. There was also concern amongst some residents that the Specific Plan was a redevelopment plan and that the City would consider condemnation of private properties.

The draft Renaissance Specific Plan was released for public review in October 2007. Thereafter, planning commission, city council, and the Board of Parks and Recreation each held meetings to review the draft Specific Plan and hear public comments. Owners of industrial property in the Specific Plan area were constant members at these meetings and continuously expressed concern with how the Specific Plan would address their properties. In response, city council specifically held a discussion of the Specific Plan's zoning in industrial areas (City of Santa Ana, 2008). The possibility of creating an overlay zone for the industrial properties was introduced at this meeting and was well-received by the industrial property owners City of Santa Ana, 2008).

At the same time, the city was processing a project by Latino Health Access for a community center partially located on city-owned properties in the Specific Plan area and working on the Santa Ana Go Local project which included expanding the Transportation Center with transit-oriented development consistent with the Renaissance Specific Plan. These projects

later became part of the Station District Development Plan and the Santa Ana Transit Master Plan, respectively, when the Renaissance Specific Plan was dismantled in 2009.

In January 2010, city council conducted a work study session on the Station District Development Plan, the Transit Zoning Code, and the Santa Ana Transit Master Plan. It was stated at this meeting that adopting transit supportive zoning would help the city's streetcar fixed guideway project to better compete for funding (City of Santa Ana, 2010). The Transit Zoning Code would also provide for the integration of infill development into existing neighborhoods, flexibility of use by allowing for reuse of existing structures, and a framework for transit-supportive, pedestrian-oriented development that would support the addition of new transit infrastructure (City of Santa Ana, 2010). Some changes included in the Transit Zoning Code included provisions for affordable housing, the creation of an industrial overlay zone, and new open space in the Station District area (City of Santa Ana, 2010).

Subsequently, the planning commission considered the Transit Zoning Code in several meetings. It was at this time that strong public comments began to surface from members of the Santa Ana Collaborative for Responsible Development (SACReD) expressing disappointment with participation process, the need for affordable housing and open space, and consideration of potential displacement of current residents and small businesses. Still, planning commission voted 5-0 (with one commissioner absent and one abstained) to recommend that city council adopt the form-based code (City of Santa Ana, 2010).

On June 7, 2010, city council held a public hearing on the Transit Zoning Code. Numerous members of the community, many supporting SACReD, spoke in opposition to the adoption and argued for a community benefits agreement (CBA). The CBA was mostly to ensure that the community's needs would be addressed and that the city would be responsible for the

relocation for displaced residents. On the other hand, several stakeholders spoke in support of the Code, particularly as it related to open space, community facilities, and affordable housing provisions in the Specific Plan area. Council discussed the issues and concluded in support of the project. The Transit Zoning Code was adopted by a vote of 4-0 with ayes from Benavides, Bustamante, Martinez, and Tinajero and Alvarez, Pulido, and Sarmiento absent (City of Santa Ana, 2010).

Growth Machine Dynamics in the Planning Process of the Transit Zoning Code

In this section I present findings from analysis of the data on the planning process of the Transit Zoning Code for evidence of the growth machine. In short, I find that the development and adoption of the Transit Zoning Code was influenced by special interests, specifically those of certain city council members and industrial property owners. However, there is weak evidence that coalitions were mobilized with growth as a common motive as theorized in the growth machine thesis. Rather, the opposite is revealed where local community members formed a coalition to advocate for community rights and benefits.

City Council. Records of city meeting minutes and examination of the professional background of city council members show little indication of bias towards business and development interests in the planning process of the Transit Zoning Code. However, other media sources show that some council members had personal interests in the Renaissance Specific Plan area and used their authority as government leaders to manipulate certain elements of the plan. For instance, the boundaries of the Specific Plan were adjusted several times and when finalized excluded several properties and businesses in the area that had ties to city council members. An article in the OC Weekly lists these properties which include the family businesses of Mayor

Pulido, an automobile shop, and Councilmember Sarmiento, a Mexican nightclub (Arellano, 2008).

Table 11 City councilmember composition for the Transit Zoning Code

Councilmember	Years Served	Professional Background	Adoption Vote
Miguel Pulido	1986-2018	Business consultant	Absent
Lisa Bist	1998-2006	Consultant	-
Alberta Christy	1998-2006	Business Officer Citibank	-
Claudia Alvarez	2000-2012	Deputy District Attorney, Orange County	Absent
Jose Solorio	2000-2006 2016-2020	Politician	-
Mike Garcia	2002-2006	Economic Development	-
Carlos Bustamante	2004-2012	Law enforcement	Aye
David Benavides	2006-2018	Executive Director, NPO	Aye
Michele Martinez	2006-2018	Director of the Alliance for a Healthy Orange County	Aye
Sal Tinajero	2006-2018	Teacher	Aye
Vincent Sarmiento	2007-2020	Lawyer, private practice	Absent

Opines in popular media show perceptions that city council and developers are colluding to build the city at the expense of local residents. For example, a Santa Ana historian remarks that "since the Mayor, council, and developers have gotten so strong that there is little opposition of strength, they will again push their agendas until Santa Ana is another overcrowded urban area with no soul" and that "if this juggernaut can't be stopped, then they need to include proper city planning that means including parks, schools, and enough parking to accommodate the new residents – not just sweetheart deals for preferred developers that maximize profits at the expense of the living conditions for those who live there (New Santa Ana, 2010)." Other articles indicate gentrifications schemes by the city to push out working-class residents and local small businesses.

Industrial Property Owners. Several industrial property owners were active from the beginning of the planning process of the Fullerton Transportation Center Specific Plan. They were concerned about the rezoning of their properties which would make the current uses and structures nonconforming and limit the potential to expand their current business. One owner, Mike Tardiff, states,

> Many industrial owners are not happy with the rezoning of the area and take this plan as the City not caring about the jobs provided by these businesses and where the employees and business will go. The concept of grandfathering has a lot of restrictions that are not feasible for many owners. Many of these restrictions will prompt owners to lose their livelihood. Rezoning does not work well when making improvements on property. (City of Santa Ana, 2007)

These property owners attended multiple city meetings by city council, planning commission, and Board of Recreation and Parks. City staff also met with the land owners to discuss how to address the industrial properties in the Renaissance Specific Plan. Ultimately, an industrial overlay zone was created for the industrial properties, at the recommendation of the mayor, which would allow the land owners to continue using the existing conventional development regulations for their base industrial zoning designation or redevelop under the Transit Zoning Code.

Community Advocacy Groups. Numerous community advocacy groups were involved in the planning process of the Renaissance Specific Plan, including the Orange County Communities Organized for Responsible Development (OCCORD), Latino Health Access (LHA), Kennedy Commission, and the Orange County Congregation Community Organization

(OCCCO). In general, these groups advocated to include provisions for affordable housing and open space and parks in the Renaissance Specific Plan.

However, most relevant to this dissertation is the emergence of the Community Based Coalition Addressing the Renaissance Plan, later renamed the Santa Ana Collaborative for Responsible Development (SACReD), during the planning process of the Renaissance Specific Plan. This coalition brought together residents from various neighborhood groups, business owners, and local activists. They worked to create awareness of the plan distributing information to non-English speaking residents and encouraged them to participate at public hearings.

Many SACReD members spoke at the final planning commission and city council meetings on the adoption of the Transit Zoning Code. They expressed concerns about local housing needs, displacement of low-income residents and small businesses, lack of open space in the community and the right of the people to be part of the decision-making process. Most speakers requested the city commit to a Community Benefits Agreement (CBA) to ensure that local residents would not be unfairly displaced and negatively impacted by future development. The city has not signed a CBA but SACReD has achieved some of its goals. It should be noted that SACReD was not wholly opposed to the Transit Zoning Code. In response to an article that indicated such, a member responded that,

> SACReD does not oppose the project. The original project was basically a housing project. The current project with pressure from SACReD now incorporates open space and a community center. SACReD supports the project. SACReD's argument is for there to be a community-based agreement (CBA) for the development which would guarantee the project to actually benefit the surrounding community. Without a CBA the project can change in scope and not

> benefit to the surrounding community. The clapping [at the end of the city council meeting adopting the Transit Zoning Code] was a show of solidarity not sarcasm. (New Santa Ana, 2010)

Promoting Good City Form in Santa Ana's Downtown and Transit Center Area through the Transit Zoning Code

In this section, I first compare the results of the analysis for good city form principles in the form-based and the previously applicable conventional zoning regulations for the Transit Zoning Code area in Santa Ana. A summary comparison of the analysis results for the form-based and conventional zoning regulations are presented in Table 16. Next, I discuss in greater detail how each performance dimension is addressed in the form-based regulations of the Transit Zoning Code as compared to the conventional zoning regulations it replaced. Results of the analysis of the form-based regulations and the conventional zoning regulations for the extent to which they integrate principles of good city form are presented in **Error! Reference source not found.**Table 17 and Table 18, respectively. The results are presented in rank order of the average of means (M_A) of the performance dimensions, and subsequently for their principles, for the form-based regulations.

Overall, both the form-based and conventional zoning regulations reflect principles of good city form to a moderate extent. However, the overall results are slightly weaker for the form-based regulations than the conventional zoning regulations. This is most likely because there is a greater number of good city form principles that are not addressed in the form-based regulations than in the conventional zoning regulations, even though the form-based regulations reflect more principles of good city form to more strongly than the conventional zoning

regulations. The only good city form principle that is not addressed in both the form-based and conventional zoning regulations is the principle of stability in fit.

The form-based regulations more strongly emphasize most of the principles in the performance dimensions of sense, vitality, and fit as compared to the conventional zoning regulations. In the form-based regulations, the principle of adequacy in fit is the most strongly integrated out of all principles of good city form. This is surprising given that adequacy in fit can usually be found in regulations with quantifiable measures such as required setback distances, building height limitations, and minimum parking requirements, which are typical of conventional zoning regulations. Interestingly, the most strongly integrated principle of good city form in the conventional zoning regulations is the principle of structure in sense, which addresses certain physical features that form-based codes are commonly used to achieve such as the conservation of existing urban character and historic preservation. Also notable is the greater extent to which the principle of health/sustenance is addressed in the conventional zoning regulations as compared to the form-based regulations.

The performance dimension of access is slightly more strongly emphasized in the form-based regulations than the conventional zoning regulations primarily because it integrates the principle of accessibility to a greater extent. However, the form-based regulations do not address the principles of control and equity in access at all, which are addressed in the conventional zoning regulations although weakly. In addition, the form-based regulations address the performance dimension of control to a rather weak extent, mostly because it does not address two of the four principles for this performance dimension at all. Moreover, it integrates the principle of congruence in control only in the general regulations applicable to all zones to a

weak extent. In contrast, the conventional zoning regulations address all principles of the performance dimension control albeit to a weak extent for most of the principles.

Table 12 Summary comparison of results for good city form principles addressed in the Transit Zoning Code case study

Performance Dimensions & Principles	Form-Based Regulations		Conventional Zoning Regulations	
	M_A (SD)	M_S (SD)	M_A (SD)	M_S (SD)
Sense	**2.98 (0.42)**	**3.08 (0.35)**	**2.48 (0.62)**	**2.41 (0.63)**
S: Structure	3.33 (0.16)	3.39 (0.07)	3.79 (0.16)	3.84 (0.09)
S: Transparency	3.19 (0.16)	3.24 (0.11)	2.64 (1.98)	2.50 (2.07)
S: Identity/Event	2.86 (1.95)	3.33 (1.63)	1.03 (1.03)	1.03 (1.11)
S: Legibility/Order	2.80 (0.11)	2.83 (0.08)	2.61 (1.96)	2.50 (2.07)
S: Congruence	2.74 (0.30)	2.64 (0.17)	2.52 (0.49)	2.52 (0.49)
Vitality	**2.30 (0.34)**	**2.18 (0.10)**	**3.30 (0.84)**	**3.30 (0.90)**
V: Safety	3.28 (0.27)	3.36 (0.20)	3.19 (1.25)	3.17 (1.34)
V: Consonance/Stability	3.24 (0.17)	3.19 (0.10)	3.15 (1.25)	3.05 (1.29)
V: Health/Sustenance	0.39 (1.03)	0.00 (0.00)	3.56 (0.49)	3.68 (0.36)
Fit	**1.99 (0.18)**	**2.01 (0.18)**	**1.66 (0.42)**	**1.64 (0.44)**
F: Adequacy	3.82 (0.02)	3.81 (0.01)	3.77 (0.13)	3.79 (0.13)
F: Program	2.65 (0.31)	2.54 (0.13)	2.45 (0.45)	2.37 (0.42)
F: Adaptability	2.04 (0.11)	2.05 (0.12)	0.94 (1.13)	0.75 (1.04)
F: Competence	1.43 (0.98)	1.67 (0.82)	1.14 (1.58)	1.28 (1.62)
F: Stability	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Access	**1.30 (0.31)**	**1.23 (0.27)**	**1.21 (1.05)**	**1.04 (0.98)**
A: Accessibility	3.63 (0.18)	3.57 (0.09)	2.45 (1.90)	2.32 (1.98)
A: Diversity	1.57 (1.13)	1.33 (1.03)	1.52 (1.94)	1.21 (1.82)
A: Control	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.44 (1.33)	0.50 (1.41)
A: Equity	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.41 (0.92)	0.13 (0.35)
Control	**0.88 (0.51)**	**0.73 (0.37)**	**1.31 (0.52)**	**1.23 (0.48)**
C: Physical Means	3.08 (1.42)	2.93 (1.49)	3.48 (1.32)	3.42 (1.40)
C: Congruence	0.43 (1.13)	0.00 (0.00)	0.44 (1.33)	0.50 (1.41)
C: Certainty	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.89 (1.76)	1.00 (1.85)

Performance Dimensions & Principles	Form-Based Regulations		Conventional Zoning Regulations	
	M_A (SD)	M_S (SD)	M_A (SD)	M_S (SD)
C: Responsibility	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.44 (1.33)	0.00 (0.00)
TOTAL AVERAGE	**1.89 (0.83)**	**1.85 (0.91)**	**1.99 (0.88)**	**1.92 (0.93)**

Notes: M_A = Average of Means for All Zones and Specific Zones; M_S = Average of Means for Specific Zones

Sense. Both the form-based and conventional zoning regulations address all principles of the performance dimension of sense. The principle of structure in sense is integrated to a strong extent in both the form-based and conventional zoning regulations as it relates to standards for setbacks and building heights. The form-based regulations additionally reflect the principle of structure in its standards for building and open space orientation and frontages. Transparency is reflected in the form-based regulations to a greater extent overall than in the conventional zoning regulations. However, the conventional zoning regulations address transparency in more of its mandatory requirements for window transparency in commercial zones and landscaping standards in residential zones. In the form-based regulations, transparency is generally addressed through detailed standards for façade treatments and signage. The principle of identity/event is strongly incorporated in the form-based regulations for all specific zones except the Urban Neighborhood 1 zone. Specifically, the specific zone regulations all include a requirement for the placements of side yard trees "to create a particular sense of place (City of Santa Ana, 2010)." The conventional zoning regulations reflect the principle of identity/event in its purpose "To preserve and improve the appearance of the city as a place to live, work, trade, do business and visit" and in its standards allowing various events and seasonal activities (City of Santa Ana, 2010). The principle of legibility/order is generally strongly incorporated in the form-based regulations by addressing the identity of streets through streetscape elements and frontage treatments. The conventional zoning regulations strongly reflect legibility/order in its regulations

for all zones and residential, industrial, and specific development zones through requirements for the marking of traffic symbols. However, these standards are not included in the commercial and public zones. The principle of congruence in sense is moderately integrated in both the form-based and conventional zoning regulations overall, mainly because it is addressed in the permitted uses of each zone.

Vitality. For the performance dimension of vitality, the principles of safety and consonance/stability are quite strongly addressed in the form-based regulations of the Santa Ana Transit Zoning Code. The conventional zoning regulations also strongly address the principles of vitality and safety but weakens its overall score by not addressing these principles in the regulations for the R2 Zone. Safety is integrated in both the form-based and conventional zoning regulations through standards for the provision of sun and shade, railroad safety, and traffic safety. The principle of consonance/stability is mostly addressed through regulations pertaining to pedestrian-scale amenities and noise and light pollution in both types of regulations. In the form-based regulations, the principle of health/sustenance is only integrated in regulations for all zones in standards for stormwater management and waste disposal. The conventional zoning regulations strongly incorporate the principle of health/sustenance primarily by addressing infrastructures such as drainage, sewage, and waste disposal as well as landscape irrigation standards for water conservation.

