

URBAN MORPHOLOGY IN NORTH AMERICA: HISTORY AND DIRECTION

ABSTRACT

Urban morphology, named as such, is still undeveloped as a strategy for planning and urban design in North America. On the other hand, the New Urbanism and Smart Growth movements have much to gain from the use of urban morphology as an explicit and disciplined research method. In order to provide a clear path for adoption, this paper will exam how the application of various European-based urban morphology research data, interpretation and theories of change are different in North America. How do different conditions of form, particularly the era in which settlements were established, necessitate a different method and recognition of different types and patterns, and even different Schools?

Because North American researchers are interested with the rapid expansion of cities, the car-centric city, the need for a live-able configuration, and the disorder of most of the urban territory, a new kind of study is appropriate. This method is already arising, but not rigorously defined. The most common voices are those concerned with promoting a particular urban design solution, rather than examining the past or the existing fabrics. This leaves open a space for urban morphology to fill in.

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KEY WORDS

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1. INTRODUCTION

Urban morphology isolates the form of cities in order to study how those forms and changes in forms relate to other historical and social factors. The cities of North America are adolescent forms compared to the European cities from which they derive. Largely founded in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth centuries, they are products of the Enlightenment, colonialism, and new technology. Across the vast continent, their general form hardly varies: a core that is a non-standard grid, surrounded by a vast territory of low scale residential suburbs, punctuated by highways, large scale retail, and industrial uses. The morphology of the American city is a consistent pattern that varies slightly by the age of the place, the acceleration of growth, and the initial and subsequent motivation for its location. Even North America's oldest cities (Savannah, New York, Boston, San Francisco) do not break free from this pattern. In the 20th century, the initial grid layout was dispensed with altogether in new, planned cities (e.g. Irvine, California), which are challenging to think of as cities at all. (Figure 1) Most Americans dwell in places with scattered centers, tiny remnants of a downtown, and a highway and car dominated landscape (Figure 2).

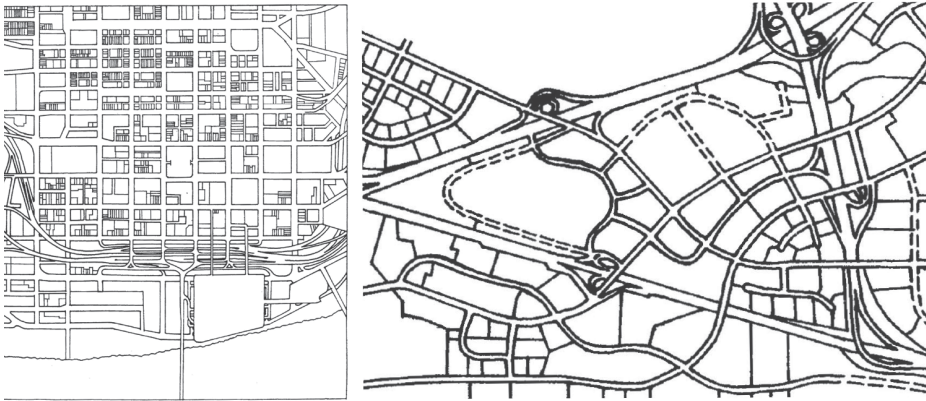
These forms have had a powerful influence on the world, where sprawling shopping malls, highways, and low scale suburban houses may even be seen as indicators of wealth and influence. Recently this hegemony of form has been challenged, with modest success, in many places. Many beautiful historic cities have protected themselves from the onslaught of “modernity”, that is, the American influence.

This paper tries to define the differences between the factors which caused the American form and those of other places with deeper histories and more complex forms. On the other hand, we can argue that the processes and theories recognized and developed by morphologists around the world can have broad applicability to the study of form in many places, just as the American form, being somewhat raw, can also enlighten morphologists.

This paper also calls for applying the standard analysis of urban form, which is data driven and relies on comparison between cities and/or the same city in a different era. It can improve and deepen the understanding of those who plan and design cities.

2. OVERVIEW OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF NORTH AMERICAN URBAN FORM

Between 1660 and about 1900, European settlers raced recklessly across the continent, decimating native populations and dragging with them an enslaved population of Africans. The seemingly endless land resources were generously distributed to the land-starved white farmers, and the small towns to serve them



UP: Fig. 1. Comparison between the scale and layout of a grid downtown Cincinnati (1819) and a portion of the commercial center of Irvine, California (1971).

