ABSTRACT

AN EXPLORATION INTO AMERICAN URBAN VALUES
AND THEIR REFLECTIONS IN
URBAN POLICY

By

Walter William Wilkman Jr.

Focusing on certain aspects of the institutional and cultural components of the city, this thesis begins by exploring the way in which American cities have been valued throughout our history. By citing the words and works of influential men of our culture, it is demonstrated that Americans have held a culturally based negative value bias against cities. Evidence is produced that roots this negative urban bias in the fact that the myriad of institutions which make up the city have been distorted or superseded by the concerns of one of the city's institutions, the economic institution. It is further found that from the 1700's to the present, alternatives to urban life are consistently asserted which center around a small town-agrarian ideal.

It is hypothesized and found that that this strongly rooted cultural bias against American cities and in favor of the small town-agrarian ideal has been strongly reflected

in major urban policies which have had far reaching effects on the nature of our cities and their ability to function effectively. The policies of zoning, FHA housing, and Federal highways are shown to reflect this bias in the nature of their promotion, emphasis, money allocations, and legal strength.

Suggestions are made to the effect that culture and the institutional basis of the city be intelligently and consciously considered in both the planning process and urban policy making. It is also suggested that research be done into the nature of culture and institutions as they are embodied in the city in order that they may become an integral part of urban planning and the policy making process.

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INTRODUCTION

The Subject Under Study

The subject under study here is the way in which cities in our culture have been valued, and how such values have been reflected in major urban policy. Suggestions for changes will be offered too.

To understand and have ready access to the illusive and abstract realm of cultural values, the city will be viewed as a sociocultural entity. In particular, the city will be viewed as a complex set of interacting and interrelating institutions, operating in the much broader framework consisting of man, nature, culture, institutions, and artifacts. (These terms and concepts will receive much fuller attention in Chapter 1.)

In studying urban values, special attention will be given to their positive and negative aspects. In addition to determining whether the main thrust of American urban values has been negative or positive, an effort will be made to determine what characteristics have been positively valued and what characteristics have been negatively valued. In this way, the positive and negative aspects of urban values will be investigated.

This thesis, then, will be concerned with studying

the values of Americans toward their cities, the reflections of these values in urban policy, and the need for changes responding to these reflections. The major hypothesis to be considered is the following: The particular nature of urban policy in the United States is the result of reflections of strong cultural values which view the city with a negative bias and which therefore are often detrimental to the needs of the functioning urban entity.

Scope of the Study

It may already be obvious that the scope of this study is bound to be rather broad. Information will be drawn from many areas. Much of what we believe our immediate and distant ancestors to have said or believed must be gleaned from the popular literature of their times. Literary people are often the first to take up popular causes and are usually the most articulate spokesmen of popular beliefs. The recordings of historians are also extremely important where significant occurances, statesmen's comments, and the mood of the times are concerned. This study will also draw upon the area of what might be termed "urban philosophy" and the social sciences. Our laws are also important reflections of our beliefs. They are the most durable way man has to express his strongest beliefs. Law and policy will, then, also enter into this study. The areas drawn upon, therefore,

include, but are not limited to, history, literature, social science, urban philosophy and law.

It should be emphasized that the author is not an expert or even generously knowledgeable in each of these areas. The observations made in this study will be drawn from both first hand readings and observations of other, more highly qualified persons. To a large extent, this study will have to focus on the literary and historical areas using the observations and conclusions of other writers.

CHAPTER 1

DEFINITIONS

Introduction

Most people "know" what a city is, at least they feel they can recognize one and identify one, yet few people can coherently define the concept "city". Usually attempts at definition end in frustrated comments to the effect that the person really knows what a city is, but cannot explain it in words. The objectives of this study do not allow for such vagueness. It is therefore the purpose of the following paragraphs to discuss several possible definitions and establish one to be used in the course of this thesis. Another consideration to be presented below concerns the analytical framework on which the study is based. This framework will be presented and the various concepts used in it will be defined. The final section of this chapter will be a list of terms and definitions to be used throughout the thesis.

The City as Currently Defined

There are several classes of definitions of the city currently in use. Various authors have listed from two or three all the way up to fifteen or sixteen types of

definitions. The presentation here will concern itself with only five types. These are the following: legal definitions, economic definitions, functional definitions, psychological definitions, and mixtures of the above. Examples of each of these will be presented below.

Legal Definitions

The United States Census has developed several definitions for varying degrees and types of urban phenomena. These definitions are often referred to and taken as generally usable definitions by persons doing urban research.

To begin with, the Census Bureau gives a definition of the term "urban". It defines urban as: "(a) places of 2,500 inhabitants or more incorporated....(b) the densely settled urban fringe, whether incorporated or unincorporated....(c) towns in New England and townships in New Jersey and Pennsylvania which contain no incorporated municipalities as subdivisions and have either 25,000 inhabitants or more or a population of 2,500 to 25,000 and a density of 1,500 persons or more per square mile.... (d) counties in states other than New Jersey and Pennsylvania that have no incorporated municipalities within their boarders and have a density of 1,500 persons per square mile....(e) unincorporated places of 2,500 inhabitants or more."[1]

The Census Bureau has also developed a definition of what it considers the large interdependent working whole that is based on the city. This is the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA). The SMSA is basically a city or cities of 50,000 inhabitants or more, and surrounding counties, with "economic" and "social" ties to the center city. The criteria are based on percentages of workers tied to the center city, non-agricultural workers, etc.[2]

The "urbanized area" was developed by the Census Bureau in order to describe and include as urban, areas outside legal incorporated cities.[3] The criteria outlined for the term "urban" will suffice to indicate the kinds of considerations used in the definition of "urbanized area". Of course, not to be forgotten are the state defined "incorporated cities" and other civil divisions designed to delimit an area of legal jurisdiction.

Legal definitions of cities, such as the examples cited above, are useful for the purposes they were created for. They provide an institutionalized definition of an area wherein, in the case of the census, certain data may be collected, or in the case of incorporated areas, certain powers and services may be carried out. When used for the purpose of understanding the city as a social phenomenon, however, they are grossly inadequate. They describe a legal container and say something about its contents, but

have little to say about the essence of what a city, as a functioning whole, is. Clearly, legal definitions are useful only for the specific purposes they were created for.

Physical Definitions

Definitions of the city as a physical entity are quite common. Usually, when people think of cities, they think of the city's physical characteristics.

Stuart A. Queen and David B. Carpenter in their book, The American City, define the city as follows: "...A city is a collection of people and buildings large for its time and place and characterized by distinctive activities."[4] Victor Gruen, in his book The Heart of Our Cities, defines the city in this way: "If one were to try to reduce to three, the qualities or characteristics that make a city, they might be: (1) Compactness; (2) Intensity of public life; (3) A small-grained pattern in which all types of human activities are intermingled in close proximity."[5]

People, in both of these definitions, are only the elements which fill the container called city. The essence of the city appears here to be physical. But for what purpose, and how do the physical entities take shape, and why do people carry on "distinctive activities"? These questions are not answered here, and cannot be answered in a strictly physical definition.

Economic Definitions

Cities are often thought of and defined as economic units. Hallenbeck says that "the factor that seems to distinguish cities more than any other is the kind of production that forms the basis of economic life." He goes on to say that "cities exist for the purpose of commerce and industry."[6]

This type of definition views the city as the workshop of the nation. But what about the city's myriad of other functions? Can cities really be defined as economic units in any complete sense of the word? The belief here is that they cannot.

Functional Definitions

Due to the way in which functional definitions have usually been formulated, they may often be considered sub-types of economic definitions. This is because they often focus on a city's income producing activity. Hallenbeck goes through several such functional classification systems. Gist and Halbert, he says, list six types: (1) production centers, (2) centers of trade and commerce, (3) political capitals, (4) cultural centers, (5) health and recreational centers, and (6) diversified cities.[7] Hallenbeck also refers to a list developed by Harris. In this scheme there are nine types: (1) retail centers, (2) diversified cities, (3) wholesale cities, (4) manufacturing cities, (5) transportation centers,

(6) mining towns, (7) university towns, (8) resort and retirement towns, and (9) political centers.[8]

For very specialized purposes, such definitions may serve a person well, but the term "city" cannot be simply defined in terms of its major income producing activity. As with economic definitions, this type of definition ignores the city's many other functions.

Psychological Definitions

In recent years, it has been popular to define cities in "psychological" terms. This has added a new element to the realm of urban definitions. Hallenbeck, after exploring a number of definitions comes up with the conclusion that cities exist for people, and it is by people that they operate as living things. Cities must be "alive". The material aspects of cities, according to Hallenbeck, loom so large that they can often be mistaken for the important things. Neglected, says Hallenbeck, are the "...psychological factors which, after all, are controlling in the history and growth of self-sufficient governing communities."[9]

This definition comes close to the city's essence but stops just short of it. Cities are not merely groups of individuals; they are not made up of psychological factors as their essential units. A city is no more a group of individuals than a brick wall is a group of bricks. Just as a collection of bricks could form a road,

a group of people could form a line.[10] The city's essence lies in the social relationships it supports in its container. As Haworth, in his book The Good City, points out: "The individuals compose a city because of the form that is etched out by the settled relations in which they stand to each other."[11] This explains the city's resistance to the express will of some individuals.