Fit. The principle of adequacy in fit is the most strongly reflected principle in the form-based regulations of the Transit Zoning Code. It is also quite strongly reflected in the conventional zoning regulations. Adequacy of fit is generally addressed in the quantitative standards for lot size, open space, tree cover, and parking in both types of regulations. The principle of program in fit is generally addressed more strongly in the regulations for all zones as

compared to specific zone regulations in both the form-based and conventional zoning regulations even though it is found more frequently in the regulations for specific zones. This is mainly because the generally applicable regulations for all zones includes more mandatory requirements whereas the specific zone regulations include are more permissive. The principle of adaptability is reflected to a moderate extent in the form-based regulations through permissive standards that allow flexibility in the provision of open space and rehabilitation of structures. The conventional zoning regulations address adaptability in its general regulations for all zones and in the regulations for residential and specific development zones through standards for adaptive reuse and building use conversion. The principle of competence, which addresses the functional aspect of design, is reflected to a moderate extent in the form-based regulations of certain specific zones that permit side yards to be used for other purposes such as a garden or patio. The conventional zoning regulations reflect competence in fit by regulating the functional design of buildings, streets, and common areas in the standards of certain specific zones.

Access. The principles of accessibility and diversity are the only two principles integrated in the form-based regulations for the performance dimension of access. The principle of accessibility is quite strongly integrated in the regulations for all zones and specific zones through general requirements for providing access to buildings, parking, and services. Diversity in access is incorporated to a lesser extent than general accessibility. It is reflected in the provision that certain streets "could accommodate multiple modes of transportation choices, which could include a fixed guideway, such as a streetcar, buses, automobiles and bicycle." The conventional zoning regulations address all principles in the performance dimension of access. The principle of accessibility is reflected in the general regulations for all zones and in the regulations for industrial, residential, and specific development zones regarding vehicular and

pedestrian access to parking and service access to public utilities. The conventional zoning regulations reflect diversity in access by addressing access to transit and bicycle facilities in its general regulations and in the regulations for industrial zones. Equity in access is addressed in the conventional zoning regulations through provisions for affordable housing in its general regulations for all zones. The specific development zone regulations also include as a development objective the creation of "moderately priced new homes (City of Santa Ana, 2004)."

Control. The performance dimension of control is the least frequently addressed performance dimension in the form-based regulations of the Santa Ana Transit Zoning Code, and thus its principles are weakly incorporated in the regulations overall. Nonetheless, the principles are incorporated to a strong extent when they are addressed, such as for physical means and congruence in control. The form-based regulations emphasize the principle of physical means in standards for the marking of property boundaries and the visual separation of vehicular and pedestrian traffic with planters and trees. The principle of congruence of control is integrated in the regulation that allows buildings to be subdivided vertically according to ownership patterns. The conventional zoning regulations address all principles in the performance dimension of control. However, as in the form-based regulations, the principles are addressed strongly but infrequently. Physical means is reflected in regulations for wall and fences for all zones except the R3 Zone. Congruence is addressed in the R3 Zone regulation that "for each dwelling unit, there shall be a separate, enclosed, lockable storage space area reserved for the occupants of such dwelling unit (City of Santa Ana, 2010)." The principle of certainty is addressed in the conventional zoning regulations by addressing landscaping installation and maintenance standards by the owner and manager of the development. The conventional zoning regulations

also address responsibility in control in requirements for cleanup of litter and graffiti by property owners.

Table 17 Results for good city form principles addressed in the form-based regulations in the Transit Zoning Code case study

Performance Dimensions & Principles	Zone All		Zone CDR		Zone DT		Zone TV		Zone UC		Zone UN-1		Zone UN-2		M_A	M_S
	F	*M*	*F*	*M*	*F*	*M*	*F*	*M*	*F*	*M*	*F*	*M*	*F*	*M*		
Sense	**108**	**2.37**	**101**	**3.11**	**224**	**3.24**	**216**	**3.27**	**248**	**3.23**	**120**	**2.39**	**278**	**3.28**	**2.98 (0.42)**	**3.08 (0.35)**
S: Structure	65	3.00	41	3.34	108	3.44	103	3.50	112	3.38	68	3.32	141	3.35	3.33 (0.16)	3.39 (0.07)
S: Transparency	20	2.90	7	3.14	12	3.17	11	3.27	9	3.11	6	3.33	13	3.38	3.19 (0.16)	3.24 (0.11)
S: Identity/Event	0	0.00	1	4.00	4	4.00	4	4.00	4	4.00	0	0.00	3	4.00	2.86 (1.95)	3.33 (1.63)
S: Legibility/Order	8	2.63	11	2.73	25	2.84	17	2.82	36	2.92	8	2.75	38	2.92	2.80 (0.11)	2.83 (0.08)
S: Congruence	15	3.33	48	2.35	75	2.76	81	2.77	87	2.72	38	2.53	83	2.72	2.74 (0.30)	2.64 (0.17)
Vitality	**43**	**3.04**	**16**	**2.12**	**34**	**2.18**	**23**	**2.28**	**46**	**2.10**	**16**	**2.32**	**61**	**2.09**	**2.30 (0.34)**	**2.18 (0.10)**
V: Safety	12	2.83	10	3.20	20	3.40	16	3.56	25	3.20	13	3.62	39	3.18	3.28 (0.27)	3.36 (0.20)
V: Consonance/Stability	16	3.56	6	3.17	14	3.14	7	3.29	21	3.10	3	3.33	22	3.09	3.24 (0.17)	3.19 (0.10)
V: Health/Sustenance	15	2.73	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0.39 (1.03)	0.00 (0.00)
Fit	**38**	**1.83**	**107**	**2.03**	**214**	**2.15**	**226**	**2.08**	**215**	**2.08**	**118**	**1.65**	**233**	**2.09**	**1.99 (0.18)**	**2.01 (0.18)**
F: Adequacy	20	3.85	60	3.83	142	3.82	151	3.81	133	3.79	81	3.81	154	3.82	3.82 (0.02)	3.81 (0.01)
F: Program	10	3.30	44	2.32	62	2.63	65	2.62	73	2.60	35	2.43	73	2.64	2.65 (0.31)	2.54 (0.13)
F: Adaptability	8	2.00	2	2.00	7	2.29	7	2.00	6	2.00	2	2.00	5	2.00	2.04 (0.11)	2.05 (0.12)
F: Competence	0	0.00	1	2.00	3	2.00	3	2.00	3	2.00	0	0.00	1	2.00	1.43 (0.98)	1.67 (0.82)
F: Stability	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Access	**14**	**1.75**	**15**	**0.87**	**48**	**1.41**	**51**	**1.43**	**57**	**1.38**	**24**	**0.90**	**66**	**1.38**	**1.30 (0.31)**	**1.23 (0.27)**
A: Accessibility	12	4.00	15	3.47	46	3.63	50	3.72	52	3.52	24	3.58	62	3.52	3.63 (0.18)	3.57 (0.09)
A: Diversity	2	3.00	0	0.00	2	2.00	1	2.00	5	2.00	0	0.00	4	2.00	1.57 (1.13)	1.33 (1.03)
A: Control	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
A: Equity	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Control	**3**	**1.75**	**0**	**0.00**	**1**	**1.00**	**1**	**1.00**	**2**	**0.75**	**3**	**0.83**	**4**	**0.81**	**0.88 (0.51)**	**0.73 (0.37)**
C: Physical Means	1	4.00	0	0.00	1	4.00	1	4.00	2	3.00	3	3.33	4	3.25	3.08 (1.42)	2.93 (1.49)
C: Congruence	2	3.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0.43 (1.13)	0.00 (0.00)
C: Certainty	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
C: Responsibility	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
TOTAL	**206**		**239**		**521**		**517**		**568**		**281**		**642**			

Notes: F = Frequency; M_A = Average of Means for Zone All and Specific Zones; M_S = Average of Means for Specific Zones; CDR = Corridor; DT = Downtown; TV = Transit Village; UC = Urban Center; UN-1 = Urban Neighborhood 1; UN-2 = Urban Neighborhood 2

Table 18 Results for good city form principles addressed in the conventional zoning regulations in the Transit Zoning Code case study

Performance Dimensions & Principles	Zone All		Zone C2		Zone C5		Zone M1		Zone M2		Zone P		Zone R2		Zone R3		Zone SD		M_A	M_S
	F	*M*	*F*	*M*	*F*	*M*	*F*	*M*	*F*	*M*	*F*	*M*	*F*	*M*	*F*	*M*	*F*	*M*		
Sense	**80**	**2.99**	**45**	**2.04**	**52**	**2.36**	**79**	**1.97**	**23**	**1.96**	**62**	**1.63**	**71**	**2.96**	**85**	**3.01**	**152**	**3.38**	**2.48 (0.62)**	**2.41 (0.63)**
S: Structure	42	3.43	12	3.83	9	3.78	23	3.83	6	3.67	26	3.92	50	3.96	66	3.83	80	3.86	3.79 (0.16)	3.84 (0.09)
S: Transparency	9	3.78	2	4.00	2	4.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	4.00	2	4.00	7	4.00	2.64 (1.98)	2.50 (2.07)
S: Identity/Event	1	1.00	7	2.00	7	2.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	7	2.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	8	2.25	1.03 (1.03)	1.03 (1.11)
S: Legibility/Order	4	3.50	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	4.00	1	4.00	0	0.00	2	4.00	2	4.00	5	4.00	2.61 (1.96)	2.50 (2.07)
S: Congruence	24	3.25	26	2.31	34	2.00	54	2.04	16	2.13	29	2.21	17	2.82	15	3.20	52	2.77	2.52 (0.49)	2.43 (0.44)
Vitality	**29**	**3.30**	**21**	**3.77**	**20**	**3.61**	**21**	**3.93**	**8**	**4.00**	**11**	**3.22**	**9**	**1.22**	**10**	**3.53**	**51**	**3.10**	**3.30 (0.84)**	**3.30 (0.90)**
V: Safety	17	3.29	14	3.71	15	3.33	7	4.00	4	4.00	6	3.33	0	0.00	2	4.00	22	3.00	3.19 (1.25)	3.17 (1.34)
V: Consonance/Stability	7	4.00	5	3.60	4	3.50	4	4.00	2	4.00	2	3.00	0	0.00	3	3.00	7	3.29	3.15 (1.25)	3.05 (1.29)
V: Health/Sustenance	5	2.60	2	4.00	1	4.00	10	3.80	2	4.00	3	3.33	9	3.67	5	3.60	22	3.00	3.56 (0.49)	3.68 (0.36)
Fit	**72**	**1.85**	**80**	**1.18**	**87**	**1.52**	**108**	**1.95**	**39**	**1.21**	**91**	**1.17**	**80**	**1.71**	**100**	**2.04**	**181**	**2.32**	**1.66 (0.42)**	**1.64 (0.44)**
F: Adequacy	59	3.66	56	3.75	52	3.62	53	3.70	23	3.91	63	3.68	64	3.91	81	3.98	125	3.76	3.77 (0.13)	3.79 (0.13)
F: Program	11	3.09	24	2.17	34	2.00	54	2.04	16	2.13	28	2.14	15	2.67	15	3.20	46	2.61	2.45 (0.45)	2.37 (0.42)
F: Adaptability	2	2.50	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	2.00	2	2.00	6	2.00	0.94 (1.13)	0.75 (1.04)
F: Competence	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	2.00	1	4.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	1.00	4	3.25	1.14 (1.58)	1.28 (1.62)
F: Stability	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Access	**19**	**2.55**	**0**	**0.00**	**0**	**0.00**	**3**	**2.00**	**3**	**2.00**	**0**	**0.00**	**3**	**1.00**	**2**	**1.00**	**13**	**2.31**	**1.21 (1.05)**	**1.04 (0.98)**
A: Accessibility	8	3.50	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	4.00	1	4.00	0	0.00	3	4.00	2	4.00	7	2.57	2.45 (1.90)	2.32 (1.98)
A: Diversity	4	4.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	4.00	2	4.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	3	1.67	1.52 (1.94)	1.21 (1.82)
A: Control	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	4.00	0.44 (1.33)	0.50 (1.41)
A: Equity	7	2.71	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	1.00	0.41 (0.92)	0.13 (0.35)
Control	**14**	**2.00**	**4**	**1.00**	**3**	**0.83**	**7**	**1.00**	**2**	**1.00**	**2**	**2.00**	**1**	**1.00**	**2**	**2.00**	**2**	**1.00**	**1.31 (0.52)**	**1.23 (0.48)**
C: Physical Means	6	4.00	4	4.00	3	3.33	7	4.00	2	4.00	1	4.00	1	4.00	0	0.00	2	4.00	3.48 (1.32)	3.42 (1.40)
C: Congruence	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	4.00	0	0.00	0.44 (1.33)	0.50 (1.41)
C: Certainty	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	4.00	0	0.00	1	4.00	0	0.00	0.89 (1.76)	1.00 (1.85)
C: Responsibility	8	4.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0.44 (1.33)	0.00 (0.00)
TOTAL	**214**		**150**		**162**		**218**		**75**		**166**		**164**		**199**		**399**			

Notes: F = Frequency; M_A = Average of Means for Zone All and Specific Zones; M_S = Average of Means for Specific Zones; C2 = General Commercial; C5 = Arterial Commercial; M1 = Light Industrial; M2 = Heavy Industrial; P = Professional; R2 = Two-Family Residence; R3 = Multiple-Family Residence; SD = Specific Development (Includes SD No.19, SD No.30, SD No.37, SD No.47, and SD No.71)

Summary and Discussion of Findings

This case study looked at the planning process of Santa Ana's Transit Zoning Code which was originally developed as part of the now defunct Renaissance Specific Plan. The goal of the Specific Plan was "to establish an overall identity for the area by establishing a land use plan maximizing the area's potential and reestablishing the area as Orange County's downtown and Civic Center (City Council Committee on Mains Street Development meeting minutes, November 3, 2005). Its objectives included walkability; creating linkages between the train depot, downtown, civic center, and neighborhoods; providing multi-modal transportation options; and encouraging redevelopment of the area. The adopted Transit Zoning Code's intent is "to provide for the integration of new development and rehabilitation of existing structure with new and existing public transit infrastructure (City of Santa Ana, 2010)."

Analysis of the planning process of the Renaissance Specific Plan and Transit Zoning Code reveals the presence of land-based elites in city leadership positions and their influence on the formulation of the Transit Zoning Code. Santa Ana has long had a history of government corruption and political strife which has, in part, lead to mistrust and cynicism of city-led projects. For instance, a Santa Ana historian recalls the outcome of previous similar high-density plans stating that,

> The city's grand miscalculation in the 1970s and 1980s was to build the new high-density housing in the city to encourage young professionals to stay in the city as the townsites of Irvine and south county were growing. The problem was that this group of home buyers and renters liked the suburbia of the south. The people who moved in were the immigrants and lower income families who saw this as an opportunity for a clean home and a better life. Unfortunately, that often meant

> overcrowding conditions, lack of sufficient parking, not enough schools, and virtually no open space for the families. The city never planned on families moving into these high-density locations. (New Santa Ana, February 7, 2010).

Regarding the Transit Zoning Code, an article in the OC Weekly questions the motive behind it evolution from the Renaissance Plan. He refers to the plan as "Mayor Don Papi Pulido's latest gentrification scheme" and remarks how "SanTana planners and councilmembers have made a big deal of how they dropped the Renaissance Plan and went back to the drawing board due to grumbles from residents, to make themselves seem like benevolent masters" calling the change a "ruse the Don Papi is trying to pull (OC Weekly, February 20, 2010)."

Although there are misgivings and criticisms of the city's handling of the Renaissance Specific Plan, the planning process of the Transit Zoning Code does show the influence of the community advocacy groups, especially the Santa Ana Collaborative for Responsible Development. The change in focus from reestablishing the area as Orange County's downtown and civic center to a transit-supportive development is also in part a result of community opposition, in particular concern about gentrification of local small businesses in the downtown and of residents in the older Lacy and Logan neighborhoods. Moreover, the decision to develop the Station District with affordable housing, a park, and a community center, were partially a response to the local residents' comments. The Station District Development Plan, which was approved simultaneously with the adoption of the Transit Zoning Code, included 112 apartments for low- and very-low-income households, 32 homes for sale of which six would be affordable, a 1.5-acre park, and a community center. Councilmember Bustamante commented on the significance of the approval of the code and development plan saying "this project will be the catalyst for many other projects in the same area. It will definitely improve the neighborhood as

a whole (New Santa Ana, June 9, 2010)." Councilmember Tinajero adds that "many times lower income individuals in our community feel that they are not being represented. Last night's vote showed that for the first time in a long time the most vulnerable in our community will have a dignified standard of living that offers hope to their health and the educational well-being of their children (New Santa Ana, June 9, 2010)."