DOWN: Fig. 2. A centerless area along an arterial strip in the suburbs of Phoenix, showing commercial businesses, a hospital and single-family houses.

soon followed. The most common pattern was for whole families to live on their farm allotments, with occasional forays into town to buy supplies and sell their bounty. After the public land survey (starting in 1785) the entire United States territory was eventually carved into a checkerboard, without regard to the variation in landscape. The small towns were invariably a grid, fitting into the checkerboard like a small-scale version of it. Elsewhere, in the American South and in part of Mexico, large land holdings were bequeathed or assembled, to be set up as forced labor encampments. Cities and towns were rapidly established where none had existed and a rudimentary road network gave way to the railway, which created new towns and ruthlessly divided existing ones. Although North America was initially thought of as an agrarian society, between 1790 and 1890, the US became increasingly urban, with up to 35% of the population living in small towns or cities, as noted in the United States Census.¹

Urban form at this time was the initial grid, often supplemented by extending it, sometimes with minor shifts in orientation or grid size, sometimes accommodating topography and waterways. Railroads drove a wedge through established cities, creating “the wrong side of the tracks”, or less desirable areas where the poor lived. The sharp physical division between people of different races and incomes is a fact of American urban form, which has extended into modern times. Suburban housing exacerbated this division, with many suburban areas closed to Black residents, even those with the means to pay.²

Although there were streetcars and rail service in most sizeable cities in the early Twentieth century, by 1920 the automobile became the king of transportation and the greatest influence on urban form. Leafy suburbs served only by cars proliferated, to the alarm of some urban critics. After World War II, the GI bill guaranteed a generous loan that would enable (white) veterans to buy a small home with very little money over a long period of time. Suburban sprawl ensued everywhere in the country, with the encouragement of the construction of the Interstate Highway System. The interstates were to provide for a rapid deployment in case of defense, and also to connect cities for improved traffic flow and commerce. They had the side effect of providing commuters with a rapid way to get from their jobs in the central city to their homes in the suburbs. Inner city housing was left to the urban poor, and eventually the jobs also moved to the suburbs, hollowing out the core commercial centers.

In most places around the world the growing urban population was and is accommodated with housing towers, which are often located in the suburbs or in towns attached to a larger city. In the US and Canada, this form of housing was initially popular but became associated with the urban poor, especially Blacks. Shunned by the middle class and without enough resources for maintenance, these housing “projects” became crime infested and dangerous, leading to a phasing out of their use and even dramatic dismantling. In the last 50 years, this form of compact housing has not been built in North America and it is still considered unsuitable for Americans by most planners.

Most recently there has been a return to the city core, especially by a generation of people raised in the suburbs. Dense, lively and interesting places have been restored or built anew, reviving the property values in the center and offering a lifestyle choice not known in three generations. Demand for urban housing and accessible transit is up. Nevertheless, vast areas of American cities are built up into car dominated, low density suburbs, which most still see as the “American Dream.”

3. URBAN MORPHOLOGY CONCEPTS IN NORTH AMERICAN FORMS

M. P. Conzen in 2001 reflected on the dearth of traditional, on the ground morphological study in the United States.³ In the 22 years since there have been multiple researchers who took up this question. Even in 1994, when Anne Vernez Moudon defined schools of urban morphology as groups of geographically related scholars, she could easily have included a group coalesced at the University of California at Berkeley and the University of Washington, which certainly would have included herself, and several others including Alan Jacobs, Peter Bosslemann, Doug Kelbaugh, Spiro Kostof, James Vance, Michael Southworth, and Paul Groth. To these scholars we can add their distinguished former students: Elizabeth MacDonald, Peter Owens, Eran Ben-Joseph, Paul Hess, Kiril Stanilov, and Renee Chow, to name a few.

Gilliland and Gauthier similarly call out two distinct groups of scholars working in Canada at the University of Montreal and in Université Laval in Québec.⁴

In the *Epistemology of Urban Morphology* the author identities a framework of knowledge production that is somewhat distinct for each school of urban morphology, prematurely, perhaps, proposing a North American outline. In addition to each School’s geographic, methodological and theoretical differences, there are also different “linkages to non-formal conditions”, or recurrent themes that emerge from the research in each schools.⁵ Each of these themes suggest the important urban issues that were formative in the eras of each city-building morphology, for example the importance of *agency* in British studies.