Mixed Definitions

Some authors, rather than commit themselves to one definition, put forth a long dissertation on the city's many qualities and characteristics, or they offer a single definition combining any number of the above or other definition types. An example of this type is one put forth by Thomlinson in his book Urban Structure. In defining the city, Thomlinson says:

> A modern city is: (1) A large agglomeration of people living in a contiguously built up area, (2) who function to produce non-agricultural goods and services and more particularly to distribute all manner of goods and services, (3) and who, as a result of carrying on such functions, develop a way of life characterized by anonymity, impersonal and segmentalized contacts with other people, and secondary controls.[12]

This definition presents a combination of physical, human, and economic characteristics.

Merely adding criteria to a definition, however, does not make it complete. None of the above definitions say anything about the range of social activities that comprise the city, and the interrelationships that bind

them together. Government is only one urban function, economic activities are only one function, the human elements are only the individual actors in the system, and the physical parts are only tools. Put them together, and all you have is a list of urban functions and elements, not a definition of the city.

Thus we have several currently used definitions and versions of the concept "city". They all describe and focus upon a partial aspect or group of aspects of the city and may even work quite well as operational definitions under specific circumstances. None, however, describes what, in essence, makes the city a working, interacting whole. A definition which comes closer to doing this is described below.

The City as a Set of Institutions

Several urban social scientists have come to realize that cities are, in essence, sets of interrelated institutions. Lawrence Haworth has pointed out that "instead of saying 'The city is the people', we shall get more nearer to the heart of our problem by saying, 'The city is an institution, and a collection of institutions.'"[13]

Mumford, in The City in History, admonishes the reader that he must avoid the over-particularized definition of the city. Congestion, an encircling wall,

large numbers, are all "accidental characteristics of the city". The city, he emphasizes, is more correctly a complex of interrelated and constantly interacting social functions.[14] Mumford makes note of the fact that "what happened...with the rise of cities was that many functions were brought together within a limited area and the components of the city were kept in a dynamic state of tension and interaction."[15] Mumford clearly implies that unless one understands the institutions, ideas, and culture of a civilization, physical structures and elements remain mute and unexplained, for physical elements are in reality material culture.

Weber's theory of urban communities approaches the essence of the issue best. He saw the urban community as made up of: (1) Social Actions (interhuman behavior with meaning to the involved parties), (2) Social Relations (the stable arrangement of elements appearing in social action), (3) Social Institutions (stable patterns of behaviors), (4) Community (a total systematic unit of human life distinguished by an order of institutions).[16] The social element and the institutional element (the distinction between these is purely analytical) form the basis of his conception of urban communities. This is the essence of the urban community; all other forms and elements grow out of these.

The city is thus defined in this thesis as follows: A city consists primarily of relatively fixed arrangements

of interacting and interrelating institutions operating within a proximity and arrangement conducive to efficient functioning.

The Nature of Institutions

The concept "institution" plays a central role in the definition of city used in this thesis. Because of this fact, this section will be concluded with a brief discussion of the nature of institutions. Specifically their meaning, types, and characteristics will be discussed.

In Weber's book, The City, institution is referred to in the following way: "An institution, such as a state, a family, a religion, or a system of law is a 'system of relations'...,institution is an economy for speaking about the occurrence of complex social relations."[17] Haworth points out that institutions are both the outcome of human actions and are established structures.[18] To summarize these views, and provide a specific definition of "institution", it will be the contention here that: institutions are the fixed and structured patterns of behavior by which man satisfies his common, long term, and more basic needs.

Institutions form the basic framework of urban form and character. Every viable institution is characterized by personnel (members), codes and other normative

elements (major purposes), conceptual and ideological elements (values), attitude and behavior elements (social roles) and symbolic and physical elements (artifacts). All of these components are designed to serve certain basic purposes or goals determined by the nature and type of institution under consideration. (See Figure 1.1) Also important is the fact that institutions exist in a time dimension consisting of a four-part cycle. The cycle starts with a period of insipient organization when a need is felt and the institution is created. As the institution develops, it enters a period of efficiency. As time goes on, more and more elements are structured and the institution enters a period of formalism. This formalism makes changing the institution difficult with the result that eventually it falls into a period of disorganization which in turn leads it back to (re-) organization and the beginning of a new cycle. (See Figure 1.2)

There are three basic types of institutions: value creating institutions, regulatory institutions, and service institutions. Within these types, there are several major and long term institutions which can be identified. (See Figure 1.3) These long term institutions include, but are not limited to, the following: religion, art, philosophy, science (value creating); family, education, engineering, medicine, recreation, economics