However, historic preservationists were not pleased with the development plan and code and filed a lawsuit against the city for potentially demolishing several historic homes in the Lacy neighborhood. The case was recently settled with changes to the original development plan that included fewer homes built, the relocation of several vintage houses, rehabilitation of ten homes, a historic survey for older homes, and the establishment of a Lacy Neighborhood Housing Fund to assist residents in the exterior rehab of their homes.

The findings of the analysis for principles of good city form in the Transit Zoning Code are interesting in the context of the continued conflict in planning for the future of the Transit Zoning Code area. Though the results for the form-based regulations show that they incorporate several good city form principles to a strong and moderate extent the overall scores do not show that the form-based code was an improvement over the conventional zoning regulations it replaced. Despite the overall weaker score, the form-based regulations do strongly reflect certain principles that relate to the purpose and intent of the code such as the principles of structure in sense, safety in vitality, and accessibility in access. However, there is room for improvement and further research is required to examine the differences between the originally proposed Renaissance Specific Plan and the adopted Transit Zoning Code.

Chapter 9: Findings from the case study of the San Juan Capistrano Historic Town Center Code

San Juan Capistrano's Historic Town Center Form-Based Code was developed in conjunction with the 2012 Historic Town Center Master Plan and adopted as an amendment to the city's land use code. The master plan and form-based code are the most recent planning efforts intended to revitalize the city's historic downtown. Together, they implement the city's long-term strategic plan by providing a framework for redevelopment in the downtown by both private landowners and the city (City of San Juan Capistrano, 2011).

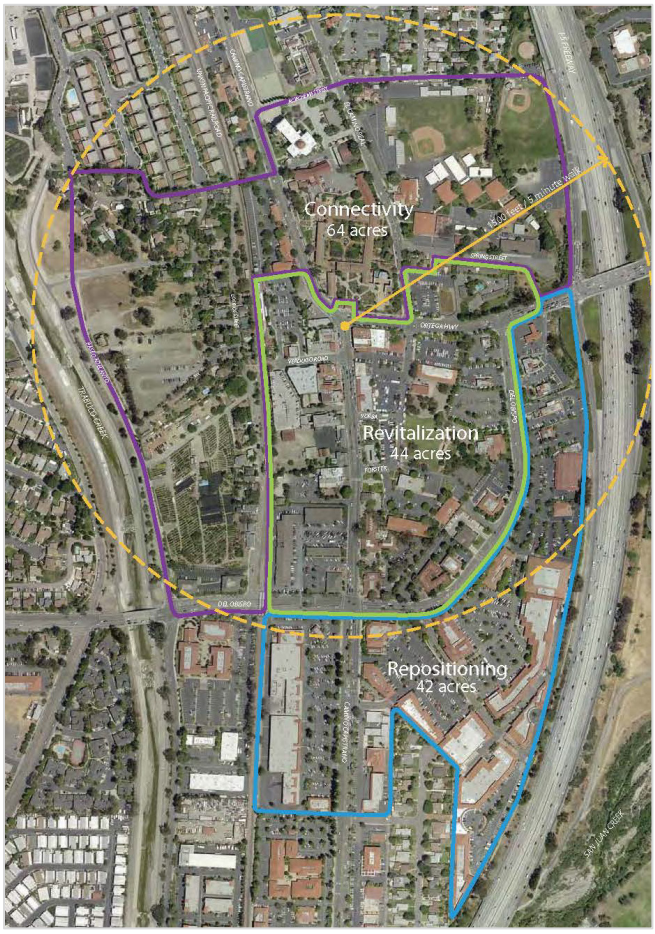


Figure 7 Historic Town Center Master Plan area map

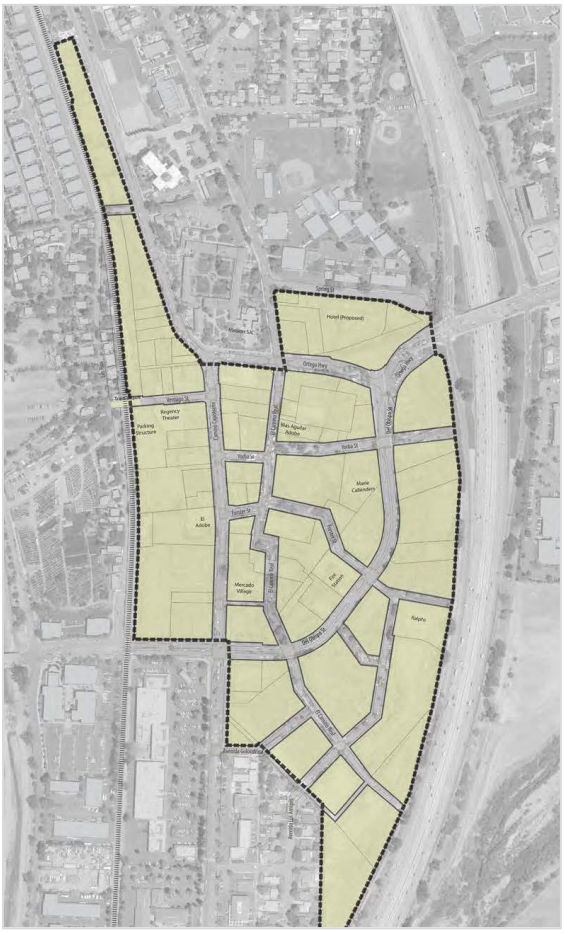


Figure 8 Historic Town Center Code area map

The Historic Town Center Master Plan area covers approximately 150 acres, including the historic town center "revitalization" area, the Del Obispo downtown expansion "repositioning" area, and the town center neighborhoods "connectivity" area (see Figure 7 Historic Town Center Master Plan area map). It provides for a net increase in development of 113, 665 square feet of commercial/office use, 20,661 square feet of civic use, 239 residential units, 214 hotel rooms and 297 parking spaces at buildout. It is expected that approximately 30,000 square feet in retail and other uses will be reduced through demolition. The master plan is intended to "ensure that the historic character and function of the Town Center as the civic and commercial heart of the city is preserved, enhanced and expanded over time (City of San Juan Capistrano, 2012)."

The Historic Town Center Code implements the master plan through new zoning district designations and standards for land use, design, and parking. The form-based code applies to an area consisting of retail, office, restaurants, and associated parking and includes the San Juan Capistrano Train Station, Veterans Park, and the Historic Town Center Park. However, it excludes some areas included in the master plan, such as the Los Rios Historic District and Park and the Mission San Juan Capistrano (see Figure 8 Historic Town Center Code area map). The new zoning districts consist of the Town Center zoning district, which applies generally to the core of the Historic Town Center Master Plan area, and the Town Center Edge zoning district, which applies generally to areas along Del Obispo Street and the eastern boundary of the master plan area. The Town Center Edge zoning district is intended to serve as a transition between the more intense development in the Town Center core and adjacent residential neighborhoods and corridor retail along Del Obispo Street.

Contextual Background: The City of San Juan Capistrano and the Development Context of its Historic Downtown

San Juan Capistrano covers 14.4 square miles at the southern tip of Orange County and has an estimated population of 36,262 (CADOF, 2017). The city's population grew by 6.7 percent between 2000 and 2016 (SCAG, 2017). It is an aging community with the age group of 55 to 64 experiencing the largest increase in share and the age group 65 and over with the greatest increase in population (SCAG, 2017). A little over half of the city's population is Non-Hispanic White; however, this ethnic group's share in the city is declining while other ethnic populations have been steadily increasing in the city (SCAG, 2017). The city's median household income is $81,511 and approximately 42 percent of households earn over $100,000 (SCAG, 2017). The city's housing stock consists primarily of single family homes and multifamily housing only makes up 15 percent of the city's housing (CADOF, 2017). No new multifamily homes were built in the city since 2010 (Construction Industry Research Board, 2016). The median home value is $590,500 and most of the homes in the city are owner occupied (U.S. Census Bureau, 2016). The city is most well-known for the Mission San Juan Capistrano and the Los Rios Historic District, California's oldest residential neighborhood, both located in the city's town center.

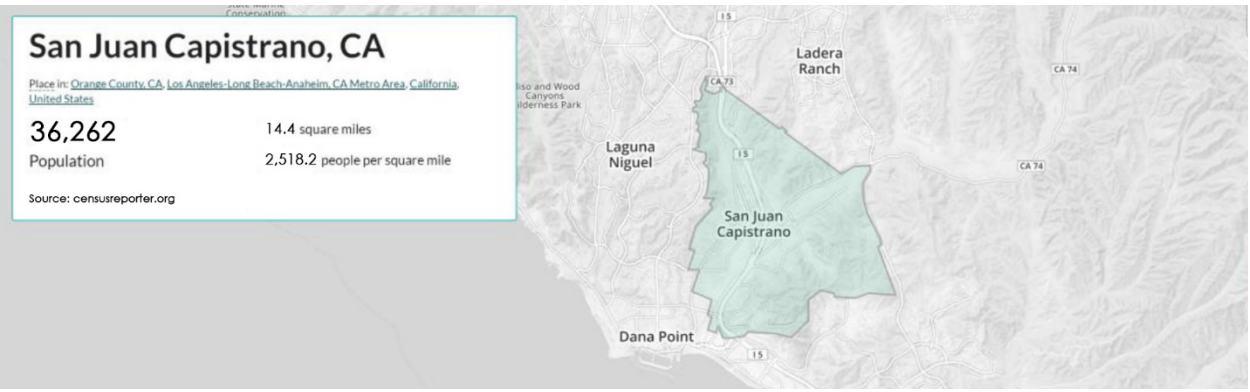


Figure 7 Locational map of San Juan Capistrano

The city has sought to revitalize the historic downtown area through multiple planning efforts since the 1970s. A chronological review of these early efforts is included below in the overview of the planning process of the Historic Town Center Master Plan and Code. More recently, in addition to the adoption of the 2012 Master Plan and Code, the city adopted a shared parking ordinance for the downtown and approved plans for a boutique hotel, the Plaza Banderas Hotel in the master plan area.

The shared parking ordinance was developed parallel to the Historic Town Center Master Plan and Code and was adopted in January 2011. It designates a "park once" district that overlaps with certain areas regulated by the Historic Town Center Code. The ordinance allows non-residential uses within a five-minute walking distance from city-owned public parking lots to take advantage of shared parking calculation to satisfy parking requirements. The purpose of the ordinance is to create a business-friendly environment by reducing required parking spaces and encouraging residents and visitors to park once and walk to multiple downtown destinations. It is intended to enhance the economic vitality of the Historic Town Center while reducing vehicle trips and enhancing pedestrian safety.

The Plaza Banderas Hotel project was approved in October 2010 as a mixed-use development with a hotel component that included 124 hotel rooms, an event center, media

room, outdoor pool, restaurant, and laundry facilities, and a commercial component that included over 10,000 square feet of office, retail, and restaurant use. The hotel development has been stalled due to change in ownership and litigation with another proposed hotel development in the downtown, the Hotel Capistrano. The ongoing lawsuit has the city considering repeal of the Historic Town Center Master Plan in order to "simplify the permit process, eliminate confusion and end disputes over interpreting the plan (Swegles, 2017)"

Overview of the Planning Process of the Historic Town Center Master Plan and Code

In 1974, the City of San Juan Capistrano adopted a new general plan that resulted in the redirection of the city to become a smaller community instead of a large urban area. It emphasized preservation of the city's ties to early California and the Mission San Juan Capistrano as well as a cultural, agricultural, and equestrian lifestyle. At the same time, the general plan directed that the city to developed with a strong economic base. Thus, key policies and development goals were established that committed to economic development, preservation, and enhancement of the city's historic downtown. For instance, a policy for commercial development relevant to the historic core stated that "land development priorities should be directed toward those uses which maximize revenues, minimize required services, and would not add to population growth pressures" (City of San Juan Capistrano, 2009).

The Historic Town Center Plaza Plan by Oliver McMillan in 1984 was one of several planning efforts conducted in an attempt to achieve the goals for the downtown area. However, implementation of the plan was hindered due to political challenges, including community opposition to proposed development intensity and discovery of significant archeological sensitivities (City of San Juan Capistrano, 2009). Additionally, lack of stakeholder support, especially from the downtown business community, seems to have contributed to the struggle

with downtown revitalization efforts. A principal planner, previously with the city, recalls that the city went through “a fairly lengthy process [with the 1984 plan] but there had not been a lot of energy and time invested in reaching out to stakeholders and building a grassroots constituency out of downtown business interest, historic preservationists, the Chamber, all of those groups” (Personal communication, October 10, 2016).

In 1992, the city council used a different approach and initiated a series of public workshops to discuss issues related to the historic core and to prepare a plan for the Historic Town Center that would better serve the community. This planning effort resulted in the 1995 Historic Town Center Master Plan, which established a preferred development scenario for the downtown area. In addition, the city formed a blue-ribbon committee in 2003 to study the development potential of the downtown area and develop a set of guiding principles and strategies that reflected community values in managing development activity in the historic core (City of San Juan Capistrano, 2009). However, again, there was little implementation aside from public improvements such as development of the Historic Town Center Park. Despite continued planning efforts, the downtown area has not had any significant commercial development as planned for in the 1995 Historic Town Center Master Plan (City of San Juan Capistrano, 2009). The lack of development and economic growth is attributed to unfavorable political and economic conditions for positive change.

In 2006, the city began working with the chamber of commerce's economic development committee to “identify opportunities to improve the City's business climate and increase revenues to support public services to the City's businesses and residents” (City of San Juan Capistrano, 2011). Sponsored by the economic development committee, the city contracted with the Urban Land Institute (ULI) to form a technical advisory panel (TAP). The purpose of the

TAP was to examine the economic impacts of the California Department of Transportation's (Caltrans) planned I-5/Ortega Interchange improvements to downtown in 2008. The ULI TAP produced a report with recommendations and guidance on opportunities for improving the business climate in the historic downtown area, focusing on the potential for leveraging the Caltrans project. In June 2009, the city council considered the TAP's report and mayor's subcommittee recommendations and concurred that the 1995 Historic Town Center Master Plan was in need of a comprehensive update (City of San Juan Capistrano, 2009). Soon after, the community redevelopment agency authorized a request-for-proposals process for planning consulting services to update the 1995 Historic Town Center Master Plan (City of San Juan Capistrano, 2009).

In February 2010, the city acting as the redevelopment agency hired the consulting firm Studio One Eleven to prepare a comprehensive update of the master plan. The project was officially initiated on March 23, 2010, with a kick-off meeting "to introduce the Downtown property owners, business owners, and stakeholders to one another and the Studio One Eleven consulting team" (City of San Juan Capistrano, 2011). At this meeting, attended identified key community stakeholders and organizations to include in a steering committee that would provide guidance to the consultant during the master plan effort (City of San Juan Capistrano, 2011). Candidates for the steering committee members included the Planning Director, representatives from the Public Works and Utilities/Parking, city councilmember Laura Freese, Mechelle Lawrence-Adams, Executive Director of the Mission San Juan Capistrano, Tony Moiso owner of El Adobe de Capistrano restaurant at the Mission Promenade, Gretchen Stroscher-Thomson, owner of hotel property, Steve Oedekerk of Plaza del Obispo shopping center, Art Birtcher, owner representative for the area south of the San Juan Capistrano Station parking structure, Don

Tryon of the San Juan Capistrano Historical Society, and local residents Ken Friess, Tim Neely, or Bob Cardoza (Elgura, 2010).

The planning process began in late spring 2010 and included four public workshops, three steering committee meetings, and five meetings with senior staff in the city. City staff reported that "development of the Historic Town Center Master Plan and Historic Town Center Form-Based Code were developed through an intensive and inclusive public process of collaboration with community organizations, property owners and public agencies" (City of San Juan Capistrano, 2011).