The methods used in the North America derive from or even combine some of same methods used in the British and Italian Schools. Relying partly on the distinctions identified by M.P. Conzen⁶, the author has identified four themes that structure the both the research and the morphological uniqueness of cities in North America:

1. The dynamism of urban growth. North American values and youthfulness have privileged urban forms that respond to rapid change. America seems to be a place built on the cheap, built for change, built quickly and then evolved.

2. Suburban sprawl – a different scale of development. The early and rapid build out of low scale suburbs provided a laboratory for morphological study at an entirely different scale than traditional European cities.

3. A return to traditional forms. Dissatisfaction with the suburban environment has motivated some urban morphology research, and a practice environment where urban form has become a prominent focus. Reformers have invigorated the discussion of the physical environment (as opposed to just the social factors) as they turn to historic models.

4. Fragmentation and weak control. The strong American attitude toward property rights weakens the potential of planning and gives control of actual urban form to developers. Planners use morphological study to validate the regulatory framework that is their primary mode of control.

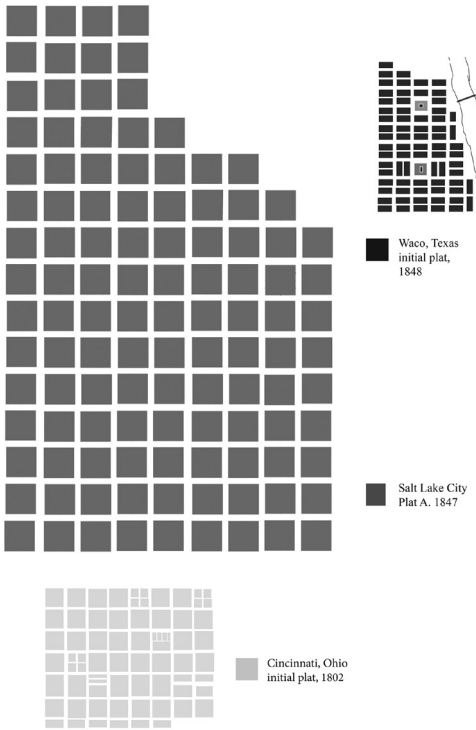
Each of these will be discussed in turn before turning to the question of where this fits into the morphology “schools” commonly embraced.

3.1 Rapid change – a different pace of development

One of the key characteristics of the North American urban form is its response to relatively rapid change. North America is like a laboratory devoted to finding specimens that quickly reproduce. Auto-oriented building types can change so rapidly that they seem accelerated lessons in typological process.⁷ The changes in structure of medium sized cities and towns, which for centuries in Europe and other established urban places has been relatively slow, in North America has exploded in size and land coverage, even without attendant huge population gain. The ability to change and adapt was an important criteria for nearly all urban settlements in North America.

North American morphologists are quick to acknowledge the flexibility and persistence of the ubiquitous Eighteenth and Nineteenth century grid, which provides a framework for orderly but very rapid growth. Pioneer settlements west of the Appalachians used the grid almost exclusively to rapidly lay out streets and lots and to sell property. For example, the Oklahoma land run in 1893 created three or four small towns that were laid out and settled in less than a month. Pierce Lewis noted the grid as a flexible framework, used nearly universally after the influence of William Penn’s 1683 plan for Philadelphia.⁸

The foundational grids in the US varied greatly in size and extent (Figure 3). Surveyors not only laid out the streets, but also divided the blocks into standard lots, which set up a rigid, standard module into which a variety of buildings and uses could be built and rebuilt over time. Figure 4 is a photo of successive building types that occupied similar lots in Cincinnati.



UP: Fig. 3. The size of initial grids in the US varied greatly, as this comparison of Salt Lake City, Utah, Cincinnati, Ohio and Waco, Texas demonstrates.

DOWN: Fig. 4. These four commercial building types represent the succession of redevelopment on a similar lot, from the earliest (second from right) to the latest (far right).