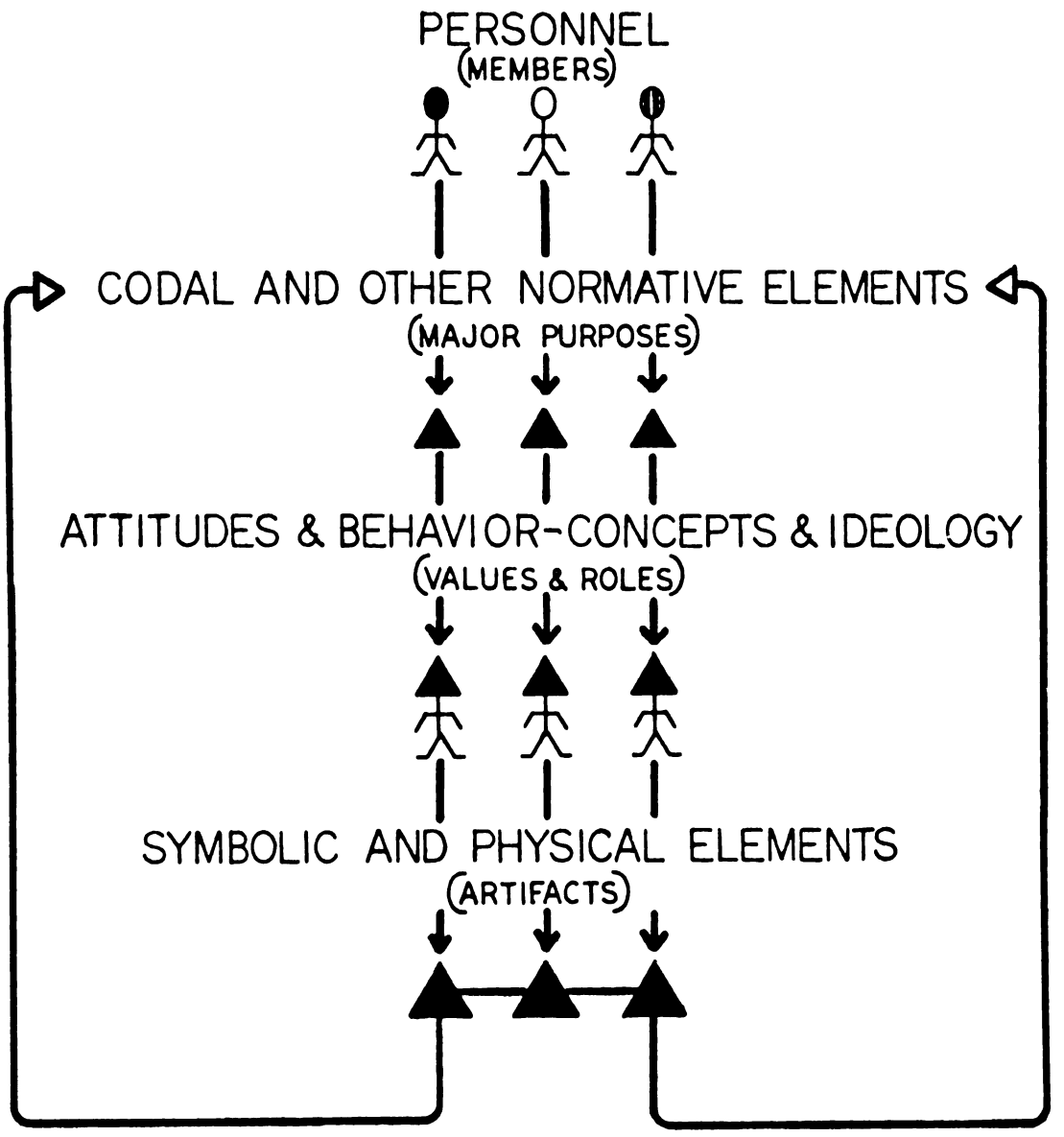

Figure 1.1 Components of an Institution

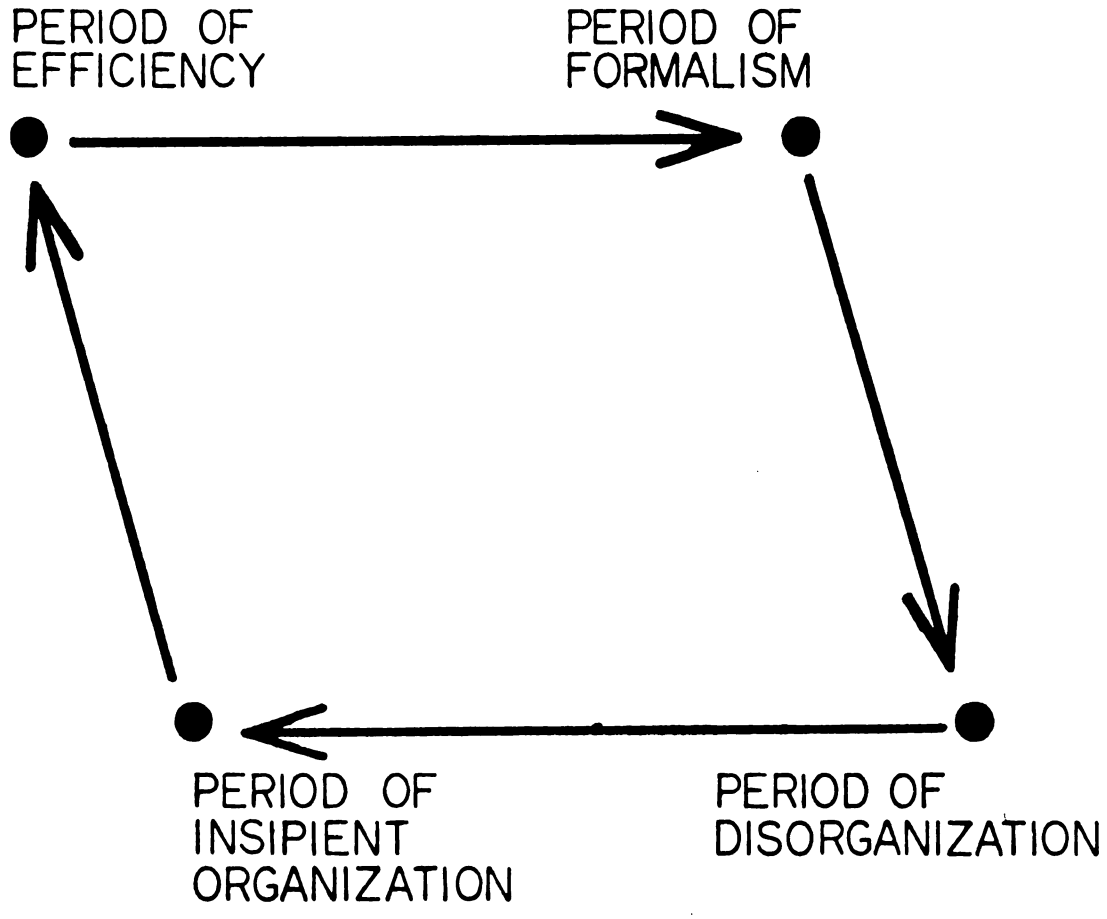

Figure 1.2 Life Cycle of an Institution

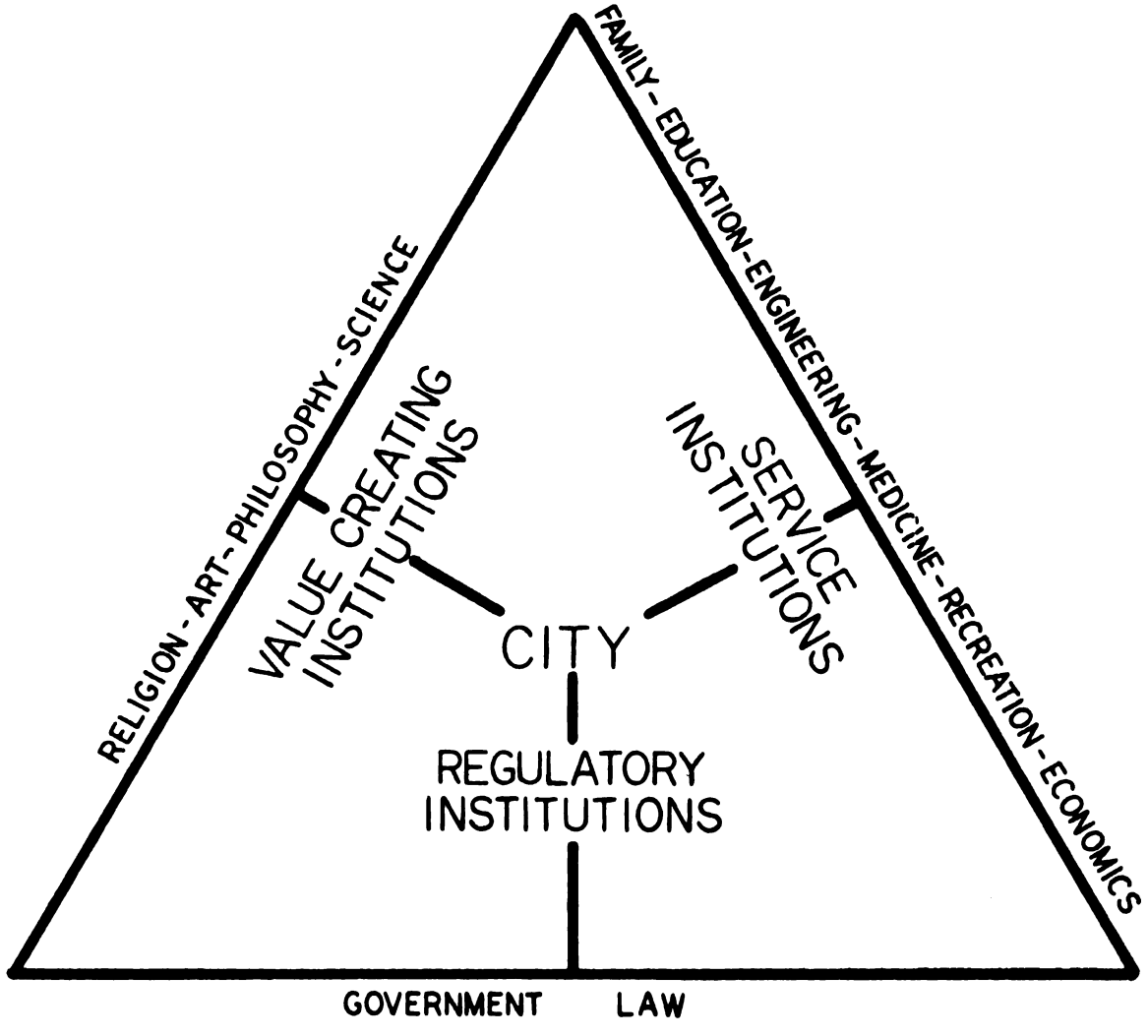

Figure 1.3 Types of Institutions

(service); government, and law (regulatory).

Institutions demand discipline as well as freedom; they channel and construct life into patterns of action and form.[19] As a functioning whole, the city operates via the interaction and cooperation established between its basic institutions. To the extent that they are balanced, urban life is balanced. To the extent one or a few institutions dominate, urban life in imbalanced. The state of institutional balance or imbalance expresses itself, not only in the life of the people, but in the various forms of physical culture. The Greek city-state, for example, was dominated by the combined institutions of religion and government. This dominance was reflected in the central places given to the acropolis and the agora.[20] The medieval city was also dominated by religious and governmental institutions, and as a result, the church and the castle were dominant features of medieval settlements.[21] There has probably never been a city wherein anything approaching institutional balance existed. For better or for worse, cities have always been dominated by the functioning of one or a few institutions. The nature of the city is that of the institutions which form its foundation. The institutions form the purposes and reasons for being of the city.

It can be seen, therefore, how the city may be best defined as a set of institutions, and how the

particular configuration of institutions form the character of the community itself. The following section discusses how this definition fits into a general analytical framework.

The Sociocultural Framework

The previous paragraphs have emphasized that cities are primarily sets of interrelating and interacting institutions; there are, however, other components.

Every human settlement consists of five basic components of which institutions are only one. Institutions are the basic and essential components, but institutions do not exist in isolation. They are made up of people; their character is determined by culture; they exist within a natural environment; and they produce and utilize artifacts. A complete list of the components of a human settlement, then, must include Man, Nature, Culture, Institutions, and Artifacts. In this thesis the focus shall be on three of the components, institutions, culture, and artifacts. See Figure 1.4 for a diagramatic portrayal of the human settlement with its five components and institutions as its focus.