The updated Historic Town Center Master Plan and Code were presented to the public for review at a joint meeting of the city council, community redevelopment agency, and planning commission in November 2010. Several residents and business owners submitted letters and spoke in opposition to the proposed plan concerned with keeping the small downtown environment, eminent domain, shared parking, and the proposed relocation of a local store. A member of the chamber of commerce was the only speaker in full support of the plan, stating that "a new plan is needed in order to move forward, and hoped that the proposed plan would not be put on hold like other previous plans" (City of San Juan Capistrano, 2010). Despite the majority of dissenting voices, planning commission and city council commented on the impressive work put into the plan and the importance and need for a plan that would provide for mixed-use, retail, and a hotel in downtown. They also emphasized many aspects of the plan that would improve the downtown to the benefit of the community, such as maintaining the historical heritage of the community and creating a pedestrian-friendly environment with wider sidewalks and more paseos. In the end, both planning commission and city council approved the plan and code with some modifications and directed staff to proceed with the environmental review process.

In late 2011, the draft Historic Town Center Master Plan and Form-Based Code were reviewed by the transportation commission, the parks, recreation and senior services commission, the cultural heritage commission, and the design review committee in addition to continued review by the planning commission. Most of the discussions were on the extension of Yorba Street and the relocation of City Hall, both of which would impact the Historic Town Center Park, the preservation of the historical, small town atmosphere of the town center, and the overwhelming mass of a proposed parking structure at the visual gateway to the downtown.

The Historic Town Center Master Plan and Code were brought before city council with planning commission's recommendation for adoption in April 2012. Representatives from the Roman Catholic Diocese of Orange, the San Juan Capistrano Chamber of Commerce, and the Mission San Juan Capistrano spoke in support of the plan and code, and several residents spoke in opposition (City of San Juan Capistrano, 2012). It was approved and adopted with council members Freese, Allevato, and Kramer voting aye, council member Reeve opposed, and council member Taylor recused due to proximity of his residence to the Master Plan area (City of San Juan Capistrano, 2012).

Growth Machine Dynamics in the Planning Process of the Historic Town Center Master Plan and Code

In this section I present findings from analysis of the data on the planning process of the Historic Town Center Code for evidence of the growth machine. First, I show that the 2012 Historic Town Center Master Plan was very much driven by business and development interests, within and outside of local government, from its inception to adoption. In particular, the city's chamber of commerce played a central role in initiating the project, promoting it to the business community, and providing input on the contents of the master plan and code. Additionally, I

show how members of city government supported these special interests in the formulation and adoption of the Specific Plan. Overall, the project was highly supported by the majority of city council and key members of the downtown business community. The involvement of these key players as evidence of the growth apparatus is demonstrated below.

Chamber of Commerce. In San Juan Capistrano, the chamber of commerce was the predominant vehicle through which business owners, land owners, and developers influenced the 2012 Historic Town Center Master Plan and Code planning process. For instance, the chamber's economic development committee sponsored the ULI TAP to examine the economic impacts of the planned Interstate 5/Ortega Interchange improvements to the downtown which directly lead to the city pursuing an update to the 1995 Historic Master Plan. It should be noted that the economic development committee was created by the San Juan Capistrano Chamber of Commerce as a joint venture with city council and city staff with the purpose "to identify opportunities within the City to improve the business climate and to increase revenue to the City" (City of San Juan Capistrano, 2009).

In sponsoring the ULI TAP, the chamber of commerce also assisted in identifying interviewees for the TAP panel to collect community input on the potential for leveraging the Caltrans interchange project to enhance the downtown. The 11 local stakeholders selected for interviews were a mix of property and business owners, local organization leaders, and city council members. The interviewed elected officials and local organization representatives remained highly active in the planning process of the Master Plan and Code and supportive of the project. Several of these interviewees were later included in the steering committee for the master plan update effort. A list of the TAP interviewees is provided in Table 19.

Once the ULI TAP report was finalized, the chamber's economic development committee worked in conjunction with the mayor's subcommittee (also referred to as the council subcommittee) to review past studies and plans of the downtown core, assess existing conditions, consider project proposals, and engage major downtown stakeholders to develop a recommended course of action for city council's consideration. In June 2009, the city council/community redevelopment agency considered the council subcommittee's report and approved the recommendation to amend and update the 1995 Historic Town Center Master Plan.

Table 13 Interviewees in the Historic Town Center Technical Advisory Panel

Interviewee	**Affiliation**	**Position**
Mark Neilsen	City Council	Mayor pro tem
Thomas Hribar	City Council	Councilmember
Londres Uso	City Council	Councilmember
Laura Freese	Economic Development Committee	Committee member
Eric Altman	Chamber of Commerce	President
Mechelle Lawrence-Adams	Mission San Juan Capistrano	Executive director
Joe Campbell	Ruby's Diner	Business owner
Steve Nordeck	Swallow's Inn	Business owner
Don DeNault	DeNault's Hardware	Business owner
Ross Pollard	McDonald's Restaurant	Business owner
Gretchen Stroscher Thompson	Plaza Del Obispo	Property owner

Source: Urban Land Institute Technical Advisory Panel Report, 2008.

Throughout the planning process, one or more members of the chamber of commerce attended and spoke during public comments in support of the plan at each city council meeting for the Historic Town Center Master Plan and Code. They commented on the importance of the plan and code to the economic development objectives of the city (City of San Juan Capistrano, 2012). The president of the chamber of commerce at that time even offered the chamber's assistance to facilitate the planning process between the city and downtown businesses and

stakeholders (City of San Juan Capistrano, 2010). In addition, the chamber held a couple of events to present and discuss the master plan and code to its members, particularly the downtown business community. For instance, in May 2010, the chamber hosted a networking breakfast with the consultant, Studio One Eleven, as the featured speaker to present on the existing conditions and challenges of the downtown. Another presentation was made to members of the chamber of commerce in December 2011. This presentation explained the objectives and implementation of the plan and the role of the chamber during the planning process as well as after its adoption. Specifically, it called for members to,

> Continue to support and advocate for the adoption of a new Master Plan for the Historic Town Center that will balance historic preservation and business/economic objectives; provide testimony as part of the public review process highlighting the importance of the Master Plan in creating a unified vision of the Historic Town Center for the community; encourage member businesses and business property owners to get involved in the public review process on the Master Plan; following the adoption of the Master Plan, create a Historic Town Center Sub-committee to encourage private investment in the Historic Town Center and provide input to the City on planned capital improvement projects (streetscape, lighting, parking). (Studio One Eleven, 2011)

Thus, in these ways the chamber of commerce worked to influence the development and adoption of the Historic Town Center Master Plan and Code in order to support financial interests and the overall economic development of the city.

City Leadership. City officials involved in the planning process of the Historic Master Plan and Code showed a great deal of concern for businesses in the downtown area and actively

worked to include business and property owners in the planning process. For instance, many of the city's councilmembers were concerned with attracting retailers and tenants, evidenced in the records of the project kick-off meeting, joint workshop, and multiple city council meetings. On issuing the request for proposals for consulting services for the Historic Town Center Master Plan, councilmember's comments emphasized identifying the "necessary critical mass to have a successful retail environment" and minimizing "the impact to the downtown merchants" (City of San Juan Capistrano, 2009).

City council's support for downtown businesses and developers is also evident in the proceedings of the downtown shared parking strategy, an important project that proceeded parallel with the Historic Town Center Master Plan and Code. In July 2010, city council discussed developing a "Global Downtown Parking Strategy" to provide more convenient and efficient parking in the Historic Town Core mainly because,

> Existing parking standards in the municipal code are based on individual and segregated land uses that control development intensity through parameters such as parking ratios, to the detriment of the downtown's unique, historic and integrated built form. The business community has expressed that the process for requesting a parking variance can be stringent and excessive and subsequently discourages potential economic development. (City of San Juan Capistrano, 2010)

Moreover, it is shown that the city sought to "encourage the development of restaurants in the downtown area and reducing the parking standard for restaurants reduces the development costs of starting up or expanding a business (City of San Juan Capistrano)." Council directed staff to work with the consultant, Studio One Eleven, to complete the Historic Town Center Master Plan and Form-Based Code to include updated parking standards in the Historic Town

Center Master Plan area. In September 2010, city council discussed an ordinance for shared parking for the Historic Town Center, at which time members of the chamber of commerce submitted a letter and spoke during public comments in support of the parking ordinance. The shared parking ordinance was discussed in several subsequent planning commission meetings with only a couple of residents voicing concern on its potential impacts to their property's parking situation. The ordinance was sent to city council in November 2010 with planning commission's recommendation to establish shared parking standards for businesses and land uses in the Historic Town Center Master Plan area. The shared parking ordinance was adopted in January 2011 by city council. Two members of the chamber of commerce were the only speakers to comment on the ordinance at the public hearing on its adoption. They restated from a previous letter to council that "this parking ordinance addresses two of the issues most critical to the success of Downtown merchants and businesses; parking and traffic (Rodarte, 2010)." They state that,

> "The shared parking strategy will provide three benefits to the community: 1) it offers a far more efficient means of assuring ample parking while also preserving the aesthetic appeal of our Downtown and limiting the burdens placed on individual parcels, 2) it will reduce vehicular traffic and encourage more foot traffic and less 'short trips' around the core business area, and 3) it will reflect the continuation of our City's commitment to making San Juan Capistrano a great place to operate a business." (Rodarte, 2010)

Likewise, city council commented that "the proposed code amendment [to establish shared parking standards] is a great tool to strengthen the businesses in the downtown… and that

it's important to concentrate in helping businesses that are already in town and also bring new businesses (City of San Juan Capistrano, 2011)."

The composition of city council members involved in the adoption process of the Historic Town Center Master Plan and Code shows that a majority have a background in business and development-related professions (see Table 20). Thus, economic development in the city was an important issue to the city council at that time. Data also shows that city leadership focused more on the feedback from property and business owners even though quite a few community residents opposed the plan due to potential negative impacts on historical landmarks and the small-town character of the downtown. For instance, Commissioner Parkhurst stated that he was encouraged by the positive feedback of business people in the community on the proposed Master Plan (City of San Juan Capistrano, 2012). Notably, Laura Freese, initially a representative of the economic development committee, ran for city council in 2008 with the intent to spearhead the project. She stated in a news article that "she will continue to push the project as long as she is in office" (The Capistrano Dispatch, 2010).

Table 14 City councilmember composition for the Historic Town Center Code

Councilmember	**Years Served**	**Professional Background**	**Adoption Vote**
Sam Allevato	2004-2012	Community Relations, Retired Police Officer	Aye
Tom Hribar	2006-2010	Real Estate	-
Mark Nielsen	2006-2010	CEO of software companies	-
Londres Uso	2006-2010	Dentist	-
Laura Freese	2008-2012	Marketing	Aye
Derek Reeve	2010-2012	Constitutional Attorney/Historian	No
John Taylor	2010-2012	Businessman	Recused
Larry Kramer	2010-2012	Engineer, Retired Naval Officer	Aye

City council's emphasis on economic development also most likely resulted in greater involvement of the economic development department in planning projects, such as the Historic Town Center Master Plan and Code. According to the principal planner of the project, it was atypical in that, within city hall,

> This project was actually initiated within the City Manager's office and began the whole planning process. Not terribly unusual but somewhat unusual. Typically, these kinds of policy initiatives originate or the primary drivers are planning departments or development services departments. In this particular case it was initiated out of the City Manager's office with the Redevelopment Agency Manager handling it and then when the Historic Town Center Master Plan was completed at a draft stage and we embarked on preparing the programmatic EIR for it, that's when I took over project management. (Personal communication, October 10, 2016)

The significance of city council's stance on development in the city is also indicated in an interview with a former principle planner at the City of San Juan Capistrano. The planner notes that while the pro-business council adopted 2012 Historic Town Center Master Plan and Code shifting political dynamics impacted its implementation. He recalls,

> The other thing that occurred around the time of adoption, just after the adoption was that we experienced fairly significant changes in city council. Those changes in city council were unfortunate from the perspective that before the election in November 2014, you had five city councilmembers with the exception of possibly one that were very much committed to the overall objectives of the Master Plan, committed to implementation, very much interested in jumpstarting this

> resurgence in the downtown and what happened in 2014 is the shift the balance in city council changed. (Personal communication, October 10, 2016)

He also adds that,

> The change in city council composition set back the Historic Town Center Master Plan effort and form-based code. It's really unfortunate. And the city was interested, I think legitimately interested, in changing its reputation and image within the Orange County business community. The business community, development community, real estate investors by and large in Orange County, if you start talking to them I think that many of them, certainly not all but many, would say San Juan Capistrano is a great little town but not business-friendly in the least. The planning process is long, difficult, and convoluted with virtually no guarantee. You really can't anticipate what you're going to end up with at the end of the process. (Personal communication, October 10, 2016)

Additionally, a local business owner opines,

> That's the politics of the local community. When a city council majority doesn't want something, you know they always find ways to make it not happen. On the converse, when they want something to happen I don't care what code you have I've seen cities do it. (Personal communication, October 5, 2017)

In addition to city council members, other commissioners also showed evidence of favoring land-based interests in the downtown. For instance, members of the transportation commission and planning commissioners repeatedly emphasized the importance of involving business and property owners in the planning process. One planning commissioner notes, "the City has previously embarked on Master Plan efforts that went nowhere. The property owners'

ability to buy, sell and develop properties will be critical to the success of implementation (City of San Juan Capistrano, 2012)." Another stated that "he was pleased with the overall intent of the Historic Town Center Master Plan and its desire to motivate property owners and business people to invest in the future of the historic downtown" (City of San Juan Capistrano, 2012).

Other Players. There were quite a few city residents involved in the planning process of the Historic Town Center Master Plan and Code. Most were opposed to the proposed plan and code concerned that it would impact the historic character of the downtown and the small town feel of the city. They were also concerned with the potential impacts the plan would have to the Historic Town Center park and Blas Aguilar Adobe, local businesses, and private parking. DeNault, a business owner who was part of the ULI TAP study, complained that the plan proposed to move the location of his store. However, his concerns were not adequately addressed in the plan and he ultimately voiced opposition to the project at the joint workshop of the city council, community redevelopment agency, and planning commission for public review of the draft Historic Town Center Master Plan with (City of San Juan Capistrano, 2010). Overall, there is lack of evidence that these community members mobilized together to opposed the adoption of the master plan and code.

Promoting Good City Form in San Juan Capistrano's Downtown Through the Historic Town Center Form-Based Code

In this section, I first compare the results of the analysis for good city form principles in the form-based regulations of the Historic Town Center in San Juan Capistrano and the conventional zoning regulations it replaced. A summary comparison of the analysis results for the form-based and conventional zoning regulations are presented in Table 21Table 12. Next, I discuss in greater detail how each performance dimension is addressed in the form-based

regulations as compared to the previously applicable conventional zoning regulations for the Historic Town Center. Results of the analysis of the form-based regulations and the conventional zoning regulations for the extent to which they integrate principles of good city form are presented in Tables 22 and 23, respectively. The results are presented in rank order of the average of means (M_A) of the performance dimensions, and subsequently for their principles, for the form-based regulations.

Overall, the form-based regulations of San Juan Capistrano's Historic Town Center Code do not reflect principles of good city form to the extent that the conventional zoning regulations do. The good city form principles are integrated in the form-based regulations to a weaker extent than the conventional zoning regulations for all five performance dimensions. Nevertheless, the form-based regulations address several principles of good city form that are not addressed at all in the conventional zoning regulations, including the principles of legibility/order and identity/event in sense, adaptability in fit, and diversity in access. On the other hand, the form-based regulations do no address the principle of control in access whereas the conventional zoning regulations reflect this principle to a very strong extent. Both the form-based and conventional zoning regulations do not address the principles of stability in fit, and certainty and responsibility in control.

Of the five performance dimensions, vitality is reflected the strongest in both the form-based and conventional zoning regulations. The only principle in vitality that is integrated to a greater extent in the form-based regulations as compared to the conventional zoning regulations is the principle of consonance/stability. The greatest difference between the two types of regulations is in the extent to which they reflect the principle of health/sustenance. The form-based regulations only address health/sustenance once in the purpose of the Historic Town

Center Code "to protect and promote the public health, safety, comfort, convenience, and general welfare of the community (City of San Juan Capistrano, 2012)." The conventional zoning regulations integrate the principle of health/sustenance primarily in its standards for landscaping, such as requirements for water and plant conservation.