The theme of rapid morphological change in North America is illustrated most prominently with Anne Vernez Moudon's classic and groundbreaking study of the Alamo neighborhood in San Francisco.⁹ The title of the book encapsulates the idea of flexibility, **Built for Change**. She notes that not only do the streets and plots (cadaster) support change, but also several flexible building typologies. Looking at Savannah, Ga., Anderson analyzes the extraordinary, flexible city structure that allowed a sophisticated build out and subsequent redevelopment.¹⁰ Using a similar method combining both English and Italian traditions, Scheer and Ferdelman document a 100-year period of change in Cincinnati's Over-the-Rhine neighborhood.¹¹ They lament the presumed loss of flexibility as they document the partial destruction of the original grid through street closure, and the tendency to combine plots to make larger buildings. More recently, the famous grid of Manhattan has been celebrated in detail with its 200th birthday of foundation, especially noted for its persistence, its formal clarity, and its intense flexibility for adaptation to modern forms.¹²

This emphasis on the flexibility of traditional forms and their tendency to absorb change while maintaining order has also resulted in an interest in preserving and infilling the extant traditional forms (building types and the boundary matrix of plots and paths.) especially in preference to broad, modern urban redevelopment¹³.

While still served primarily by streetcar, near to town suburbs also maintained a semblance of this gridded flexibility/order. It was only the adaptation of forms to the car that led planners to abandon the grid.¹⁴

3.2 Suburban sprawl – a different scale of development

The dispersed, suburban highway-served development is an entirely new form of urbanism, despite the fact that suburbs of cities have been documented for millennia. Although created in the US, along with the invention of the auto, this form, like the patterns observed in the medieval city, has been adapted and applied around the world, constituting a frenzy of urbanization in the 20th century. The result of the auto and other contemporary conditions has been an entirely unique form, which differs from previous urban forms in flexibility, scale, building types, road patterns, road types, and regional spatial arrangement (centers, e.g.). This disruption, carried out in pockets worldwide and in the US as a ubiquitous development pattern, has broadened the applicability of earlier morphological theories and patterns that constitute the field. For example, the concept of the “fringe belt” has some applicability to the patterns in the US.

A significant amount of urban morphological study in the US has been devoted to the study of the great and disruptive suburban extensions of the city, which accelerated with the streetcar and the car, starting in the late 1920's. Southworth and Owens document and define the change in patterns of suburban

neighborhoods from modest, gridded extensions to the sprawling “loops and lollipops” of cul de sacs and curved streets.¹⁵ Moudon also identified changing suburban neighborhood patterns, along with Hess,¹⁶ but noted that this form of development easily responded to the analytical techniques developed in Italy and England. This author reported similar transformation in the Cleveland suburb of Hudson, Ohio, while reporting on the persistence of the 1790 gridded land survey cadaster in the small city.¹⁷

In addition to residential transformation, commercial transformation in the suburbs has been remarkably difficult to assess as a standard pattern (Liebs, 1985).¹⁸ Responding to the car and to globalization of commerce, the changing building types, the resistance to planning in the suburbs, and greatly expanding capacity of roads and highways as they grow farther from the city has meant that commercial form lacks almost any coherent patterning (Scheer, 2005).

Scheer studied the diachronic change in development along commercial highways as the city expands outward from its foundation grid and grid extensions, which led to the contribution of the concepts of “static, elastic, and campus tissues” to the morphology lexicon of patterns.¹⁹ Scheer and Petkov compared the size, expansion of land area, building types, and urban transport in commercial cores and ‘Edge Cities’²⁰. Gilliland and Gauthier document the rising interest in Canada of morphological research tied to affordable housing, urban sprawl and transportation systems.²¹ Pierre Gauthier, et. al., offers morphological solutions to the problem of superhighway reconstruction in Montreal.²²

3.3. A return to traditional forms

Insights in American urban form highlights the universality of most conceptions of urban morphology, but also highlight the shortcomings of a restricted world view.

In some Schools, the morphological or typological studies are specifically posed as enlightening the design response to observed problems. The story of the Italian school center on Muratori, who studied traditional city and built form in specific contrast to his colleagues who were promoting the disruptive architecture of the modern movement.²³ His student, Cannigia, went even further, decrying the devastation of modern architecture on Italian cities as a “crisis,” and posing the study of the process of city building and the evolution of building types as the obvious and universal answer.²⁴ Interestingly, the work of these architects tended to frame a dialogue with the existing city rather than to imitate traditional styles and forms, which is a contrast with the American practice.