Conclusion

Cities are not what they do, they are not the physical or human components that fill them, and they

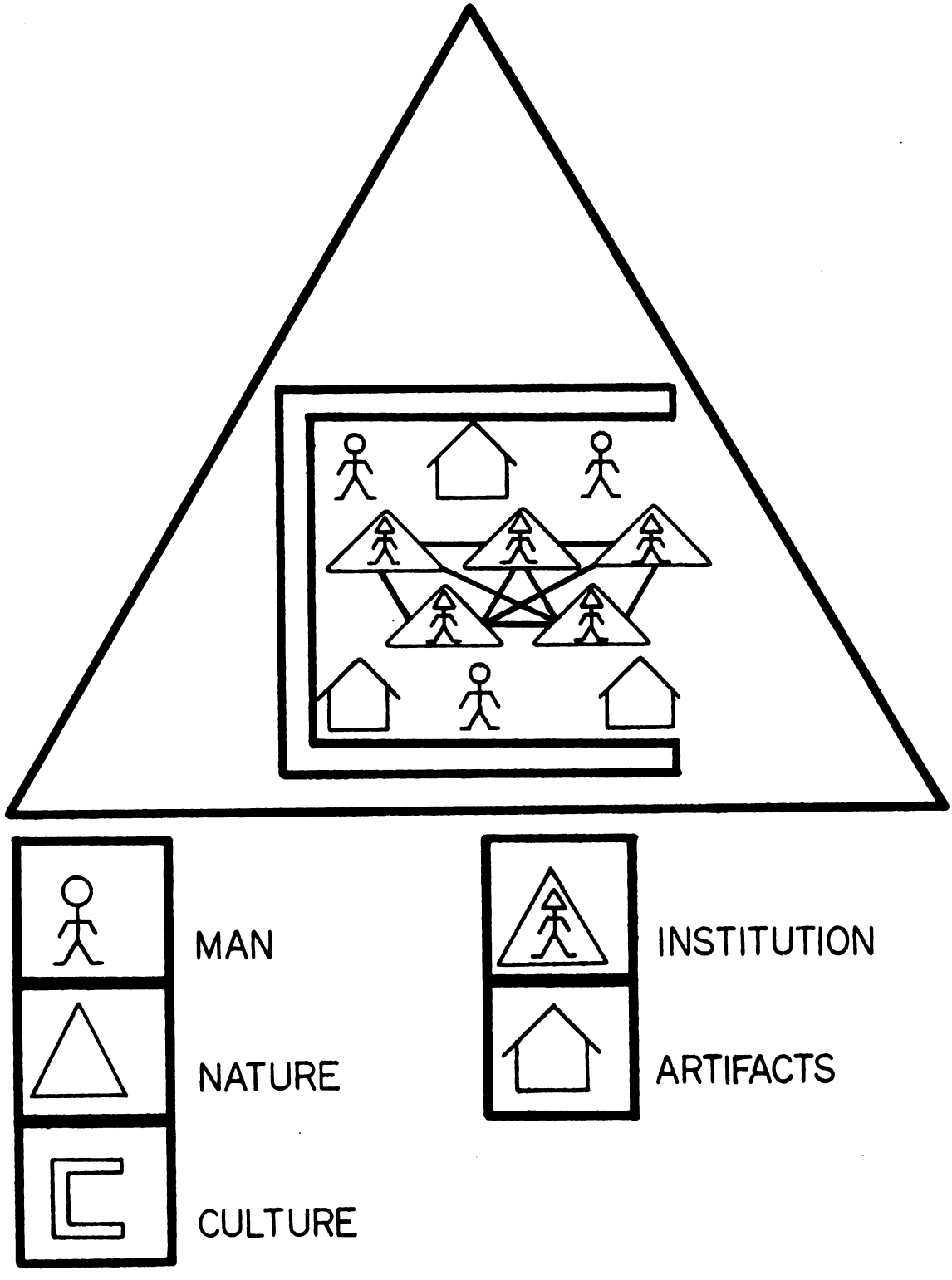

Figure 1.4 The City

are not jurisdictions. They are groups of interdependent need-related activities which we have termed here "institutions". As a whole, that is, as a human settlement, they consist of Man, Nature, Culture, Institutions, and Artifacts. Important elements of the study to follow will be related directly to the elements of culture, institutions and artifacts of this framework. Even when it is not mentioned, however, it should be kept in mind throughout the pages to follow.

Terminology

City: The city is primarily a relatively fixed arrangement of interacting and interrelating institutions operating within a proximity and arrangement conducive to efficient functioning.

Man: The human component. Man is the actor, the doer.

Nature: Nature consists of all things not specifically fashioned by man. It consists of such things as flora, fauna, earth, air, water, etc.

Culture: Culture is the sum of man's values, knowledge, and other meaningful symbols.

Institutions: Institutions are the fixed and structured patterns of behavior by which man satisfies his common, long term, and more basic needs, and which form the core of the city.

Artifacts: Any physical object or aggregate of physical objects specifically fashioned by man.

FOOTNOTES

1. Raymond E. Murphy, The American City: An Urban Geography (New York: Mc Graw-Hill Book Co., 1966), p. 9.

2. Murphy, pp. 18-21.

3. Murphy, pp. 24-25.

4. Stuart A. Queen and David B. Carpenter, The American City (New York: Mc Graw-Hill Book Co., 1953), p. 18.

5. Victor Gruen, The Heart of Our Cities (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1967), p. 28.

6. Wilbur C. Hallenbeck, American Urban Communities (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1951), p. 33.

7. Noel P. Gist and L. A. Halbert, Urban Society, third edition, (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1948), pp. 8-15, cited by Hallenbeck, p. 75.

8. Channcy Harris, "A Functional Classification of Cities in the United States", Geographical Review, XXIII (January, 1943), 86-89, cited by Hallenbeck, p. 75.

9. Hallenbeck, pp. 35-36.

10. Lawrence Haworth, The Good City (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1963), p. 35.

11. Haworth, p. 35.

12. Ralph Thomlinson, Urban Structure (New York: Random House, 1969), pp. 41-42.

13. Haworth, p. 28.

14. Lewis Mumford, The City in History (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1961), p. 85.

15. Mumford, p. 31.

16. Don Martindale, "Prefatory Remarks: The Theory of the City", in Max Weber, The City (New York: The Free Press, 1958), p. 54.

17. Martindale, in Weber, p. 51.

18. Haworth, pp. 27-28.

19. Haworth, p. 37.

20. Clifford R. Bragdon, "Urban Cultural Evolution: An Historical Perspective" (Unpublished Master's thesis, Michigan State University, 1965), pp. 29-30.

21. Bragdon, p. 60.

CHAPTER 2

AMERICAN VALUES AND THE CITY

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to explore the values several prominant Americans have expressed toward American cities. This will be done in order to gain some insight into the nature of these values and the degree to which they have been transmitted through history.

During the middle ages, people escaped to the city in order to find freedom--freedom from feudal barons. Today you may be more likely to find that "an infant rebellion is born in the mind of every thinking American when he is jammed into an elevator car or is herded into a subway train, or is forced to stand in line to be served."[1] Strauss has pointed out, that in American literature, antagonism toward the city has been a persistent theme throughout our history. Leo Marx made a study of this, and found that in literature, urban antagonism is often balanced with rural escape. Specifically he finds persistently in American literature the three part theme of retreat from civilization (resulting from alienation from the complex life in the city), exploration

of an idyllic wilderness (idyllic wandering through the wilderness), and the return to civilization (a result of the sudden intrusion of civilization; necessary but never seen as very satisfactory).[2] Such persistent themes indicate strong feelings about the complexities of urban life.

It will become clear early in this chapter, that the preponderance of the attitudes expressed by the influential Americans studied are primarily negative. It should be understood, however, that no attempt has been made to solicit such views exclusively; indeed it will be a major endeavor of this thesis to explain the main causes of the overwhelming number of views unfavorable toward the city. The analysis of the views (Chapter 3) explored in this chapter will dwell not so much on the onesidedness of the views, but rather it will focus on the polarities of the values surrounding the views. The reader is advised to remain alert to both the positive and negative implications of the various quotations to follow.

This chapter is organized into a general time sequence, dating from the 1700's to the present. Three major periods will be explored: One from the 1700's to the 1800's; another from the 1800's to 1900's; and a final one from the 1900's to the present. The purpose of this division is to reflect on the early growth of our

cities, the impact of the Industrial Revolution, and the aftermath of this impact. The following is not intended to be a complete history, but rather a selective and sequential selection of the views of major American figures toward the American city.

The 1700's to the 1800's

The heritage of this country may be British, but it was fostered and opened up by pioneers and farmers and thus our values toward the city are not those of our British counterparts. "...Before the Civil War, the main figures of American philosophical thought were persistently critical of the American city....Jefferson, Emerson, and Thoreau preferred life in Monticello, Concord, or beside Walden Pond."[3] And the American city was not a backward, uncivilized outpost of Britain, either; by 1740 the urbanity and affluence of the American city was widely recognized.[4] Cities during these early years were not the major form of human settlement however; the dominant settlement was based on the farm. During the first few decades of American economic expansion, transportation was largely by foot or horse, and cities remained relatively compact. Because of the openness of the rest of the country, such density was unnatural and something which happened in spite of, not thanks to, Americans.[5]

J. Hector St. John de Crevecoeur was a French born writer who moved to America to write and work as a mapmaker and surveyor and later as a self-proclaimed simple farmer. Although he was enchanted with New York, he was not sympathetic toward European cities and saw American cities becoming more like them. Perhaps influenced by his views toward Europe, he identified the farm orientation of America with freedom and the cities of Europe with domination by nobility.