For the performance dimension of sense, the form-based regulations only better reflect the two principles that are not addressed at all in the conventional zoning regulations—legibility/order and identity/event. The other three principles of structure, congruence, and transparency are more strongly reflected in the conventional zoning regulations than in the form-based regulations. In particular, the principle of transparency is quite strongly integrated in the conventional zoning regulations mainly because of its requirements for visibility at intersections and window transparency.

The form-based regulations better integrate the principles of adequacy and adaptability in the performance dimension of fit as compared to the conventional zoning regulations. Adequacy, which is generally addressed in quantitative standards such as minimum requirements for setbacks and parking as well as maximum allowed building height and noise levels, is still reflected in the conventional zoning regulations to a strong extent. However, adaptability in fit is not addressed at all in the conventional zoning regulations. Conversely, the principles of program and competence are more strongly reflected in the conventional zoning regulations than in the form-based regulations.

Overall results for the performance dimension of access show the greatest difference between the form-based and conventional zoning regulations. The conventional zoning regulations more strongly reflect the principles of accessibility, equity, and control as compared to the form-based regulations. The principle of diversity is not addressed at all in the

conventional zoning regulations and only weakly addressed in the form-based regulations. The form-based regulations do not address control in access but the conventional zoning regulations reflect this principle very strongly in standards for secure access.

The performance dimension of control is reflected to a weak extent in both the form-based and conventional zoning regulations. The principle of physical means in control is addressed to a greater extent in the conventional zoning regulations than in the form-based regulations. It is the only principle of the performance dimension control that is reflected in the form-based regulations. The conventional zoning regulations also address the principle of congruence albeit weakly.

Table 15 Summary comparison of results for good city form principles addressed in the Historic Town Center Code case study

Performance Dimensions & Principles	**Form-Based Regulations**		**Conventional Zoning Regulations**	
	M_A (SD)	***M_S (SD)***	***M_A (SD)***	***M_S (SD)***
Vitality	**2.13 (0.03)**	**2.14 (0.04)**	**2.83 (0.53)**	**2.75 (0.53)**
V: Consonance/Stability	3.36 (0.13)	3.42 (0.12)	3.08 (0.62)	3.06 (0.68)
V: Safety	2.70 (0.52)	3.00 (0.00)	2.96 (0.66)	2.89 (0.69)
V: Health/Sustenance	0.33 (0.58)	0.00 (0.00)	2.45 (0.46)	2.30 (0.25)
Sense	**1.78 (0.24)**	**1.66 (0.14)**	**1.90 (0.04)**	**1.89 (0.04)**
S: Legibility/Order	3.17 (0.44)	3.08 (0.59)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
S: Structure	3.09 (0.26)	3.23 (0.15)	3.13 (0.16)	3.12 (0.18)
S: Congruence	1.33 (1.15)	1.99 (0.01)	2.46 (0.31)	2.34 (0.10)
S: Transparency	1.00 (1.73)	0.00 (0.00)	3.92 (0.20)	4.00 (0.00)
S: Identity/Event	0.33 (0.58)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Fit	**1.54 (0.08)**	**1.51 (0.09)**	**1.65 (0.15)**	**1.62 (0.14)**
F: Adequacy	3.85 (0.13)	3.92 (0.02)	3.46 (0.25)	3.51 (0.24)
F: Adaptability	1.85 (0.53)	1.63 (0.53)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)

Performance Dimensions & Principles	Form-Based Regulations		Conventional Zoning Regulations	
	M_A (SD)	M_S (SD)	M_A (SD)	M_S (SD)
F: Program	1.67 (0.58)	2.00 (0.05)	2.41 (0.71)	2.14 (0.12)
F: Competence	0.33 (0.58)	0.00 (0.00)	2.38 (0.73)	2.44 (0.78)
F: Stability	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Access	**1.17 (0.72)**	**0.75 (0.00)**	**2.72 (0.13)**	**2.77 (0.02)**
A: Accessibility	3.00 (0.00)	3.00 (0.00)	3.56 (0.10)	3.53 (0.07)
A: Equity	1.33 (2.31)	0.00 (0.00)	3.33 (0.59)	3.56 (0.09)
A: Diversity	0.33 (0.58)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
A: Control	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	4.00 (0.00)	4.00 (0.00)
Control	**0.23 (0.41)**	**0.00 (0.00)**	**0.70 (0.44)**	**0.56 (0.25)**
C: Physical Means	0.94 (1.62)	0.00 (0.00)	2.33 (0.94)	2.22 (0.98)
C: Congruence	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.46 (1.22)	0.00 (0.00)
C: Certainty	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
C: Responsibility	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
TOTAL AVERAGE	**1.39 (0.73)**	**1.21 (0.84)**	**1.96 (0.87)**	**1.92 (0.92)**

Notes: M_A = Average of Means for All Zones and Specific Zones; M_S = Average of Means for Specific Zones

Vitality. For the performance dimension of vitality, both the form-based and conventional zoning regulations most strongly address the principle of consonance. In the form-based regulations, the principle of consonance is mostly addressed in standards pertaining to accessibility for disabled persons, light pollution, and pedestrian-scale elements in the design of the streetscape and frontages. The conventional zoning regulations mainly integrates consonance in standards for noise and light pollution prevention. The principle of safety is addressed to a greater extent overall in the conventional zoning regulations as compared to the form-based regulations. The conventional zoning regulations address safety in standards for traffic safety, security lighting, and heat island effect, whereas the principle of safety is primarily addressed in

the form-based regulations through standards for the provision of sunlight and shade. The principle of health and sustenance is addressed in the form-based regulations only once in the purpose of the Historic Town Center Code. In contrast, the conventional zoning regulations address health/sustenance to a strong extent in its general standards and to a moderate extent in its regulations for specific zones. This principle is reflected not only in standards for water and plant conservation but also in regulations for air quality and energy efficiency.

Sense. Of all the principles for the performance dimension of sense, the principles of legibility/order and structure are the most strongly incorporated in the form-based regulations of the Historic Town Center Code. The conventional zoning regulations also reflect structure to a strong extent, more so than the form-based regulations, but legibility/order is not addressed in the conventional zoning regulations at all. The form-based regulations incorporate the principle of legibility/order in standards for building setbacks, frontages to enhance street identity, and architectural distinction to easily identify primary and secondary entrances to buildings. The principle of structure in sense is addressed in both types of regulations in the requirements for building heights, setbacks, and parking. However, the form-based regulations also include standards for frontage treatments, and how buildings, streets, and districts relate to one another in terms of scale and transition. The principle of congruence is generally integrated in the permitted land uses of each zoning designation, thus it is reflected to a moderate degree in regulations specific to zones for both the form-based and conventional zoning regulations. However, the conventional zoning regulations also address congruence in regulations generally applicable to all zones through standards on the placement of utilities whereas this principle is not addressed in the general standards of the form-based regulations. The conventional zoning regulations reflect the principle of transparency the strongest out of all good city form principles. In

particular, it is strongly reflected in the regulations for specific zones for a requirement that "car/van pool" parking spaces shall be clearly designated by surface painting and/or signs (City of San Juan Capistrano, 2012)." The principles of identity/event is not addressed at all in the conventional zoning regulations. For the principles of transparency and identity/event, the form-based regulations only address them in the regulations generally applicable to all zones. Transparency is reflected in the form-based requirements for frontage treatments to allow views into storefronts. The principle of identity/event is reflected in the intent of the form-based code "to ensure that development and revitalization of the plan area results in positively adding to San Juan Capistrano's unique and distinctive physical character (City of San Juan Capistrano, 2012)."

Fit. The form-based regulations reflect the principle of adequacy the strongest out of all good city form principles. Adequacy in fit is strongly integrated in the form-based requirements for the minimum provision of parking spaces and detailed treatment of building frontages. The conventional zoning regulations also reflect adequacy to a strong extent mainly through quantitative standards for building height, signage, floor-area-ratio, and parking. Adaptability in fit is reflected to a moderate extent in the form-based regulations that allow variations in frontage treatment, potential realignment of streets, and threshold provisions for the future applicability of overlay zones. In contrast, adaptability is not addressed in the conventional zoning regulations at all. The principle of program in fit is found more frequently in regulations for specific zones in both the form-based and conventional zoning regulations as it is generally reflected in the permitted use of place, along with the principle of congruence in sense as mentioned above. As an example, the form-based regulations states "a variety of land use activities are allowed with a focus on specialty retail, restaurants, civic/cultural, hotels and conference facilities, office and housing" in the Town Center zone.

Access. The principle of accessibility is strongly integrated in both the form-based and conventional zoning regulations for all zones and specific zones. It is generally found in the standards providing access to parking, buildings, and uses in both types of regulations. Equity in access is incorporated once in the form-based regulation that "an elevated forecourt shall meet accessibility code for access with the building and the sidewalk (City of San Juan Capistrano, 2012)." The conventional zoning regulations address equity in reflect to a moderate extent by promoting affordable housing and providing for handicapped parking. Diversity in access is not addressed at all in the conventional zoning regulations but is integrated in the form-based regulations in its regulations for shared parking generally applicable to all zones. The principle of control in access is not addressed at all in the form-based regulations but the conventional zoning regulations reflect this principle in its requirements for secured access related to bike storage, equestrian stables, and adult-oriented businesses.

Control. Physical means is the only principle in the performance dimension of control that is addressed in the form-based regulations. It is integrated in the form-based regulations generally applicable to all zones through standards for walls, fences, and hedges used to demarcate property boundaries. The conventional zoning regulations address physical means to a greater extent than the form-based regulations because it is addressed in standards applicable to all zones and specific zones. In the conventional zoning regulations, physical means is also addressed in regulations for landscape buffers as well as walls and fences. The conventional zoning regulations integrate the principle of congruence of control, which is the extent to which actual users of a space control it, by addressing ownership rights and usage. The form-based regulations do not address the principle of congruence at all.

Table 22 Results for principles of good city form addressed in the form-based regulations in the Historic Town Center Code case study

Performance Dimensions & Principles	All Zones		Zone TC		Zone TCE		M_A	M_S
	F	*M*	*F*	*M*	*F*	*M*		
Vitality	**19**	**2.12**	**4**	**2.11**	**3**	**2.17**	**2.13 (0.03)**	**2.14 (0.04)**
V: Consonance/ Stability	8	3.25	3	3.33	2	3.50	3.36 (0.13)	3.42 (0.12)
V: Safety	10	2.10	1	3.00	1	3.00	2.70 (0.52)	3.00 (0.00)
V: Health/Sustenance	1	1.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0.33 (0.58)	0.00 (0.00)
Sense	**59**	**2.03**	**81**	**1.76**	**113**	**1.56**	**1.78 (0.24)**	**1.66 (0.14)**
S: Legibility/Order	6	3.33	2	3.50	3	2.67	3.17 (0.44)	3.08 (0.59)
S: Structure	38	2.82	21	3.33	24	3.13	3.09 (0.26)	3.23 (0.15)
S: Congruence	0	0.00	58	1.98	86	2.00	1.33 (1.15)	1.99 (0.01)
S: Transparency	14	3.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1.00 (1.73)	0.00 (0.00)
S: Identity/Event	1	1.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0.33 (0.58)	0.00 (0.00)
Fit	**22**	**1.60**	**131**	**1.58**	**185**	**1.44**	**1.54 (0.08)**	**1.51 (0.09)**
F: Adequacy	10	3.70	66	3.91	91	3.93	3.85 (0.13)	3.92 (0.02)
F: Adaptability	7	2.29	1	2.00	4	1.25	1.85 (0.53)	1.63 (0.53)
F: Program	4	1.00	64	1.97	90	2.03	1.67 (0.58)	2.00 (0.05)
F: Competence	1	1.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0.33 (0.58)	0.00 (0.00)
F: Stability	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Access	**6**	**2.00**	**3**	**0.75**	**2**	**0.75**	**1.17 (0.72)**	**0.75 (0.00)**
A: Accessibility	3	3.00	3	3.00	2	3.00	3.00 (0.00)	3.00 (0.00)
A: Equity	1	4.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1.33 (2.31)	0.00 (0.00)
A: Diversity	2	1.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0.33 (0.58)	0.00 (0.00)
A: Control	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Control	**16**	**0.70**	**0**	**0.00**	**0**	**0.00**	**0.23 (0.41)**	**0.00 (0.00)**
C: Physical Means	16	2.81	0	0.00	0	0.00	0.94 (1.62)	0.00 (0.00)
C: Congruence	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
C: Certainty	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
C: Responsibility	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
TOTAL	**122**		**219**		**303**			

Notes: F = Frequency; M_A = Average of Means for All Zones and Specific Zones; M_S = Average of Means for Specific Zones; TC = Town Center; TCE = Town Center Edge

Table 23 Results for principles of good city form addressed in the conventional zoning regulations in the Historic Town Center Code case study

Performance Dimensions & Principles	All Zones		Zone CP		Zone GC		Zone GOS		Zone P&I		Zone SP/PP		Zone TC		M_A	M_S
	F	*M*	*F*	*M*	*F*	*M*	*F*	*M*	*F*	*M*	*F*	*M*	*F*	*M*		
Vitality	**112**	**3.33**	**14**	**2.07**	**61**	**3.13**	**14**	**2.07**	**47**	**2.96**	**53**	**3.07**	**51**	**3.20**	**2.83 (0.53)**	**2.75 (0.53)**
V: Consonance/ Stability	25	3.24	5	2.20	25	3.60	5	2.20	16	3.31	18	3.39	20	3.65	3.08 (0.62)	3.06 (0.68)
V: Safety	30	3.40	3	2.00	30	3.30	3	2.00	24	3.29	25	3.32	25	3.44	2.96 (0.66)	2.89 (0.69)
V: Health/Sustenance	57	3.35	6	2.00	6	2.50	6	2.00	7	2.29	10	2.50	6	2.50	2.45 (0.46)	2.30 (0.25)
Sense	**153**	**1.96**	**54**	**1.86**	**121**	**1.91**	**70**	**1.84**	**63**	**1.92**	**73**	**1.87**	**93**	**1.94**	**1.90 (0.04)**	**1.89 (0.04)**
S: Legibility/Order	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
S: Structure	73	3.18	31	3.00	42	3.24	31	3.00	33	3.27	35	2.89	38	3.32	3.13 (0.16)	3.12 (0.18)
S: Congruence	65	3.14	22	2.32	73	2.32	38	2.18	29	2.34	37	2.49	49	2.41	2.46 (0.31)	2.34 (0.10)
S: Transparency	15	3.47	1	4.00	6	4.00	1	4.00	1	4.00	1	4.00	6	4.00	3.92 (0.20)	4.00 (0.00)
S: Identity/Event	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Fit	**116**	**1.83**	**65**	**1.64**	**211**	**1.63**	**81**	**1.64**	**127**	**1.37**	**132**	**1.79**	**187**	**1.65**	**1.65 (0.15)**	**1.62 (0.14)**
F: Adequacy	111	3.17	50	3.20	152	3.68	50	3.20	106	3.65	103	3.66	150	3.67	3.46 (0.25)	3.51 (0.24)
F: Adaptability	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
F: Program	4	4.00	14	2.00	56	2.13	30	2.00	20	2.20	28	2.29	34	2.24	2.41 (0.71)	2.14 (0.12)
F: Competence	1	2.00	1	3.00	3	2.33	1	3.00	1	1.00	1	3.00	3	2.33	2.38 (0.73)	2.44 (0.78)
F: Stability	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Access	**21**	**2.43**	**16**	**2.77**	**28**	**2.77**	**16**	**2.77**	**21**	**2.75**	**23**	**2.76**	**25**	**2.81**	**2.72 (0.13)**	**2.77 (0.02)**
A: Accessibility	15	3.73	12	3.58	24	3.42	12	3.58	18	3.50	19	3.53	21	3.57	3.56 (0.10)	3.53 (0.07)
A: Equity	2	2.00	2	3.50	3	3.67	2	3.50	2	3.50	2	3.50	3	3.67	3.33 (0.59)	3.56 (0.09)
A: Diversity	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
A: Control	4	4.00	2	4.00	1	4.00	2	4.00	1	4.00	2	4.00	1	4.00	4.00 (0.00)	4.00 (0.00)
Control	**12**	**1.56**	**1**	**0.25**	**3**	**0.75**	**1**	**0.25**	**2**	**0.75**	**3**	**0.58**	**2**	**0.75**	**0.70 (0.44)**	**0.56 (0.25)**
C: Physical Means	3	3.00	1	1.00	3	3.00	1	1.00	2	3.00	3	2.33	2	3.00	2.33 (0.94)	2.22 (0.98)
C: Congruence	9	3.22	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0.46 (1.22)	0.00 (0.00)
C: Certainty	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
C: Responsibility	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
TOTAL	**414**		**150**		**424**		**182**		**260**		**284**		**358**			

Notes: F = Frequency; M_A = Average of Means for All Zones and Specific Zones; M_S = Average of Means for Specific Zones; CP = Community Park; GC = General Commercial; GOS = General Open Space; P&I = Public and Institutional; SP/PP = Specific Plan/Precise Plan; TC = Tourist Commercial

Summary and Discussion of Findings

The City of San Juan Capistrano has long struggled to stimulate economic development in its historic downtown. Multiple previous attempts to revitalize the downtown had been unsuccessful due to lack of community support and changing political climates toward growth and development. The city once again sought to bring about change with the adoption of the 2012 Historic Master Plan and Form-Based Code. Additionally, the city adopted a downtown shared parking ordinance to reduce parking requirements for new and existing businesses and approved two hotel developments in the downtown. Nonetheless, there has been little development activity in the town center since the adoption of the plan and code.