The crisis is apparently still with us in contemporary study and practice in American morphology. One of the primary concerns of American morphologists is dissatisfaction with the form of American cities, which is a new but not completely different ‘crisis’. North American suburban form can

also be traced to the world-wide change in architecture (modernism) which so disturbed the Italian morphologists. Modernism's disconnection from the traditional, compact and flexible city also enabled the isolated typologies of the North American suburban form (e.g., big box stores, gas stations and single-family houses) while it glorified the speed and independence engendered by the automobile.

Beginning in 1990, the dispersed and disconnected suburban form was identified by the reformers as a clear crisis, in that these sprawling forms discouraged a sense of community, neglected pedestrians, increased land coverage, required long commutes, required a dominating car infrastructure, and were (for urbanists) boring and unlive-able.²⁵ Over the last two decades, the complaints about suburban form multiplied e.g., causing obesity and air pollution, while at the same time suburban typologies and plan units rapidly built out not only in North America, but all over the world.²⁶

'New Urbanism' is a movement in the US and elsewhere that responds directly to this dissatisfaction with dispersed forms. New Urbanists have tended to reify the traditional form of the early American gridded downtown, at all scales. As Conzen points out, however, these existing gridded formations are very small compared to the conurbations that surround cities of any size in North America.²⁷ New Urbanists, therefore, tend to copy and invent historical-looking forms in new suburban constructions, including aesthetic tropes that imitate the look of Nineteenth century building types, as well as the grain of the gridded block and street.

Research documenting best practices in creating these kind of imitation small towns is focused on the relationships between built form and other aspects, primarily behavioral or social, as documented in observational studies, preference studies or pedestrian counts.²⁸ Some study older neighborhoods as compared to the suburbs.

In practice, the New Urbanist designers are not interested in the evolution of actual, existing suburban places or the study of those places except as examples of what not to do. Instead New Urbanists promote generic solutions consisting of holistically planned, 'live-able' settlement areas (called transects), which provide blueprints and guidelines for 'good' city form at all scales currently present in the North American landscape.²⁹ The forms that arise from these practices are themselves subject to critique by morphologists, who note their lack of flexibility, or their lack of natural evolutionary character, and their generic solutions, which do not derive from the study of the historical form in a particular place.³⁰ A notable exception is Peter Bosselmann's work in Oakland, CA, which draws on variations of the historic grid pattern there to knit together a city partly destroyed by freeways.³¹ This kind of insight into the historic form of a place is sorely needed in the revival of American downtowns, but has only recently been widely deployed.

Still, most New Urbanist projects ignore the peculiarities and flexibilities of evolved form that can only be recognized through diachronic study of the morphology and typologies of an individual place. Neuman writes, ‘The new urbanist’s town is a static product of a developer’s marketing campaign rather than an evolving process of human development ... Compact settlements with an emphasis on density, pedestrians, and public transportation only address a few of the ills attending modern metropolises.’³²

3.4 Fragmentation and weak control

In the US, in particular, the status of property ownership is such that it is very rare that a local or regional jurisdiction makes a “plan” in the traditional sense of laying out street, open space, and property boundaries. Therefore part of the role of morphologists in North American practice is contributing to the research which validates the preferred methods of implementation, which are regulations governing the form of neighborhoods and the approved typologies. Commonly, real estate developers and their consultants independently design a proposal, which must be then approved by the local jurisdiction (usually a city or town). These places are small islands, not generally related to the function or urban design of a larger scale.

The fragmentation and weakness of development control has led planners to focus on regulations rather than plans. The regulatory system depends on a property-by-property regulatory system in zones or plan units; form-based codes, for example, rely on property subdivisions to provide the underlying grain desired for the plan unit. Because of this, development and redevelopment control in the US is based on property boundaries. Urban design is limited because streets and open spaces are haphazardly developed or tendered by land developers with different motivations than civic or public good.

Morphological studies of building types and street networks, especially in existing contexts, provide some validity to these types of regulations. In infill situations, the city will sometimes write codes or zoning that are morphologically based. This is by far the most extensive use of morphological or typological research in North America, although the prevailing methods are not comparative and tend to ignore evolved types.