In his Letters from an American Farmer of 1782, Crevecoeur described himself in the following way: "I am neither a philosopher, politician, divine, or a naturalist, but a simple farmer." In answering the question, What is an American?, Crevecoeur gives the following response:

> He is arrived on a new continent: a modern society offers itself to his contemplation, different from that he has hitherto seen. It is not composed, as in Europe, of great lords who possess everything and of a herd of people who have nothing. Here are no aristocratical families, no courts, no king, no bishops, no ecclesiastical dominion, no invisible power giving to a few a very visible one; no great manufacturers employing thousands, no great refinements of luxury....Some few towns excepted, we are all tillers of the earth from Nova Scotia to West Florida. We are a people of cultivators....We are all animated with the spirit of an industry which is unfretted and unrestrained because each person works for himself.[6]

Crevecoeur voiced reservations only for the pioneer who lived beyond the clutches of law and society, and who was, therefore, no better than a canrivorous animal of superior rank, living on the flesh of wild animals.[7]

Obviously, what America stood for to Crevecoeur, outside of a few towns and a few wild pioneers, was the farm and tilling the soil. Cities were exceptions to the true American spirit.

During this time, late in the 1700's, Americans were feeling a need to justify their new found freedom and show how they were superior to the Old World. Nationalists, knowing that America could never match Europe's claim to civilization, turned to our vast wilderness as the only real claim our country had to fame. Even though many of those who farmed, trapped, and pioneered found such a base for pride ridiculous, nonetheless, the movement was underway and its strength multiplied. Numerous volumes appeared praising natural beauty as the unique virtue of America. Gilpen's 1792 Remarks on Forest Scenery and Other Woodland Views, was a early and famous nationalist volume. "A fig for your Italian scenery!" cried one enthusiastic patriot, "This is the country where nature reigns in her virgin beauty...." Edmund Burke wrote his Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas on the Sublime and Beautiful, in 1757. Immanuel Kant wrote his Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and the Sublime (1763) and his Critique of Judgement in 1790. Benjamin Rush noted at this time that "man is naturally a wild animal, and taken from the woods, he is never happy.[8] Clearly, the trend of American thought, at this

time, was away from the civilized polish of cities and toward the "simplicity" of nature.

A strong influence in American culture was Thomas Jefferson. Jefferson dearly loved the farmer and thought of him as the bulwark of American democracy. Yet he loved also the gaiety, architecture, painting, music, and similar amenities only found in civilized life. Jefferson was above all, however, strongly influenced by considerations of national security. It was this latter influence that drove him to fear for America, lest she develop into a land of cities. Foremost in his fear was the possibility that America would develop cities like those of Europe.

He considered cultivation of the earth preferable to manufacturing. "In Europe," he said in his Notes on the State of Virginia (1785), "the lands are either cultivated or locked up against the cultivator. Manufacturers must, therefore, be resorted to of necessity, not of choice, to support the surplus of their people."[9] The fact that our manufactures were of poor quality was of no consequence; Americans were tillers of the soil. "...Our people will certainly return as soon as they can, to the raising of raw materials and exchanging them for finer materials than they are able to manufacture themselves."[10]

His distrust of manufacturing cities was also

aimed at the workmen themselves. "It is better to carry provisions and material to workmen, than to bring them to the provisions and materials and with them their manners and principles."[11] Jefferson definitely chose to see the nation a land of farms rather than one of "teeming" cities. In this same manuscript he made some of his most impassioned statements about the city:

> Those who labor in the earth are the chosen people of God...whose breasts He has made His peculiar deposit for substantial and genuine virtue....The mobs of great cities add just so much to the support of government as sores do to the strength of the human body. It is the manner and spirit of a people which preserves a republic in vigor. A degeneracy in these is a canker which soon eats to the heart of its laws and constitution.[12]

These are not isolated quotations from this most influential man in American culture. Jefferson was quite openly opposed to cities and expressed these feelings in a number of writings. In a letter to James Madison, in 1787, he had this to say: "I think governments will remain virtuous for many centuries, as long as they are chiefly agricultural; and this will be as long as there shall be vacant lands....When they get piled upon one another in large cities, as in Europe, they may become as corrupt as in Europe."[13] In a letter to Benjamin Rush in 1800 he expressed a hope that the yellow fever would discourage the building of great cities. He later suggested building on a checkerboard pattern to avoid this danger.[14] And in a letter to Dr. Caspar Wistar in

1807 he again expressed his distaste for cities, except this time with some minor reservations: "Dear Sir--I have a grandson...now about 15 years of age, in whose education I take a lively interest....I am not a friend to placing growing men in populous cities, because they acquire the habits and partialities which do not contribute to the happiness of their afterlife. But there are particular branches of science which are not so advantageously taught elsewhere in the United States as in Philadelphia."[15]

Slowly, however, his views began to change, not out of "choice", but mainly "necessity". Visits to Paris, however, brought out his cultural proclivities and led to a weakening of his anti-urban bias. Most of the change, however, was due to his strong feeling for America's national security. The War of 1812 showed Jefferson the need for domestic manufacturing. "We must now place the manufacturer beside the agriculturalist...."[16] By 1816, the change was clear. In a letter to Benjamin Austin of that year, Jefferson was finally forced to admit America's need for manufacturing cities. "Shall we make our own comforts or go without them, at the will of a foreign nation?...Experience has now taught me that manufacturers are now as necessary to our independence as to our comfort."[17] His distaste for cities was not, however, completely dampened. In a letter to William Short, he

stated that: "A city life offers you indeed more means of dissipating time, but more frequently also and more painful objects of vice and wretchedness...all the disparities of human nature."[18]

Thomas Jefferson feared the city as exemplified by that in Europe. He found virtue in the country and particularly in the farmer. He was reluctant to see a young man go to the city and was even more reluctant to see the need for cities which could guarantee America's independence in a hostile world.

As the time period covered in this section came to a close, American society became more urban and affection for the city declined or more accurately, tendencies to negatively value the city increased.[19] Suddenly, for the first time in history, it was possible to live and even travel widely without coming into contact with the wildness. Roderick Nash points out in his book, The Wilderness and the American Mind, that at this time the Leatherstocking stories of James F. Cooper, Robert Montgomery Byrd, Timothy Flint, and William Gilmore Simms were becoming increasingly popular.[20] But also during this time, the American city was resuming the expansion experienced during the period before the War of 1812 and worries over water, fire, crime, and health were also resuming.[21]

The 1800's to the 1900's

The beginning of this era marks a period of intense urbanization. The census of 1890 only gave technical confirmation to what everyone already knew: frontier America was gone forever, ours was an urbanized nation to a large degree. The surge of cities associated with the Industrial Revolution was a widespread experience; America was a little later than others, but what we had lost in time we soon made up for in sheer size. In the 1880's Prussia's cities grew by two million. France's cities grew by one million. England and Wales were not far behind; they grew by three quarters of a million. London and Paris had, by 1890, quadrupled. The United States had one third of its population in cities of over four thousand. Cities of twelve to twenty thousand in population increased in number from one half to over one million in population. Twin Cities increased three times and Columbus and Cleveland increased by 80 percent.[22] Between 1825 and 1845 New York doubled its population and then redoubled its population in ten years. Between 1830 and 1850 Cincinnati went from 25 thousand to 115 thousand people.[23] In all of America's large cities, mansions were starting to be subdivided to house immigrants arriving daily. Warehouses were converted to tenements in several cities and slums were appearing all over. Housing shortages

in the 1850's contributed to high death rates. Congestion was inescapable.[24]

Standardization and mass production became bywords; it was often said that a penny profit could produce a millionaire. Don Martindale, in his introduction to Max Weber's book, The City, makes the following observation in describing the city of the 1800's:

> The city was a monster with an endless appetite for anything fertile imaginations could dream of supplying: brick, asphalt, concrete, steel, glass in endless arrangements and compounds. The city was also...able to grant giant monopolies in the form of franchises to an amazing series of utilities affecting access to the use of earth, water, and sky.[25]

America greeted with shock the idea that her national heritage, in the form of an open frontier and farms, was slipping away. "Articles in the nation's leading periodicals voiced concern over the 'drift to the cities' and consequent loss of pioneer values." In fact, Americans actually went so far as to turn the pioneer's distaste for the wilderness into his first love. Pioneers in their day were actually known for their hatred of the wilderness and manifested this hate in their desire to civilize the wanton woodlands. "At the end of the nineteenth century, cities were regarded with a hostility once reserved for wild forests."[26] City criticism was not only a product of a yearning for nature, it was also spawned out of a concern for civilization. Let us now look at the views of a number of Americans in this period to see how this

shock and concern was expressed.

Alexis de Tocqueville was a Frenchman, but he has had much influence on American culture due to his extensive observations on our life and society. It was his feeling that American cities were a political menace. In 1835 he said: "The lower ranks which inhabit these cities constitute a rabble even more formidable than the populace of European towns...,serious riots have broken out in Philadelphia and New York." De Tocqueville was again speaking with an eye to the European experience when he said: "I look upon the size of certain American cities and...their population, as a real danger which threatens the future security of the democratic republics of the New World."[27] Cities to de Tocqueville were a clear and present danger, surely, they were to be avoided if at all possible. As with Jefferson, the European city was a grim model of the city's undesirable and dangerous nature.

Ralph Waldo Emerson was a highly sensitive author of the nineteenth century. He was a transcendentalist who believed that one could reform humanity by relying on intuition and the perfectability of mankind. He was considered by many then and still today as the ideal American scholar. This scholar and writer of the nineteenth century had much to say about the cities he experienced in this country.