Findings from the analysis of the growth machine in the planning process of the Historic Town Center Master Plan and Code show the strong presence of land-based interests in city leadership as well as high involvement of the city's chamber of commerce. Multiple sources indicate the powerful influence of the city council and the impact of their stance on business and development. For instance, a pro-business council supported the development and adoption of the Master Plan and Code. However, a change in city council composition after the adoption has, in part, stalled implementation of the adopted plan.

Analysis of the form-based and conventional zoning regulations for the Historic Town Center found that the form-based regulations of the Historic Town Center Code were weaker than the conventional zoning regulations it replaced in integrating principles of good city form. In general, the conventional zoning regulations better reflected most of the principles for all five performance dimensions. Nonetheless, a main strength of the form-based regulations is the extent to which it integrates the principle of legibility/order in its standards related to streetscapes. In addition, the form-based regulations also incorporate the principle of diversity in

access through shared parking provisions consistent with the downtown shared parking ordinance, which was not in place in the conventional zoning code.

An interesting finding is the extent to which the principle of structure is addressed in the form-based regulations. The City of San Juan Capistrano has quite a few vocal residents opposed to growth and development because of the potential impacts to the historic character of the downtown and the small town feel of the city. Although these residents raised such concerns throughout the planning process of the Historic Town Center Master Plan and Code, it does not seem that the form-based regulations more effectively contribute to an urban form and scale attentive to the preservation of historic resources and existing community character as compared to the conventional zoning regulations.

Chapter 10: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

The main purpose of this dissertation was to examine form-based codes for their effectiveness in contributing to good city form. By analyzing the planning process of form-based codes and the product of this process, the adopted codes, within the theoretical frameworks of Good City Form (Lynch, 1984) and the City as a Growth Machine (Logan & Molotch, 2007; Molotch, 1976), this dissertation provides insights into the adoption of form-based codes as an alternative to conventional zoning code, and the influence of special interests in the planning process of form-based codes in shaping the outcome of this process in a way that negatively contributes to achieving good city form. With this in mind, the major findings of this dissertation are that:

- Form-based codes do not necessarily promote principles of good city form to a greater extent than conventional zoning regulations;
- The pursuit of economic development, rather than the broader goal of growth as defined by Logan and Molotch (2007), compromise the effectiveness of form-based codes in contributing to good city form;
- Growth is not the sole and primary interest present in the planning process of form-based codes;
- Coalitions for special interests other than growth are readily formed during the planning process of form-based codes;
- The presence of any special interest, land-based or other, in the planning process of form-based codes appears to compromise the effectiveness of the adopted product in contributing to good city form.

The findings of this research partially support the theory of the urban growth machine. The variation found in the case studies can glean insights from a number of other competing theoretical views such as pluralism, plural elitism, and interest group liberalism. As such, there is not yet a single theory of urban politics, governance, and power structures that can illuminate the findings of this research. With this in mind, more research can be conducted of other adoption processes and attempt to reconcile the theoretical differences in the findings.

This dissertation also critically reflects on the theory of good city form as an analytical framework for the assessment of development regulations. While comprehensive in scope, it is limited to the assessment of physical characteristics of built environments and does not clearly address the nature and role of city government and the market. Therefore, other planning considerations, such as development approval processes, legal conformity, and implementation feasibility, typically included in development regulations are not accounted for. The analysis of regulations for the built environment is a growing area of study; however there is yet a lack of consensus on a satisfactory framework to empirically assess the potential effectiveness of development regulations. Using the theory of good city form is a first step toward developing an assessment tool to examine the potential of development regulations in contributing to good urban form. Additional studies can build upon the method used in this dissertation and further refine its scope and applicability.

By empirically examining the planning process of form-based codes, this dissertation also re-examines the implications of the urban growth machine for urban planning and design. For instance, the urban growth machine theory does not sufficiently address the importance of local residents and community groups in planning processes (Ferman, 1996). Moreover, it fails to recognize the growing importance of post-material values such as environmental protection,

sustainability, and higher quality of life. More and more advocacy groups are being formed for these goals and are successfully making their way into the decision-making process.

Overall, these findings are considered in the context of zoning reform efforts and policies addressing contemporary urban issues at various government levels. I conclude that form-based codes can effectively address certain issues but are not in themselves a panacea. In essence, the adoption of form-based codes is an institutional response to the contemporary problems of urban development that does not go far enough in contributing more positively to facilitate good city form. Thus, the adoption of new development regulations such as form-based codes can be seen as a missed opportunity to adopt regulations that mitigate the effects of existing conventional zoning and contribute to an urban form that meets the needs and desires of the community and society at large.

Below I provide a summary and discussion of the findings from all four case studies to the two research questions that guided this dissertation: 1) what is the extent to which form-based codes integrate principles of good city form and 2) is there evidence of the growth machine in the planning process of form-based codes? This chapter concludes with overall conclusions and recommendations.

Form-Based Codes for Promoting Good Urban Form?

As compared to the conventional zoning regulations, only the form-based regulations of the Fullerton Transportation Center Specific Plan achieved a stronger overall score in reflecting principles of good city form. In all other case studies, the conventional zoning regulations achieved higher scores than the form-based regulations. In other words, the Fullerton Transportation Center Specific Plan is the only form-based code to be an improvement in integrating principles of good city form in its regulations as compared to the conventional zoning

regulations it replaced. Thus, it should not be presumed that form-based codes per se contribute more effectively to good city form as they do not necessarily promote principles of good city form to a greater extent than conventional zoning. Moreover, it can be argued that simply because a city has updated their regulations or adopted newer ones does not imply that they better contribute to good city form than the regulations it replaced. This is not to say that conventional zoning is better than form-based codes in encouraging good city form. Indeed, analysis results show that form-based codes are stronger than conventional zoning codes in integrating certain good city form principles.

The differences between the form-based and conventional zoning regulations of each case study vary and are further described in detail in the chapter of each case study. However, in general, the form-based codes reflect most of the principles in the performance dimensions of sense and vitality the most. Additionally, they strongly reflect the principles of adequacy in fit and accessibility in access. Weaker scores of the form-based regulations for some of the good city form principles appear to be because they are not as strict in their requirements as compared to the conventional zoning regulations. In other words, the conventional zoning regulations use stricter mandatory language required of future development, as opposed to recommended or permissive provisions, than the form-based regulations.

Given the general characteristics of form-based codes it was expected that they would strongly integrate principles of structure and legibility/order in sense, especially if the form-based code included frontage standards addressing the interface between the building and street. All of the form-based codes do indeed strongly reflect these two principles except for the Fullerton Transportation Center Specific Plan which reflects both the principles of structure and legibility/order to a moderate extent. Interestingly, however, the Fullerton Transportation Center

Specific Plan is the only form-based code that more strongly integrates the principle of structure as compared to the conventional zoning regulations. All of the form-based regulations reflect the principle of structure by including standards that address the relationship between buildings and the street and, in some cases, open space. However, structure is also addressed in standards for setbacks and building heights, thus the conventional zoning regulations also reflect this principle quite strongly. Therefore, the form-based regulations may not necessarily be stronger in integrating the principle of structure as defined in good city form even though they include additional standards for the public realm not addressed in conventional zoning regulations.

For the principle of legibility/order, all of the form-based regulations better integrate this principle, as compared to their respective conventional zoning regulations, through standards for frontage treatments and streetscape elements that enhance the identity of streets. Additionally, all of the form-based regulations better integrate the principles of identity/event in sense and adequacy and adaptability in fit than the conventional zoning regulations. It is notable that the principles of legibility/order and identity/event in sense are more strongly integrated in the form-based regulations than in the conventional zoning regulations. In particular, San Juan Capistrano's Historic Town Center Code includes standards reflecting the principles of legibility/order and identity/event that were not included in the conventional zoning regulations, while the Fullerton Transportation Center Specific Plan includes new standards that address the principle of legibility/order and the Beach and Edinger Corridors Specific Plan includes new standards that address the principle of identity/event. This finding some of the claims of form-based code proponents that form-based codes address community character and sense of place and shows that it does so to a greater extent than conventional zoning regulations by emphasizing the physical character of buildings and streets. This finding is also encouraging

given that one of the main goals of the Historic Town Center Code and the Beach and Edinger Corridors Specific Plan is to enhance the identity of the area subject to form-based code.

On the other hand, it was expected that the principles of program in fit and congruence in sense would be more strongly integrated in the conventional zoning regulations, as compared to the form-based regulations, since these principles are typically reflected in standards for permitted land uses. This dissertation finds that this is not the case for all form-based codes. The form-based regulations of the Transit Zoning Code reflect both the principles of program in fit and congruence in sense to a greater extent than the conventional zoning regulations, and the form-based regulations of the Beach and Edinger Corridors Specific Plan integrate the principle of congruence in sense to a greater extent. These form-based codes include a list of permitted uses and also address spatial qualities associated with certain uses through building frontage treatments. This finding shows that in this way including standards for use can increase the effectiveness of regulations in promoting good city form.

The principle of safety in vitality is the only good city form principle that is addressed more strongly in the conventional zoning regulations than the form-based regulations for all cases. Thus, it appears that form-based codes have a lesser focus on regulating hazards, pollutants, and traffic. Given that most municipalities have strict environmental regulations and are also subject to state and federal regulations pertaining to environmental hazards, these issues may not be as important to address in newer development regulations such as form-based codes.

Across cases, results show that the form-based codes address all of the five performance dimensions of good city form to a varying extent. A comparison summary of the results of the four form-based codes are presented in Table 24. Of the four form-based codes, the Fullerton Transportation Center Specific Plan shows the strongest overall integration of good city form

principles and addresses the most principles out of all the codes, including those that are not addressed in any of the other form-based codes, such as the principles of control in access and certainty and responsibility in control. Although the Fullerton case study achieved the highest overall score, the Beach and Edinger Corridors Specific Plan and the Transit Zoning Code show stronger reflection of principles for the performance dimensions of sense and vitality. The Historic Town Center Code of San Juan Capistrano shows the weakest overall integration of good city form principles and reflects the least number of principles. There are no principles that are not addressed at all in at least one code. The results indicate that form-based codes have the potential to address all of the principles of good city form but may fail to do so for reasons detailed in this section and those discussed in the findings for the growth machine.

Table 16 Summary comparison of the results for good city form principles in the form-based codes

Performance Dimensions & Principles	**FTCSP** M_A **(***SD***)**	**BECSP** M_A **(***SD***)**	**SATZC** M_A **(***SD***)**	**HTCC** M_A **(***SD***)**	M_{PD} **(***SD***)**
Sense	**2.66 (0.06)**	**3.15 (0.19)**	**2.98 (0.42)**	**1.78 (0.24)**	**2.64 (0.15)**
S: Structure	2.73 (0.15)	3.08 (0.12)	3.33 (0.16)	3.09 (0.26)	3.06 (0.06)
S: Legibility/Order	2.71 (0.31)	3.27 (0.26)	2.80 (0.11)	3.17 (0.44)	2.99 (0.14)
S: Transparency	3.51 (0.34)	3.67 (0.17)	3.19 (0.16)	1.00 (1.73)	2.84 (0.76)
S: Congruence	2.38 (0.24)	2.93 (0.10)	2.74 (0.30)	1.33 (1.15)	2.34 (0.48)
S: Identity/Event	1.96 (0.41)	2.81 (0.68)	2.86 (1.95)	0.33 (0.58)	1.99 (0.71)
Vitality	**2.51 (0.33)**	**2.96 (0.56)**	**2.30 (0.34)**	**2.13 (0.03)**	**2.48 (0.22)**
V: Consonance/Stability	2.35 (0.44)	3.43 (0.27)	3.24 (0.17)	3.36 (0.13)	3.10 (0.14)
V: Safety	2.63 (0.45)	2.04 (1.77)	3.28 (0.27)	2.70 (0.52)	2.66 (0.69)
V: Health/Sustenance	2.55 (0.38)	3.40 (0.17)	0.39 (1.03)	0.33 (0.58)	1.67 (0.37)
Access	**2.43 (0.34)**	**2.04 (0.14)**	**1.30 (0.31)**	**1.17 (0.72)**	**1.73 (0.25)**
A: Accessibility	2.28 (0.23)	3.62 (0.27)	3.63 (0.18)	1.33 (2.31)	3.13 (0.12)
A: Equity	2.01 (0.71)	3.98 (0.06)	0.00 (0.00)	0.33 (0.58)	1.83 (1.08)
A: Diversity	1.71 (0.49)	0.56 (0.53)	1.57 (1.13)	0.00 (0.00)	1.04 (0.30)
A: Control	3.71 (0.57)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.93 (0.29)

Performance Dimensions & Principles	FTCSP M_A (*SD*)	BECSP M_A (*SD*)	SATZC M_A (*SD*)	HTCC M_A (*SD*)	M_{PD} (*SD*)
Fit	**1.78 (0.47)**	**1.30 (0.51)**	**1.99 (0.18)**	**1.54 (0.08)**	**1.65 (0.21)**
F: Adequacy	3.74 (0.15)	3.73 (0.11)	3.82 (0.02)	3.85 (0.13)	3.78 (0.06)
F: Program	1.91 (0.21)	2.01 (0.26)	2.65 (0.31)	1.67 (0.58)	2.06 (0.16)
F: Adaptability	2.25 (0.32)	0.30 (0.89)	2.04 (0.11)	1.85 (0.53)	1.61 (0.33)
F: Competence	0.50 (1.00)	0.00 (0.00)	1.43 (0.98)	0.33 (0.58)	0.57 (0.47)
F: Stability	0.50 (1.00)	0.44 (1.33)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.24 (0.69)
Control	**2.50 (0.38)**	**1.56 (0.04)**	**0.88 (0.51)**	**0.23 (0.41)**	**1.29 (0.21)**
C: Physical Means	2.50 (1.00)	2.30 (0.20)	3.08 (1.42)	0.94 (1.62)	2.20 (0.63)
C: Congruence	2.27 (0.62)	3.94 (0.17)	0.43 (1.13)	0.00 (0.00)	1.74 (0.40)
C: Responsibility	3.74 (0.21)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.94 (0.11)
C: Certainty	1.50 (1.73)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.38 (0.87)
M_{FBC} (*SD*)	**2.38 (0.34)**	**2.20 (0.83)**	**1.89 (0.83)**	**1.39 (0.73)**	

Notes: FTCSP: Fullerton Transportation Center Specific Plan, BESCP: Beach and Edinger Corridors Specific Plan, SATZC: Santa Ana Transit Zoning Code, HTCC: Historic Town Center Code, M_A: Mean for regulations applicable to all zones and specific zones in the form-based code, M_{PD}: Mean for the performance dimension across codes, M_{FBC}: Mean for the form-based code across performance dimensions, SD: Standard Deviation

The research also suggests that the adoption approach, in other words, how the form-based codes are adopted into ordinance (see Russell, 2004), may also be an important factor in the effectiveness of form-based codes in contributing to good urban form. Results show that, overall, the form-based regulations in Specific Plans incorporate principles of good city form to a greater extent than those adopted in stand-alone codes. This may be, in part, due to the nature of Specific Plans including more contextual background and descriptive standards that indicate intent or expectations. For instance, the Fullerton Transportation Center Specific Plan includes a description of the purpose and intent of a street in addition to the standards for street right-of-way width, sidewalks, and landscaping. The descriptive content serves to provide certainty to the developer and community at large in what is expected by adhering to the set standards while simultaneously allowing flexibility from the standards if other means to achieve the describe purpose and intent are available and feasible to the developer.