4. HOW THE NORTH AMERICAN URBAN FORM FIT INTO THE “SCHOOLS” OF URBAN MORPHOLOGY

The International Seminar on Urban Form (ISUF) is an international organization of academics and practitioners who study the form and change of cities. In ISUF’s canon, there are thought to be three or four significant “schools”. These Schools were first posited by Moudon (1994, p.290) as part of her task of bringing together different worldwide practitioners of what is termed ‘urban morphology’.³³ The three schools identified by Moudon are the

British (aka Conzenian or historical-geographic), the Italian (aka Muratorian or process typology) and the French, including Jean Castex and Phillippe Panerai. Recently, there is some consensus that the Space Syntax school could be added, although that methodology, which emphasizes computation, is quite different from the other three schools.³⁴

As described by Moudon, the schools “address different disciplinary and culture issues and use different methods of inquiry.” Within ISUF these are usually thought of as different techniques of analysis—different scales, different purpose, different relationship to non-formal conditions, different disciplinary emphasis. In contrast, Moudon first described them in terms of the groups of scholars who worked together in different universities in European settings.³⁵ These somewhat isolated groups promoted and advanced each other’s work, while fostering students to carry on with the research techniques.

In addition to different frameworks and techniques for studying urban form, a clear distinguishing characteristic of the Schools is their geographic origins. After much dispersal of a variety of thought and technique across cultures, however, there is little doubt that an Italian or British idea might be usefully applied in a completely different urban and cultural landscape. Despite this dispersal, it is valid to look at the urban origins of the schools, to acknowledge that the different ideas and techniques about the study of urban form arose in particular places, and to suggest that even the scale of study could be strongly related to the context of urban history or era in urban development that are the backdrop of the dominant palimpsest in specific regions.

For example, the Conzenian, or British school is dominated by studies of urban development patterns and processes that arose as the medieval village slowly transformed into the city of the industrial revolution. Similarly, the Italian (Muratorian) School is fascinated with the physical remnants of the Roman Empire and other ancient settlements, and the traces and theoretical process of a slowly elaborated set of urban building types over time. These studies are clearly related to the observation of extant building fabric of the dominant urban landscape in each region. The scholars who took up residence in the Universities named by Moudon used their own backyard as the urban laboratory for their studies.

Given this, it is somewhat surprising that the techniques of analysis and theories of change developed in these different circumstances should prove so flexible as to be applied, with only slight modification, to conditions in cities worldwide, and that researchers in these Schools have themselves begun to branch out, bringing Conzenian concepts to China, for example, or Muratorian ideas applied to Alnwich, or an oasis in the Sahara.³⁶

These schools started out by developing an appropriate way to theorize and analyze their local urban configurations – configurations that are historical and geographical. Each of these is distinctive and reflected an important era

in city building, e.g., the Roman Empire, the Medieval, and the Industrial Revolution. Tracing urban development from an historic period to today and, critically, studying actual places not abstractions, the Schools generated new ideas about urban process and urban morphology in these specific contexts. Although observed, documented and discovered relative to a particular era, the theories and patterns identified by the Schools have inspired the establishment of theories of change used in multiple other contexts. It can also be observed that important morphological theories are often generated by looking at eras where cities are rapidly established, grow, and change.

Acknowledging the richness of ideas and techniques originating and based on different eras of city formation and growth, it follows that the analysis of contemporary settlements and configurations might offer similar enlightenment to the global urban morphology canon. North American settlements and suburbs, and the Asian mega-urban conurbations, offer two additional eras, places, and cultures where radically different urban formations can expand knowledge and theories, which may even be applied retrospectively.

These two additional geographically-related “Schools”, offer the most interesting and distinct forms of urbanization that have proceeded in the last two centuries. The North American morphologists describe the experience of rapid growth, coupled with the expansion of low-scale suburbs and highways. Even so, the concepts of evolving typologies and the presence of clear ‘plan units’ allows us to relate the American form to earlier theories. What is different is that the evolution is so rapid and it occurs at a scale unheard of in the rest of the world until recently.