Emerson did not consider civilized life as only possible in the city and so, although a lover of civility, he disliked the city. His cultural experiences did, however, come from the city. He stated in his Journal in 1844, "I wish to have rural strength and religion for my children and I wish city faculty and polish."[28] Emerson indicated his distaste for the city in a letter to a friend. In this letter he stated: "I always seem to suffer some loss of faith on entering cities. They are great conspiracies; the parties are all maskers who have taken mutual oaths of silence not to betray each other's secret and each to keep the other's madness in countenance." Conspiracy and trickery were avoided by good men, according to Emerson, by going to the woods.[29]

Indeed, a persistent theme with Emerson appears to center around the goodness of nature and farming and the evil of the city. In his essay "Farming", Emerson states: "The city is always recruited from the country. The men in cities who are the centers of energy, the driving-wheels of trade, politics, or practical arts and the women of genius are the children or grandchildren of farmers, and are spending the energies which their father's hardy silent life accumulated in frosty furrows in poverty, necessity, and darkness."[30] In this same essay he also asserts that these driving-wheels of great cities eventually look back on the farm as a haven when they no longer are

able to compete. "...Who knows how many glances of remorse are turned this way [to the farm] from the bankrupts of trade, from the mortified pleaders in courts and senates, or from the victims of idleness and pleasure? Poisoned by town life and town vices, the sufferer resolves: 'Well, my children, whom I have injured, shall go back to the land to be recruited and cured by that which should have been my nursery and now shall be their hospital.'"[31]

Emerson saw in nature and the farm virtue and unadulterated innocence. In his essay "Farming" from which some of the above quotes were taken, he states: "That uncorrupted behavior we admire in animals and in young children belongs to...the man who lives in the presence of nature. Cities force growth and make men talkative and entertaining, but they make them artificial."[32] And at Thoreau's funeral, he said, "...one who surpasses his fellow in virtue is no longer a part of the city."[33]

Again the city is made the target of an American of great influence and cultural prominence. Emerson saw the city as an artificial, conspiratory place which left men of high virtues no choice but to choose a life away from the city, a life near the purity of nature.

Emerson, his contemporaries, and his predecessors were not alone. A general distaste for cities and idealization of frontier America was well under way at this time. By the 1840's it was common for literary persons

of the major Eastern cities to make junkets into the wilderness, collect their impressions and return to tell their fellow citizens of their adventures in the most extreme of Romantic style. Charles Fenno Hoffman, Roderick Nash explains, was a perfect example of the editors of this era. As editor and writer for the Atlantic Monthly, he allowed extensive space for romantic wilderness tales.[34] Appreciation eventually led to remorse at the extinction of the America of scenic beauty and unexplored lands. Among the more prominent in American culture to take nationalistic pride in the natural beauties of America was the famous author Henry David Thoreau. Thoreau's writing is considered among the best of his time, and he has been read by nearly every product of American educational institutions.

In 1851 Thoreau stated that "...on this side is the city, on that the wilderness and I am ever leaving the city more and more, and withdrawing into the wilderness."[35] In his work Walden (1854) he expressed his feelings toward the city most openly. But Thoreau was not only anti-city, he was also anti-farmer and small town. His idea of an alternative to the corrupt city was the life of the isolated individual. He detested both city and civilization. When Thoreau wrote the following quotations, he had just returned to Concord after a long stay in a small cabin on Walden Pond. He describes himself as a "sojourner in

civilized life again." He writes: "The mass of civilized men lead lives of quiet desperation. From the desperate city they go to the desperate country...."[36] The farmer and the city dweller were both the unlucky inheritors of civilization according to Thoreau. "I see young men, my townsmen, whose misfortune it is to have inherited farms, houses, barns, cattle, and farming tools; for these are more easily acquired than got rid of. Better if they had been born in the open pasture...."[37] But Thoreau's views need no more than the following quote to make their essence clearly felt. In Walden, Thoreau says of the railroad: "We do not ride on the railroad, it rides on us...."[38]

In their survey of American intellectuals and the city, Morton and Lucia White cite several influentials as being highly antagonistic toward the city. In the interest of space, they will only be mentioned here. Melville, Hawthorne, and Poe, all prominent in American culture, were highly critical of the city, and expressed their feelings freely in their writings and via the characters in their stories. In Redburn, Melville describes London as filthy, degrading, and gaudy. The happiest moments in Redburn, the Whites tell us, are had in the country. Melville's book Pierre is another mid-1800's example of anti-urbanism. Hawthorne was also anti-urban and in The Blithedale Romance, the characters

make their distaste for the city known. The Marble Faun, also by Hawthorne, lashes out against the city. Poe, the Whites tell us, was equally as anti-urban and expressions of this may be found in several of his many short stories.[39]

Henry Adams is another influential discussed by the Whites. Adams was one of the few to find fault with the American city, not because of its dirt and corruption, but rather because it was not civilized enough. "For Adams, the age of Walden, Concord, and Monticello was over....Adams was a refined, highly civilized, urbane, and urban man....For Adams, the American city was a three dimensional, menacing thing."[40] Literature, science, poetry, and philosophy marked the good city for Adams, and no American city was well rounded enough to be sufficiently endowed with these. The crowds, the bankers, and the Jews were Adams' main enemies.[41] In the end, however, Adams chose the simplicity of the small town even with its lack of civility. His favorite retreats were Quincy, and Mt. Vernon. With Adams, therefore, a slight shift may be detected from past literary leaders. Adams' disgust for the city centered on its lack of a well rounded sophistication, and he wished not for its demise, but rather its elevation. His choice for a living environment is not in the peace and quiet of the farm, but rather, one step up, in the warmth and humanity of the

small urban settlement.

Andrew Jackson Downing was well read by the people of the middle 1800's and he was definitely against the disorderly city and in favor of the neat and open village. He was particularly distressed at the cheap imitations of small town America which were being built by speculators. His feelings were with the nationalists, and in his essay "Our Country Villages" he states that "...the natural features of our common country...are as agreeable and prepossessing as those of any other land,...if the Alleghanies are rather dwarfish when compared to the Alps, there are peaks and summits in...the Rocky Mountains...." He felt strongly about these beauties, and believed that "Providence has blessed this country--our country with 'natural born' features, which we may look upon and be glad." He was distressed that "...the fair landscape here and there [was deformed] by miserable shabby looking towns and villages."[42] Downing definitely did not like the large city, as it was basically unamenable to human life; the village or small town was the answer, but not as the subdividers tried to present it. They left him (the prospective buyer) with "houses on all sides, almost as closely placed as in the city from which he has endeavored to fly from...."[43] What Downing wanted to see was a place to which people could flee and reap all the advantages of rural life. His ideal rural village

left twenty acres open in the center as a rural park; it had wide streets with 100 foot lots on the side streets; and quarter acre lots fronting on the park.[44] Downing, thus, disliked the city and preferred the natural beauties of the nation. His alternative to the congested and slightly superior, crowded suburbs, was a wide open rural village centered on a life with nature.

Henry James is another of the influential leaders of American culture who spoke out against the city. Like Adams, his distaste for the American city centered on its lack of refinements. White and White point out that in James' novels and writings lie some strong anti-urban sentiments.

> In the course of painstaking observation and appraisal, Henry James has come to feel that American cities at the turn of the century were lacking in so many of the amenities of life as to be for him uninhabitable. He regretted their loss of the pleasant and cultivated vestiges of the country-gardens and orchards. He deplored the social change in cities from homogeneous communities...to polyglot and mannerless metropolises.[45]

James, like Adams, then, both deplored the city for its crudities and lack of sophistication and found basic virtue in the country.

Utopias often tell one much about a society, its values, and its culture. Several such utopias (Downing's rural village may be classified as one) will be discussed in this chapter. The utopia of Dr. Benjamin Ward, "Hygenia" or the "City of Health", reflects a definite reaction

against the crowded and unhealthy conditions of the cities of the 1870's. Hygenia was to be a city wherein all citizens could enjoy healthful, well rounded lives. The city's main characteristic was its openness. Open land abounded. Hygenia housed 100,000 people on 4,000 acres, 25 acres gross per person.[46]

William Dean Howells is another kingpin in American cultural history. Howells was well rounded; he knew all aspects of life--rural village, small city, and European metropolis, and he felt affection for all of them to some degree. He was also a realist, and not so prone to the dripping romance of his predecessors. Howells' attention was centered upon two newly arrived types, the millionaire and the immigrant. Although he was not the bigot Henry Adams was, he did worry about the effect the immigrants might have on his country.

He had a distaste for cities to be sure, but he was practical in that he remained attached to the city and its people. Of New York, Howells wrote: "...I...was glad to come away. Indeed, the metropolis disappointed me, which was sad for the metropolis, and annoying to me."[47] He remained steadfastly critical of the city, however, and after moving to Boston, wrote a series of anti-urban novels which became known as Boston-Torn-to-Tatters.[48]

Eventually, as has been the pattern so far, Howells came around to writing about the ideals of

family, neighborliness, and closeness to the earth. He expressed the belief that if it could be said that one occupation was honored above another, it was the cultivation of the earth. He suggested that cities be replaced with well spaced capitals which would exist only for the conduct of public affairs. The permanent social life of the country, he believed, should be lived in villages and hamlets within easy reach of the capitals.