Stand-alone ordinances rarely include such descriptive content that explains the purpose and intent for any regulatory standard. Analysis does indeed reveal that the stand-alone form-based codes include more regulations that are permissive or required but not as many recommendations or statements of intent. The Specific Plans also show more balance across the varying degrees of regulatory statements. However, the adoption of a form-based code as a Specific Plan may not necessarily be an improvement to existing conventional zoning if it has too narrow of a scope, thereby failing to address certain good city form principles, and if it lacks clarity in what is required of future development as opposed to what is encouraged, allowed, or intended.

Growth Coalitions in the Planning Process of Form-Based Codes?

Overall, this dissertation finds limited support for the theory of the urban growth machine. Specifically, the findings of this research show that growth remains a major issue but other post-materialist values, such as environmentalism and quality of life, have gained importance in the policy area of planning and development. Thus, the presence and power of multiple special interest groups is evident in the planning process of form-based codes.

The Fullerton Transportation Center Specific Plan is the only case study in which the presence and influence of special land-based interests was minimal. Instead, I find that Fullerton has a constant group of residents actively engaged in city politics and governance. Sabatier & McLaughlin (1988) use the term "attentive public" to describe such individuals and groups that take an active interest in, and seek to stay well-informed of, the policy area but only infrequently seek to influence the policy-making process. In Fullerton, these people are what one interviewee refers to as "the usual suspects (Personal communication, January 2016)." Most of these individuals do not advocate for just one specific issue, nor do they become involved in all

planning projects. For instance, in the planning process of the Fullerton Transportation Center Specific Plan, the public was concerned with general planning issues, such as higher density and intensity in development, preservation of historic structures, and optimal transit accessibility. At the same time the city was processing a residential development project, the West Coyote Hills project, where some of the same people involved in the Fullerton Transportation Center Specific Plan came to advocate for the preservation of open space. Likewise, various members of the public have been involved in other major planning projects such as the Downtown Core and Corridors Specific Plan and the CollegeTown Specific Plan, each with its own set of issues. Interestingly, the political challenges with the West Coyote Hills project led to the incorporation of standards for net zero water use in the Fullerton Transportation Center Specific Plan, which would offset the water use of future development by implementing conservation measures outside of the Specific Plan area.

In the case of the Beach and Edinger Corridors Specific Plan, the results show that the various place entrepreneurs generally acted in their own individual interest but not necessarily for the pursuit of growth. Individuals affiliated with existing organizations, such as the Huntington Beach Auto Dealers Association, acted together to advocate for their interests but did not coalesce with other key players in the planning process. This is likely due to the disparate concerns of the different stakeholders. Property owners and developers advocated for increased development potential, whereas the Auto Dealers Association was primarily concerned with the viability of their businesses, which could be impacted if land value increased. While these findings do not support the theory of the growth machine, they do align with more general theories of plural elitism, specifically that "power in America is largely a matter of co-optation of specific public policy areas by elites serving their own private interests (McFarland, 1987)."

On the other hand, the research finds the mobilization of opposition to the growth machine in the Beach and Edinger Corridors Specific Plan. The McFadden/Sugar Safe Exit citizen's group was formalized during the planning process of the Beach and Edinger Corridors Specific Plan. A small group of residents came together to advocate for the safety of their neighborhood which lies in the Specific Plan project area. As suggested by literature contesting the growth machine theory, the presence and power of non-elites working together to defend the use values of their lands should not be overlooked (Ferman, 1996). Additionally, this finding challenges some of the major tenets of plural elitism; the members of McFadden/Sugar Safe Exit citizen's group were not elites of the community nor did they have access to the typical resources that elites use to influence decision-making processes yet this citizen's group was able to achieve its goals to a certain extent by getting the Planning Commission to recommend reducing the number of dwelling units to mitigate potential traffic impacts from new development.

Similar to the findings of the Beach and Edinger Corridors Specific Plan case study, the influence of special interests was also found in the planning process of the Santa Ana Transit Zoning Code but, again, there is weak evidence that coalitions were mobilized with growth as a common motive as theorized in the growth machine thesis. In the case of the Transit Zoning Code, the findings support the idea of interest group liberalism. Lowi (1979) introduced the term interest group liberalism to explain the power of numerous interest groups in American politics. This theory is distinguished from other pluralist theories in that it emphasizes a balanced power system and argues that the role of government is to serve the organized interests of the community (Lowi, 1979).

In the case study of Santa Ana's Transit Zoning Code, this research found the presence of three interest groups all of which had a certain level of influence in the planning process.

Industrial owners comprised one interest group that sought to maintain the value of their property as industrial use as opposed to the proposed mixed-use designation. This group was able to successfully maintain their status quo while retaining the option to improve their land for mixed use through the incorporation of an industrial overlay zone in the Transit Zoning Code. Another interest group fought for the preservation of historic homes in the Transit Zoning Code area. This group was able to achieve some of its goals after a lawsuit against the city for potential demolition of historic homes in one of its residential neighborhoods. And finally, SACReD, a coalition of local community members and activists, which was formed in response to the Renaissance Specific Plan, precursor to the Transit Zoning Code, to advocate for community rights and benefits. The coalition was not able to attain all of its demands, such as the Community Benefits Agreement, but did get provisions for affordable housing and open space included in the Transit Zoning Code for the Station District area. The Transit Zoning Code and the formation of SACReD and its activities have been studied extensively in the context of gentrification and urban renewal by scholars addressing social issues in urban planning and governance (Beard & Sarmiento, 2014; Gonzales & Lejano, 2009; Ibarra & Nothoff, 2011). Most of these studies conclude that the process and product, the adopted form-based code, was biased in favor of elitist interests. However, the findings of this research suggest that while the claims of previous studies may hold true for some aspects of the process by which the Transit Zoning Code was adopted, they do not fully account for the presence of other interest groups and their successes, even if they are only partially what the groups set out to achieve.

In the case of San Juan Capistrano's Historic Town Center Code, evidence of the growth machine dynamics is present in the efforts of the city's chamber of commerce in creating opportunities to mobilize as an organized force for growth and development. Specifically, the

chamber of commerce, with the support of city council, hosted the Technical Assistance Panel (TAP) from the Urban Land Institute (ULI) that ultimately initiated the Historic Town Center Master Plan and Code project. The TAP, with the assistance of the chamber of commerce, also hand-selected a small group of elected officials, representatives of local organizations, and business and property owners for interviews. These interviewees maintained an active role throughout the planning process in support of the Historic Town Center Master Plan and Code and at times acted as ambassadors of the project to garner the support of other community members.

Interestingly, the unity of the growth coalition appears to have fallen apart after the adoption of the Historic Town Center Master Plan and Code. The development of two hotels, which were considered critical to the revitalization of the town core, was stalled due to lawsuits against each other. Moreover, the city is considering repealing the Master Plan and Code as it has become the source of contention for proposed developments in the downtown area (Swegles, 2017). In a local news article, a councilmember comments that "as long as the master plan exists, it will invariably lead to disputes and litigation … or even prevent any meaningful investment in the downtown (Swegles, 2017)."

In sum, I find that land-based interests are indeed highly involved in the planning process of some form-based codes, even though there is weak evidence that these interests actually joined together to form coalitions advocating for growth. All of the form-based codes studied in this dissertation research were developed and adopted during a time of financial crisis and economic decline. As such, revival of economic growth was a pressing issue in these cities and thus the effort to encourage development through the adoption of these codes is not unusual. Given the context of the adoption of the form-based codes studied in this dissertation, the

presence of the growth machine was expected to be found in the planning process of the form-based codes. In most of the case studies, city councilmembers, the majority of whom had business interests in the city, upheld a pro-development stance and were found to assertively push the form-based code projects to adoption. This finding provides evidence of the growth machine per Molotch's (1976) claim that that a high level of participation by businessmen in city leadership groups indicates the exercise of power on behalf of at least a portion of the elite. Additionally, the findings support the claim that modern governance, as part of the growth machine, focuses on creating a good business climate to attract industry (Molotch, 1976, Logan & Molotch, 2007). In the case studies with numerous businessmen on city council, city leadership repeatedly discussed creating a business-friendly environment and supported the incentives for existing and new businesses such as streamlined approval processes and redistribution of utility and government costs caused by new development. In these ways, this research supports some of the key tenets of the growth machine theory.

However, the findings of this dissertation also challenge the theoretical viewpoint of the growth machine theory, and by extension elitist theory, in several ways. First, this dissertation finds considerable variation in the extent to which land-based interests are present and influential in the planning process of form-based codes. Indeed, in the case of the Beach and Edinger Corridors Specific Plan, large commercial property owners did not appear to have as much influence as the Auto Dealers Association. The organized mobilization of growth coalitions was only evident in one of the case studies, the Historic Town Center Code in San Juan Capistrano. Moreover, special interest groups advocating for other issues such as neighborhood safety, community benefits, and historic preservation were found to have influence in the development of the form-based codes. However, the mere presence of special interest groups, for growth or

any other goal, did appear to negatively influence the potential of form-based codes in contributing to good city form.

The dissertation research also finds that various key players used different strategies to influence the decision-making process. Advocates of growth, the property and business owners, generally spoke in support of the project but opposed specific details in the form-based code that would restrict their potential for greater future development. Residents and citizen's advocacy groups fully opposed the projects until, it seemed, they realized the project would be adopted and thus they should at least attempt to modify certain provisions of concern. Given that the city has invested heavily in the development of the form-based codes, it is more likely that councilmembers would lend a more sympathetic ear to minor changes that would keep the project moving towards adoption rather than an outright opposition that would terminate the project. Thus, this research suggests that the strategy that stakeholders employ to advocate for their interests may be an important factor in explaining their influence in the planning process.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Increasing concern over the inadequacies of current land use regulations brought reform of development regulations to the forefront of contemporary planning. Form-based codes have been proffered as an alternative method of guiding future development that can address many of the shortcomings of conventional "Euclidean" zoning. While form-based codes are fundamentally about physical planning, they are also an attempt address more than just urban form. Cities are using form-based codes to mitigate issues of climate change, economic depression, housing affordability, and social segregation. However, based on the findings of this research, I argue that form-based codes are not a fail-safe solution to the problems associated with conventional zoning. Form-based codes can effectively address some of the issues cities are

facing today, but conventional zoning regulations can do so as well. Moreover, if not developed with careful consideration of possibly competing interests, form-based codes may not be a better tool to achieve the goals of the community than conventional zoning.

Overall, the results lead to interesting findings on the influence of special interests and the extent to which development regulations reflect principles of good city form. The Fullerton Transportation Center Specific Plan was the only case study in which I find minimal presence of land-based interests influencing the planning process and the form-based regulations integrated good city form principles to a greater extent than its previous conventional zoning regulations. Moreover, I find that San Juan Capistrano's Historic Town Center Code, which not only had the weakest form-based regulations but the greatest difference between the form-based and conventional zoning regulations, had the strongest influence of business interests within and outside of local government in the planning process. Thus, it appears that the presence and influence of the growth machine in the development of form-based codes may be a significant factor in their effectiveness in contributing to good city form.

The potential for form-based codes to achieve important planning objectives, such as sustainability and livability, through developments that contribute to good city form is certain in some instances. This research finds in particular that form-based codes are found to be effective in promoting transit-oriented development that is compact, walkable, and mixed-use. Additionally, the incorporation of frontage standards to address the relationship between buildings and streets and open space is one of its main strengths as compared to conventional zoning regulations. However, as evidenced by the majority of the case studies in this dissertation, the effectiveness of form-based codes in promoting good urban form may be curtailed by the

influence of special interests in the planning process, regardless of whether the special interest is land-based or not.

Form-based codes are typically developed based on a community vision developed through extensive public outreach and participation in charrettes and community workshops. Based on the findings of this research, these processes are expected to lead to negotiated outcomes, especially if there are numerous interests being represented each with a different agenda. This was certainly the case for the three case studies where the form-based code showed weaker incorporation of good city form principles than the previous conventional zoning codes. Furthermore, this research finds that special interests seeking to intensify development potential appear to inhibit the extent to which form-based codes promote good city form.

In some ways, form-based codes provide a valid means of achieving growth in the name of sustainability. For instance, higher density residential developments serve to increase housing supply, provide greater diversity in housing types and encourage affordable housing; however, the fact remains that it is still intensification of land use and thus holds exchange value for those seeking to make a profit through land development. Interestingly, form-based codes were not found to be as effective when adopted for the purpose of economic development. This is evidenced in the case studies in which the cities adopted form-based codes to revitalize the local economy through increased retail and commerce and greater financial investment to improve properties in the project area but did not want the associated increase in population and thus only allowed for a minimal increase in population density. Therefore, I contend that the potential for form-based codes to effectively contribute to good city form is compromised by the narrower goals of economic development and not the pursuit of growth as defined in the urban growth machine theory.

Considered in the context of zoning reform efforts throughout the county, the adoption of form-based codes can essentially be seen as an institutional response to the contemporary problems of urban development, such as lack of affordable housing, depressed economy, and environmental degradation. In brief, the Obama administration explained the need for zoning reform, highlighting outdated zoning restrictions that suppress the economy. California adopted SB 375, the Sustainable Communities and Climate Protection Act, to reduce greenhouse gas emissions and address climate change. In response, regional MPOs such as SCAG have developed Sustainable Communities Strategies in their Regional Transportation Plan to achieve sustainable development through an integrated approach to land use planning, housing, and transit. Thus, local municipalities are seeking ways to implement sustainable design and development with greater enforceability. Some cities are adopting form-based codes as a tool to mitigate the effects of existing conventional zoning and contribute to an urban form that meets the needs and desires of the community and society at large.

This research cautions policymakers and planners contemplating the adoption of form-based codes of the potential ineffectiveness of form-based regulations in achieving certain objectives for their community. They can learn from the findings of this research and look to case studies in this dissertation for best practice examples of how the development regulations of form-based and conventional zoning codes address certain principles of good city form. Furthermore, planners can use an approach similar to the evaluation method developed and used in this dissertation to assess their development regulations for strengths and weaknesses in promoting good urban form and consider the appropriateness of either type of code in the context of their community.

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Appendix A: Interview Materials

Interview Request Letter

Subject: Request for Interview - UCI Planning, Policy, and Design

Dear [First Name][Last Name],

I am a PhD candidate in Planning, Policy, and Design at the University of California, Irvine. I'm writing to request a brief interview with you to gain insights about [Project Name] for my dissertation research.

My dissertation focuses on recently adopted form-based codes in Orange County and is expected to reveal best practices and present policy recommendations for community planning and development. Most importantly, my research seeks to identify findings that will be useful to decision-makers like yourself – which is why I need your help.

Your unique insights to the development of the Transit Zoning Code would be invaluable. The interview could be in-person or over the phone and would take about 15 minutes. I sincerely appreciate your consideration and thank you in advance for your participation. My email is XXXXX@uci.edu and phone number is (XXX) XXX-XXXX.
I look forward to hearing back from you.

Best regards,

Cecilia J. Kim
PhD Candidate
Social Ecology | Planning, Policy, and Design
University of California, Irvine

Ajay Garde, PhD, Dissertation Advisor Faculty Sponsor
Department of Planning, Policy, and Design

Supporting Letter for Interviews

Dear [Name],

I am writing to request that you please consider Ms. Cecilia Kim's request for an interview for her PhD dissertation research. Cecilia is a doctoral candidate in our department with a strong background in urban planning and design. Her dissertation focuses on recently adopted form-based codes in Orange County and is expected to reveal best practices and present policy recommendations. Most importantly, her research seeks to identify findings that will be useful to decision-makers like yourself – and that's why she needs your help.

She has already published an article on the City of Miami in the *Journal of the American Planning Association* (Volume 81, No.1, Winter 2015) and is currently working on a paper based on her dissertation research. A copy of the *JAPA* paper can be sent to you at your request.

Your unique insights to the development of [project name] would be invaluable to her dissertation. She will be following up with you in the near future. Her contact information is enclosed with this letter for your reference.

I sincerely appreciate your consideration and support of Cecilia's scholarly endeavors. I also want to take this opportunity to thank you in advance for your support and encouragement of her important work.