The second geographically-related School must surely be an Asian one – where mega cities are rapidly erasing and dominating ancient typologies and urban meanings, as well as whole neighborhoods of slowly accreted vernacular structures. This significant erasure and astonishing, highly layered, vertical form is surely the next frontier for observing and guiding new concepts of urban form and urban process.³⁷ This paper does not discuss Asian morphology, but it is clear that it is a set of patterns that can be applied around the world. In the new world culture of cities, where states are less important or a framework of laws rather than a place, city complexity may include both ancient and mega form (Burdett, et.al. 2007, Song, et.al. 2021).³⁸

Another theme that is just opening up in American morphology has to do with the global need for a greater understanding of cities in the landscape and their sustainability. Much as morphologists have made the connection from urban form to culture and history, a newer field of research links the urban form to land and ecosystems. We know that urban form and urban design have always been shaped by local land form, water, and climate, whether recognized or not. (Both the Muratorian and the Conzenian School recognize this factor, but it does not play a large role in the methodologies.) Sustainable practices in city planning do not receive as much attention by North American morphologists

as the issues of suburban sprawl and a regulatory return to emphasizing traditional form. It is widely believed (but not yet well documented) that the general concepts of traditional development proposed by New Urbanists – compact, fine-grained form, transit oriented, infill development, higher density – provide solutions that are somewhat sustainable.³⁹ Many urban planners would want a revision of that formula to include a much greater understanding of the underlying systems – regional transportation, land sensitivity, water systems, vegetation, ecosystem services, and particularly local open space provision.⁴⁰ This is a rich area for morphologists to document and compare, especially in larger cities in North America and in the burgeoning mega cities around the world.

5. CONCLUSIONS

With the global adoption of urban morphology at least partly accomplished through ISUF, it may be time to jettison much of the construct of “Schools” as both divisive and imprecise. Researchers around the world freely combine techniques of analysis, scales, and process theories as they reveal the morphology of their own places. As a global group (ISUF), our time might be better served to examine and catalogue the theoretical positions that we can confidently confirm across place and time, and identify questions that are still subject to continuing research. It may be argued that the idea of distinct Schools, *per se*, is not serving the expansion and integration of urban morphology research, adaptation, and practice around the world, which is required for urban design and planning that is more responsive to the form of the city.

I have proposed that different Schools might actually be characterized as slightly different intellectual frameworks for studying urban form and relating form to other conditions in the city (Scheer, 2016). For some time, many others in ISUF have encouraged the adoption of a common language and methodological framework so as to impact and engage practicing planners and architects. Art McCormack has usefully noted a summary of these views.⁴¹

If we grant validity to the idea that important morphological theories are often most visible in regions where city formation was accelerated historically, there are other civilizations and city building innovations that are yet to be explored for their contribution to general urban morphology theory (for example, Andean, Indian, or Greek). Certainly, our emphasis on returning to traditional form means that the time of innovation has passed in North America, as it did in Europe 200 years ago. The world mega-cities of Asia and Africa are inventing new forms (not necessarily good ones) for a new world economy and culture.⁴² Along with the global need for sustainable ideas, these cities are the next frontier for an emerging urban morphology “school”.

NOTES

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A B S T R A C T S : S E R B I A N

URBANA MORFOLOGIJA U SEVERNOJ AMERICI: ISTORIJA I PRAVCI

Brenda Case Scheer

Urbana morfologija, nazvana kao takva, još uvek nije razvijena kao strategija planiranja i urbanog dizajna u Severnoj Americi. S druge strane, pokreti *Novi urbanizam* (New urbanism) i *Pametni rast* (Smart Growth) mogu da dobiju mnogo korišćenjem urbane morfologije kao jasnog i striktnog istraživačkog metoda. Da bi se obezbedio jasan put za usvajanje, ovaj rad ispituje kako se primena različitih podataka istraživanja urbane morfologije zasnovanih na evropskim osnovama, tumačenja i teorija promene razlikuju u Severnoj Americi. Kako različiti uslovi forme, posebno vreme u kojem su naselja nastala, zahtevaju drugačiji metod i prepoznavanje različitih tipova i obrazaca, pa čak i različitih škola?

Budući da su severnoamerički istraživači zainteresovani za brzu ekspanziju gradova, grad usredsređen na automobile, potrebu za konfiguracijom u kojoj se može živeti i neuređenost većine urbane teritorije, nova vrsta studija je prikladna. Ovaj metod se već pojavljuje, ali nije rigorozno definisan. Najčešći glasovi su oni koji se bave promovisanjem određenog rešenja urbanog dizajna, a ne ispitivanjem prošlosti ili postojećih urbanih tkiva. Ovo ostavlja prostor urbanoj morfologiji da dopuni prazninu.

KLJUČNE REČI: URBANA MORFOLOGIJA; SEVERNA AMERIKA; NOVI URBANIZAM; PREDGRAĐE, SAD