Howells reluctantly rejected the city of his time in favor of the life in the country. He left to the city only the function of government. The countryside would supply the rest of life's needs.

Edward Bellamy in his book of 1888, Looking Backward, presents us with another example of utopia. Let us quickly look at some of the features of Boston in the year 2000 for an idea of how this great thinker of our culture would have liked to have seen our cities.

Every quarter in the Boston of 2000 has large open spaces with trees, statues, and fountains. Water pollution is gone ("That blue ribbon...was it not the Charles?"). Air pollution is gone ("I really think that the absence of chimneys, and their smoke is the detail that first impressed me."). The city's magnificence reflects "material prosperity". There is no more confusion from advertisement and cut throat competition. The stores are all alike, the clerk is gone, and the merchandise is

fairly and equally displayed.[49] Bellamy, unlike those discussed above, chose to remove the cancerous tissue from the city, instead of burying the patient in favor of a healthy child. His criticisms are generally like the others; his technique, however, is quite different.

Approaching the twentieth century, we begin to see more of the kind of approach used by Bellamy. The small town and agricultural virtue themes remain to a large extent, but the move is not always away from the city, rather, in more and more cases, it is toward bringing country virtues into the city, or to combine city with country.

William James showed early vestiges of this trend. His "...love of nature was tempered by a fondness for sociability and he was unable to subscribe either to an extreme primitivism like Thoreau's or the uncivilized sentiments of his brother."[50] James was simply against bigness in any form. "The bigger the unit you deal with, the hollower, the more brutal, the more mendacious is the life displayed."[51] The city as a group of village sized units would have been more to James' liking.

This period was characterized by more than criticism and utopia. Social reform was gaining more and more momentum. Jane Addams was among the foremost leaders. She wanted to bring the city up to something it was not; she saw the American city as ugly, filthy,

l gaudy. About Jane Addams, Morton and Lucia White have
e following to say:

> Jane Addams viewed the city environment as itself an opportunity for extending social intelligence because it could offer varied possibilities for communication, varied opportunities for removing misunderstanding. Any yet her own special way of dealing with the problem of communication in the city was to build a settlement house, a smaller unit within the city that was an effort to revive the localism of an earlier day.[52]

Clearly, Hull House was an explicit effort to
capture the human virtue believed by so many to lie in
e rural community. It was an attempt to reduce the large
d indifferent into the small and humane.

In the next and final section some contemporary
ost-1900) views of the city will be looked at. Again
consideration of how several influentials have valued
e city will be discussed, only this time the focus will
more on plans and schemes specifically dreamed up as
ternatives to city life.

The Post-1900 Experience

It should not be too surprising to see that the
erican with his rural beginnings of shaded lanes and
iet grassy fields would be disturbed by the all brick
d asphalt existence of nineteenth century cities.
rauss, in his book Images of the American City, makes the
llowing observation. "The symbolic split between big
ty and country-side grew wider as the nineteenth century

progressed so that big cities seemed to many to be totally lacking in all the visual and moral qualities of small towns and country-side."[53]

Given their background, could it be expected that second generation immigrants and urbanites would shrug off rural leanings in favor of the city and its culture? No, says Strauss, the die was cast. Country homes outside the city were becoming the symbol of success. As people, including immigrants, gained money, the move was "up-town and out-of-town."[54] The influx of ruralites underscored the tendency to make the best of two worlds--city and country. As the following philosophers' views are perused, this city and country theme will appear more and more often.

Urban utopias were appearing more frequently as America became more urban. Near the beginning of the twentieth century, it was quite clear that America's future was to be an urban one, and idealized forms of the city were more often than not combinations of urban and rural. Density was the antagonist in most schemes and the only alternative life known where density was not a factor was the farm. Frank Rosewater's ideal city, "Red Cross", is typical. Rosewater's ideal of 1903 was a fine blend of city and country with grand parkways replacing the muddy lane and fine residences throughout with shopping centers having the amenities of clean crisp air.[55]

Such ideas were not expressed by only a few obsessed individuals either. John Dewey, the great American philosopher and educator, showed much respect, as did the early sociologists and social workers, for the "...small neighborly group as over against the overwhelming urban agglomeration."[56] Dewey approached education with an eye to an earlier period in American history, a period when farms outnumbered factories. The progressive school devised by Dewey was to combine "...the benefits of the industrial age with the sweetness and light of the farming community."[57] In The Public and its Problems, Dewey summed up his philosophy by referring to Emerson: "We lie, as Emerson said, in the lap of an immense intelligence. But that intellignece is dormant and its communications are broken, inarticulate and faint until it possesses the local community as its medium."[58]

To this great and influential master of American education, we can add similar views of our foremost urban sociologist, Robert Ezra Park. Park's feelings toward the city were truly ambivalent. He used the analogy of the moth drawn into the flame to indicate his feelings toward the city as both an attractive and a destructive thing. Although he was a student and scholar of the city, he continued the American intellectual's uneasiness toward the urban milieu. Pre-urban social organization is preferred by Park. The following statement by White

and White describes Park's ambiguous view toward the American city:

> The physician who works on cancer is challenged by that human scourge without being pleased by it. In the same way, the student of what Jefferson called, the cancer of the body politic, might be challenged by it without being pleased by it....Park's published statements on the city reveal more the admiration of the scientist investigating a fascinating phenomenon rather than the delight of a person who finds the phenomenon intrinsically pleasing.[59]

Benton MacKaye was a member of the Regional Planning Association in 1928 and is well known for his advocacy of planning on a regional scale. In his plans, he abhors the "iron civilization" or city and embraces the country. He viewed the metropolis and its hinterland as a set of flows. Raw material from the countryside goes into the city where it is consumed. This flow, he felt, saps the countryside and bloats the city.

In his book, The New Exploration: A Philosophy of Regional Planning, published in 1928, he makes several statements which reveal his views toward the city and his ideas about proper regional planning. "Here is a dormant but vital and specific conflict in men's minds: it is," said MacKaye, "the subconscious effort to develop the inherent human values of a country [setting]... against that other subconscious effort to develop the mundane values of an exotic mechanized iron civilization."[60] MacKaye feared the spread of the city and called it an "eruption of iron civilization". He feared that "...'the

backflows' from our metropolitan centers, big and little, may coalesce into a laval flow or else...into a modern glacier whose iron fabric may do to the human life and aspiration what the ice sheet did to life in other forms."[61]

He had hope for mankind, however, in that he felt that every man possesses a barbarous thrill for freedom which needed only to be awakened. This dormant thrill, MacKaye felt, would lead man toward a land in which to live as he was intended. MacKaye felt that the people of his time were currently in a state of confusion. "The confusion in men's minds regarding the underlying nature of the indigenous and metropolitan world is entertaining but it is tragic. These worlds...represent... the antipodes of human experience; one is inherent, the other is intrusive; one is natural, the other is mechanized; one is art, the other is artiface; one is symphonic, the other is cacophonous."[62]

His idea of a regional plan, he felt, held the answer to this dilemma. "The...problem...," MacKaye tells us, "treated in this philosophy of regional planning is the strategy of this indigenous world with respect to its contact with this metropolitan flow. The strategy consists...in developing the indigenous environments (primeval, rural, and communal) and in confronting the encroachments of the metropolitan environment."[63] His regional plan consisted of a wild hinterland of primeval

character, a predominantly village and farm environment for most of the people, and along the roads connecting these, the urban functions acting as attractive passageways between villages. His plan thus consisted of three elemental settings:

1. Man-Nature contact, capable of full development in the natural environment.
2. Man-Man contact, capable of full development in the communal setting.
3. Specialized Man-Man contact, developed in the city proper.[64]

Together these constituted MacKaye's elements of "living in the open".

Architecture also has its urban critic. Frank Lloyd Wright is considered among the best and most progressive of American architects. Wright's views on the city were expressed most fully in his conception of a utopian city which he called "Broadacre City".

There is no doubt about Wright's feelings toward the city. To him it was an ugly, inhuman, and artificial conglomeration. Wright's criticism focused on two elements of urban life: the city as a structure and the citizen who inhabits it. In When Democracy Builds, Wright makes clear his feelings toward the citizen and the physical city: "A parasite of the spirit is here; this whirling dirvish in a whirling vortex. Yes; enamored of the whirl." It is an unnatural environment that the

citizen experiences. "Perpetual to and fro excites this citified citizen, robs him of the deeper meditation and reflection once his as he lived and walked under clean sky among the greenery to which he was born companion."[65] The citizen according to Wright has made a very poor deal with his destiny. "He has traded native pastimes with streams, woods, fields, and animals for the taint of carbon monoxide rising to a rental aggregate of cells upended on hard pavements."[66] Wright sees this "citified citizen" as a member of a group of parasites who "...all go in different directions to various ugly scaffoldings...only to get into some other cubicle occupied by some other parasite-of-rent higher up under some other landlord....His vicarious life is virtually sterilized by machinery."[67] He has become a product of his machine city and now can do no more than create more machinery. This next statement by Wright sums up his view of the American city quite well: "Were motor oil and castor oil to dry up, the great city would cease to function and the citizen promptly perish."[68]

The city according to Wright violated man's basic nature and inherent rights. Broadacre City returned these rights to man. In Architectural Record in 1935, Wright wrote: "Given the simple exercise of several inherently just rights of man, the freedom to decentralize, to redistribute and to correlate the properties of the

life of man on earth to his birthright--the ground itself--and Broadacre City becomes reality."[69] In When Democracy Builds, Wright enjoined humanity to reject the city in favor of nature. "The value of man's heritage has gone far from him in cities....Centralization has overbuilt them all....The surge and mechanical uproar...fills the citified ears as the song of birds, wind in the trees, animal cries, or voices and songs of his loved ones once filled his heart."[70] Obviously Wright sees the city as a great abductor which has removed man from his indigenous rural environment.