Sincerely,

David L. Feldman,
Professor and Chair

Guiding Questions

The purpose of this study is to examine form-based codes for their effectiveness in contributing to a good city form in light of growth machine dynamics in the planning process of the form-based codes. Specifically, the research asks the following three research questions: 1. Is there evidence of the growth machine in the planning process of the form-based codes? 2. What is the extent to which the adopted form-based codes reflect a growth agenda? 3. What is the extent to which the form-based codes integrate principles of good city form?

Before we begin, may I have your permission to record the interview and consent to use the interview material for research purposes? Are you ready to begin with the interview?

1. Please provide a general overview of your role and involvement in [the project].
2. How did [the project] get started?
    a. Please describe the circumstances at the time.
    b. Was there a person or organization that spearheaded the project? If so, who?
3. What topics were most discussed at the workshops and meetings?
    a. By whom?
4. Who were the main players? In support or opposition.
5. What are the concerns of [specific stakeholder groups]
    a. Community residents, interest groups, developers, etc.
6. Was there a lot of opposition/support for the project?
    a. By whom--staff, city council, public?
7. Were participants consistently/continuously involved during the process?
8. What were some of the obstacles/challenges during this project?

9. Do you think the final code incorporated important issues discussed during the process?
10. What were the main reasons for adopting a form-based code and not a conventional code?
    a. Was there a person or organization that advocated for form-based codes? If so, who?
11. Does the adopted form-based code incorporate the items discussed during the planning process?
12. How has it been received by…
    a. The development community? Has it increased development interest?
    b. The residents?
    c. The business community?

Thank you for your time and participation!

Appendix B: Codebook

Spatial Organization of Zones

The spatial organization of the form-based and conventional zoning regulations were systematized by zone for all of the case studies. For the form-based regulations, I subsumed overlay zones, street-based regulations, and other special requirements into the applicable base area designation. As an example, the Fullerton Transportation Center Specific Plan has three designations in its land use plan—Mixed Use, Mixed Use/Multifamily Residential, and Multifamily Residential. However, allowed uses and development standards are regulated by building type. Therefore, I identified the applicable land use area designation for each building type and coded the regulations accordingly—e.g. regulations for building type A were assigned codes for zones Mixed-Use and Mixed-Use/Multifamily Residential. Regulations generally applicable to all zones were coded as "All Zones." The conventional zoning regulations did not need reorganization. Table 3 in Chapter 5 shows the zones in the form-based and conventional zoning regulations analyzed for each case study.

Fullerton Transportation Center Specific Plan

- Zones: Multi-Family Residential (MFR), Mixed Use (MU), Mixed Use/Multi-Family Residential (MU/MFR), All Zones.
    - Zone MFR includes regulations for Building Types C, P, Civic Space (S. Neighborhood Park), Walnut Ave, Walnut Way, S Lemon, South Alley
    - Zone MU includes regulations for Building Types A, B, P, Civic Space (Transit Plaza, Transit Courtyard, Paseo), Train Depot, Pomona Avenue, Fender Alley, W. Santa Fe Ave, Bike-n-Ride.
    - Zone MU/MFR includes regulations for Building Types B, P, Civic Space (N. Neighborhood Park, Paseo), Parking Structure, Bus Depot, E. Santa Fe Ave, N. Lemon, North Alley, Ped/Bike Bridge.

    - All Zones includes regulations generally applicable to Zones MFR, MU, MU/MFR, and regulations for Bldg P and Civic Space unless specific to above zones.
- Uses are provided by Building Type and reorganized by Zone for purposes of this study. The Specific Plan included 15 main use categories.
    - Building Type A was included in Zones MU and MU/MFR, as applicable.
    - Building Type B was included in Zones MU and MU/MFR, as applicable.
    - Building Type C was included in Zone MFR.
    - Building Type P was included in All Zones.
- Parking requirements are provided by Use and reorganized by applicable Zone per above. The Specific Plan included 2 main parking categories.
- Streets requirements are provided by Location and reorganized by applicable Zone per above. The Specific Plan included 14 main street categories and further detailed into 15 subcategories. The form-based regulations were coded by the 15 subcategories.

Beach and Edinger Corridors Specific Plan

- Zones: Neighborhood Boulevard (NB), Neighborhood Center (NC), Neighborhood Parkway (NP), Residential Parkway (RP), Residential Transition (RT), Town Center Boulevard (TCB), Town Center Core (TCC), Town Center Neighborhood (TCN), and All Zones.
- Location specific regulations were reorganized by applicable Zones.
    - Five points: TCN
    - Beach: NC, NB, NP, TCC, TCB, TCN, RP
    - Edinger: TCB, TCC, TCN, RT
- Uses are provided by Zones. The Specific Plan includes 6 main use categories and 19 subcategories.
- Parking requirements are provided by Zones. The Specific Plan includes 15 main parking categories.
- Streets are provided by Location and reorganized by Zones. The Specific Plan includes 13 street categories.
    - Existing street are specified by location and reorganized by Zone. The Specific Plan includes 5 main street categories and 5 subcategories for existing streets.
    - New streets are included in All Zones. They include 5 main street categories.

- Frontage types are provided by Zones.
    - Shop frontages are included in Zones RT, RP, NP, NB, TCB, NC, TCN, and TCC.
    - Corner frontages are included in Zones NP, NB, TCB, NC, TCN, and TCC.
    - Arcade frontages are included in Zones NB, TCB, NC, and TCN,
    - Grand Portico frontages are included in Zones NP, NB, TCB, NC, and TCN.
    - Forecourt frontages are included in Zones RP, NP, NB, TCB, NC, TCN, and TCC.
    - Lobby frontages are included in Zones RP, NP, NB, TCB, NC, TCN, and TCC.
    - Stoop frontages are included in Zones RP, RT, NP, NB, TCB, NC, TCN, and TCC.
    - Porch frontages are included in Zones RT, RP, and NP.
    - Front door frontages are included in Zones RT, RP, and NP.
    - Edge Fence frontages are included in Zones RT, RP, NP, NB, TCB, and NC.
    - Edge Terrace frontages are included in Zones RT, RP, NP, NB, TCB, NC, and TCN.
    - Edge Flush frontages are included in Zones RT, RP, NP, NB, TCB, NC, TCN, and TCC.
- Street regulations are provided by Zones.
    - Classic Boulevard regulations are included in Zones TCB and TCC.
    - Palm Tree Boulevard Typical regulations are included in Zones TCN, NB, NC, and TCB.
    - Palm Tree Neighborhood Center regulations are included in Zones TCN and NC
    - Parkway Typical regulations are included in Zones TCN, N, NC, and RP.
    - Parkway Neighborhood Center regulations are included in Zones TCN and NC.
    - All others street regulations are included in Zone all.
- Public Open Space regulations are provided by Zones.
    - Park regulations are included in Zones TCN, TCB, NB, NP, RP, and RT.
    - Linear Green regulations are included in Zones TCC, TCN, TCB, NB, NP, RP, and RT.
    - Square regulations are included in Zones TCC, TCN, TCB, NC, NB, NP, RP, and RT.
    - Plaza regulations are included in Zones TCC, TCN, TCB, NC, NB, and NP.
    - Midblock Green regulations are included in Zones TCC, TCN, TCB, NC, NB, NP, RP, and RT.

    - Courtyard Plaza regulations are included in Zones TCC, TCN, TCB, NC, NB, NP, RP, and RT.
    - Passage regulations are included in Zones TCC, TCN, TCB, NC, NB, NP, RP, and RT.
    - Pocket Park: TCC, TCN, TCB, NC, NB, NP, RP, and RT.
- Private Open Space regulations are provided by Zones.
    - Courtyard regulations are included in Zones TCC, TCN, TCB, NC, NB, NP, RP, and RT.
    - Yard regulations are included in Zones TCC, TCN, TCB, NC, NB, NP, RP, and RT.
    - Porch regulations are included in Zones RT, RP, and NP.
    - Roof regulations are included in Zones TCC, TCN, TCB, NC, NB, NP, RP, and RT.
    - Balcony regulations are included in Zones TCC, TCN, TCB, NC, NB, NP, RP, and RT.
- Setback Perimeter Landscaping regulations are provided by Zones.
    - Sidewalk regulations are included in Zones TCC, TCN, NC, and TCB.
    - Parkway regulations are included in Zones NP and RP.
    - Boulevard regulations are included in Zones TCN, TCB, NB, and RT.
    - Neighborhood Street regulations are included in Zones TCC, TCN, NC, TCB, NB, NP, RP, and RT.
- Setback Internal Landscaping regulations are provided by Zones.
    - Groundcover regulations are included in Zones TCC, TCN, TCB, NC, NB, NP, RT, and RP.
    - Moderate/Heavy Screening regulations are included in Zones TCN, NC, TCB, NB, NP, RP, and RT.
- Parking regulations are provided by Zones.
    - Surface Front regulations are included in All Zones.
    - Surface Side regulations are included in Zones NC, TCB, NB, and NP.
    - Surface Rear regulations are included in Zones TCC, TCN, TCB, NC, NB, NP, RT, and RP.
    - Surface Exposed regulations are included in All Zones.
    - Structure Exposed regulations are included in Zones RP and RT.

- Structure Wrap Ground regulations are included in Zone TCN.
- Structure Wrap All regulations are included in Zones TCC, TCN, TCB, NC, NB, NP, RP, and RT.
- Partial Submerged regulations are included in Zones TCC, TCN, TCB, NC, NB, NP, RP, and RT.
- Structure Underground regulations are included in Zones TCC, TCN, TCB, NC, NB, NP, RP, and RT.

- Signs regulations are provided by Zones.
  - Grand Projecting Sign regulations are included in Zone TCC.
  - Marquee Sign regulations are included in Zone TCC.
  - Wall Sign regulations are included in Zones TCC, TCN, TCB, NC, NB, NP, RP, and RT.
  - Monument Sign regulations are included in Zones TCN, TCB, NC, NB, NP, RP, and RT.
  - Pole Sign regulations are included in Zones NC, TCB, NB, and NP.
  - Projecting Sign regulations are included in Zones TCC, TCN, TCB, NC, NB, and NP.
  - Awning (Face, Valance, Side) Sign regulations are included in Zones TCC, TCN, TCB, NC, NB, NP, RP, and RT.
  - Canopy Fascia Sign regulations are included in Zones TCC, TCN, TCB, NC, NB, NP, RP, and RT.
  - Above Canopy Sign regulations are included in Zones TCC, TCN, TCB, NC, NB, NP, RP, and RT.
  - Café Umbrella Sign regulations are included in Zones TCC, TCN, TCB, NC, NB, and NP.
  - Recessed Entry Sign regulations are included in Zones TCC, TCN, TCB, NC, NB, NP, RP, and RT.
  - Window Sign regulations are included in Zones TCC, TCN, TCB, NC, NB, NP, RP, and RT.

Santa Ana Transit Zoning Code

- Zones: Corridor (CDR), Downtown (DT), Transit Village (TV), Urban Center (UC), Urban Neighborhood 1 (UN-1), Urban Neighborhood 2 (UN-2), and All Zones

    - Transit Zoning Code includes zoning designations for Industrial Overlay (I-OZ), Government Center (GC) and Open Space (O) which were not analyzed in this dissertation. The I-OZ applies to areas previously zoned for Light Industrial (M1) and Heavy Industrial (M2), and occupied with an industrial use at the time of the adoption of the Transit Zoning Code. It allows the industrial property owner the option to use the applicable base zoning district regulations in the Transit Zoning Code or existing industrial use regulations in the Santa Ana Municipal Code to develop their property. The GC and O zones, which are identified in the regulating plan of the Transit Zoning Code, were not included in the analysis for comparison because they are subject to the requirements of the Santa Ana Municipal Code, not the Transit Zoning Code.
- Uses are provided by Zones. The Transit Zoning Code includes 8 main use categories and 43 subcategories. The regulations were coded by the 43 subcategories.
- Parking regulations are provided by Zones. The Transit Zoning Code includes 3 main parking categories.
- Streets regulations are provided by Locations and reorganized by Zones. The Transit Zpning Code includes 9 main categories and 26 subcategories for streets. The regulations are coded by the 26 subcategories.
    - A-3 Street regulations are included in Zones UC and UN-2.
    - A-4 Street regulations are included in Zones UC and UN-2.
    - A-5 Street regulations are included in Zones TV, UC, and UN-2.
    - M Street regulations are included in Zones DT and UC.
    - U1-1 Street regulations are included in Zones DT and UC.
    - U1-2 Street regulations are included in Zone UN-2.
    - U1-3 Street regulations are included in Zones DT, CDR, and UN-2.
    - U1-4 Street regulations are included in Zones CDR and UN-2.
    - U1-5 Street regulations are included in Zones TV, UC, and UN-2.
    - U2-1 Street regulations are included in All Zones.
    - U2-2 Street regulations are included in Zone DT.
    - U2-3 Street regulations are included in Zone DT.
    - U2-4 Street regulations are included in Zones DT and UC.

- U2-5 Street regulations are included in Zones TV and UC.
- R1-1 Street regulations are included in Zone UN-2.
- R1-2 Street regulations are included in Zone UN-2.
- R1-3 Street regulations are included in Zones UC and UN-2.
- R1-4 Street regulations are included in Zones UC and UN-2.
- R1-5 Street regulations are included in Zones UN-2 and UN-1.
- R1-6 Street regulations are included in Zones UN-2.
- R2-1 Street regulations are included in Zones CDR, UN-2, and UN-1.
- R2-2 Street regulations are included in Zones UC and UN-2 .
- R2-3 Street regulations are included in Zones UC and UN-2.
- R2-4 Street regulations are included in Zones DT and UC.
- Al-1 Street regulations are included in All Zones.
- Paseo regulations are included in All Zones.

- Building regulations are provided by Zones.
  - Tower Building regulations are included in Zone TC.
  - Flex Building regulations are included in Zones TC, DT, UC, and CDR.
  - Lined Building regulations are included in Zones TC, DT, and UC.
  - Stacked Building regulations are included in Zones TC, DT, and UC.
  - Hybrid Building regulations are included in Zone UN-2.
  - Courtyard Building regulations are included in Zones TC, DR, UC, and UN-2.
  - Live/Work Building regulations are included in Zones TV, DT UC, CDR, UN-2, and UN-1.
  - Row Building regulations are included in Zone UN-2.
  - Tuck under Building regulations are included in Zones TC, DT, UC, and UN-2.
  - Bungalow Building regulations are included in Zones UN-2 and UN-1.
  - Duplex Building regulations are included in Zones UN-2 and UN-1.
  - House Building regulations are included in Zones UN-2 and UN-1.
- Frontage regulations are provided by Zones.
  - Arcade Frontage regulations are included in Zones TV and DT.
  - Gallery Frontage regulations are included in Zones TV, DT, and CDR.
  - Shop Frontage regulations are included in Zones TV, DT, UC, CDR, and UN-2.

    - Forecourt Frontage regulations are included in Zones TV, DR, UC, CDR, and UN-2.
    - Stoop Frontage regulations are included in Zones DT, UC, UN-2, and UN-1.
    - Front yard Frontage regulations are included in Zones UC, UN-2, and UN-1.
- Architectural Style regulations are included in All Zones.

San Juan Capistrano Historic Town Center Code

- Zones: Town Center (TC), Town Center Edge (TCE), and All Zones
- Overlays are provided by Zones
    - Railroad Overlay regulations are included in Zone TC.
    - Freeway Overlay regulations are included in Zone TCE.
    - Town Center Edge Overlay regulations are included in Zone TCE.
- Uses are provided by Zones. The Historic Town Center Code includes 13 main use categories and 88 subcategories. The regulations are coded by the 88 subcategories.
- Parking regulations are provided by Zones. The Historic Town Center Code includes 13 main parking categories and 88 subcategories. The regulations are coded by the 88 subcategories.
- Street regulations are provided by Location and reorganized by Zones. The Historic Town Center Code includes 8 main street categories. Note that some street regulations coded for in both Zones TC and TCE and not for All Zones because they are not general regulations but specifically applicable in both Zones TC and TCE.
    - Camino (Gallery) Street regulations are included in Zone TC.
    - Camino Street regulations are included in Zones TC and TCE.
    - Del Obispo Street regulations are included in Zones TC and TCE.
    - Ortega (Hotel) Street regulations are included in Zone TC.
    - Ortega (Mission) Street regulations are included in Zone TC.
    - Verdugo Street regulations are included in Zone TC.
    - El Camino Street regulations are included in Zone TC.
    - New Street regulations are included in Zones TC and TCE.