The machine is not all villainous, however, it can be liberating if only used to advantage. Three types of inventions are viewed by Wright as potential freedom vehicles: the auto; the radio, telephone, and telegraph; and the standardized machine shop. These three offer release from the city. "...Broadacre is release from all that fatal 'success' which is really only excess....It has thrown the scaffolding aside."[71] Wright saw the harmony and order of the farm as the future of the city, and Broadacre City reflected this. "Broadacre would be so built in sympathy with nature that a deep feeling for the beauty of the terrain would be a fundamental qualification of the new city builders."[72] This represented quite a change for man, he "...would go on a more normal way, without mechanical screams, sobs, roars, shrieks, or

smoke..."[73] Broadacre would suffocate greed. "No more stalling of time and crucifying of life just to keep things congested for the pacing of some money-maker's patent money making system...."[74]

Broadacre was to be a city of farms, each at least one acre in size, larger for larger families. The emphasis is on human scale. "All common interests take place on a simple coordinate wherein all are employed: little farms, little homes, for industry, little factories, little schools, a little university going to the people mostly by way of their interest in the ground, little laboratories on their own ground for professional men. And the farm itself...becomes the most attractive unit of the city."[75]

Frank Lloyd Wright clearly wanted nothing to do with the American city. He saw it as a machine, an ugly scaffolding made to support and nurture the renter-parasites who were its inhabitants. This architect of architects spoke freely for the rural life of America's past as preferable to the cities of his day.

Clarence Perry is to urban planning what Wright is to architecture. His concepts have been embraced by planners the world over. Below we will take a look at Perry's attitudes toward the city and what he felt was an acceptable alternative.

Perry bemoans the price paid for density in the American city in his book Housing for the Machine Age,

published in 1939. "To appreciate what the apartment child has lost, we have only to recall what the children in the single-family dwelling still enjoy." They, according to Perry, explore, build manual skills, learn kindness in handling animals, fairness in games, and responsibility through direct parental guidance. Delinquency, Perry suggests, is a result of lack of these freedoms under parental guidance. In the dense city, Perry says, people live close physically, but miles apart socially. Urbanites are highly transient. The city, to Perry, is at best a paradox. "Crimes, insanity, suicides. Have you ever gazed on a picture so grim? And within the same frame, more music, more books, more education! What supreme irony!"[76]

Perry felt that the city environment lacked wholeness. "The truth is," he says, "that the natural nest of the human family is not merely six solid walls, but this box plus a surrounding medium through which sunshine and air can penetrate and in which social activities...can be carried on."[77] To fulfill this "surrounding medium", Perry developed the concept of the neighborhood unit. In essence, the neighborhood unit is an almost self-sufficient community with six basic characteristics:

1. Size: Enough to serve one elementary school, actual size varying with density.

2. Boundaries: Arterial streets.

3. Open Spaces: Plentiful with parks and recreational spaces.

4. Institutional Sites: All grouped at the center (only those needed to serve the neighborhocd itself).

5. Local Shops: Local stores at street junctions.

6. Internal Street System: Facilitating internal circulation and discouraging cross traffic.[78]

Here, in Perry's conception, is a community small town atmosphere to replace the indifferent overwhelming city. The city, according to Perry, should consist of several small towns in the form of neighborhood units.

Clarence Stein was one of the early implementors of Perry's ideas. He helped build a number of new towns in America which reflected the ideas of Ebenezer Howard, founder of the New Town concept, and Clarence Perry. Radburn was built in the early 1930's and three "Greenbelt" towns were built later in the thirties, as a part of the Federal Government's program to provide more and more decent housing. Greenhills was built in Ohio; Greendale in Wisconsin; and Greenbelt in Maryland. Neighborhood unit concepts from Perry were used in all. All but one of the elements of Howard's Garden City concept were instituted: All had a rural greenbelt surrounding the town; all were planned for "healthy living"; none, however, were planned for industry. This is an important fact and will be dealt with in the next chapter.

Conclusion

This chapter on American values and the city has revealed a clear and strong tendency to negatively value the city. This tendency has been shown to exist among many of American culture's most influential people in such diverse fields as literature, urban sociology, education, philosophy, social work, architecture, urban planning and government. All of them were innovators and leaders, and all of them found the city lacking.

Because these people form a basic part of the American cultural milieu, it can be expected that they should have both reflected and shaped much of American culture, and indeed they have. They are among the most articulate and perceptive people our culture has, and it is their words which are later taken up and followed. Indeed, if it is recalled, there were at least two places in the very small sampling of the writings of these people, where direct reference is made to one of the others in the course of making a point. Jefferson is referred to by Robert Ezra Park in substantiating his label of the city as a "cancer". Emerson is referred to by Dewey when he supports his idea of basing his progressive school on the local community. These quotes were not sought for their "cross reference" value. Clearly, these people have both influenced each other and the whole of American culture.

Because these people's thoughts are so important to the basic thinking in our culture and in the decision making process, it is important to understand them. The next chapter analyzes the particular configuration of value polarities revealed in this chapter and looks into their significance to the city as defined in this thesis.

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CHAPTER 3

AN ANALYTICAL VIEW OF AMERICAN VALUES

Introduction

This chapter contains an analysis of the views and proposals reviewed in Chapter 2. Although the above historical probe has shown that American's have overwhelmingly rejected the city, there have been some positive implications made about cities, and even a few definite pro-city statements. This chapter will analyze the views and proposals presented in the above chapter in search of both the positive and negative values (which are termed, here, value polarities). The chapter will also delve into the major alternative to the city (country, small town, etc.) in order to identify what has been found to be preferable to urban life. This will be followed by the final analytical probe wherein all of the above will be investigated in terms of the sociocultural analytical framework described in Chapter 1. What we have then, is an analysis of the value polarities surrounding the city, a look at the alternatives chosen to urban life, and a section wherein all of this will be put into the sociocultural analytical framework.

Before doing these things, however, what is meant by value polarities where the city is concerned should be clarified, and how a sociocultural analysis of these polarities will be done should be mentioned. Ebenezer Howard, developer of the famed Garden City concept, provides a clear example, in his identification of the town and country magnets, of what is meant by value polarities. Look at how Howard juxtaposes positive and negative in his listing of the elements under the town magnet and the country magnet.

Town Magnet

Closing out of nature--Social opportunity
Isolation of crowds--Places of amusement
Distance from work--High money wages
High rents and prices--Chances of employment
Excessive hours--Army of unemployed
Fogs and droughts--Costly drainage
Foul air, murky sky--Well-lite streets
Slums and gin places--Palatial edifices

Country Magnet

Lack of society--Beauty of nature
Hands out of work--Land lying idle
Trespassers beware--Wood, meadow, forest
Long hours, low wages--Fresh air, low rents
Lack of drainage--Abundance of water
Lack of amusement--Bright sunshine
No public spirit--Need for reform
Crowded dwellings--Deserted villages[1]

The polarities of these environments were well understood by Howard. He has provided us with two good lists of the attractions and repulsions of both the town and the country environments. Howard also understood, at least implicitly, that living environments are forged

out of the opposing forces of such polarities as he listed under town and country. His understanding of these polar forces is well expressed in his third magnet, what he terms the town-country magnet. This magnet shows how he feels the polar opposites between and within the town and the country magnets can be integrated to produce a living environment. Notice how he has combined and arranged the town and country polarities to produce the third magnet, the town-country magnet.

Town-Country Magnet

Beauty of nature--Social opportunity
Fields and parks of easy access
Low rents--High wages
Low rates--Plenty to do
Low prices--No sweating
Field for enterprise--Flow of capital
Pure air and water--Good drainage
Bright homes and gardens--No smoke, no slums
Freedom--Cooperation[2]

In the middle of these three magnets he put "The People" and the question: "Where will they go?" Although Howard's Town-Country magnet is a highly idealized example of the shaping powers of opposing polarities, it is a good example of what is meant by opposing forces creating a living environment. Indeed, they follow much the same pattern as the value polarities expressed in the views reviewed in Chapter 2.

Such polar opposites are not at all unique, they have been shaping forces throughout history. The Bible is full of such "ambiguities". The city is the City of

Zion; the city is the City of God. It is both Babylon and the Scarlet Woman. It is the House of God; it is the house of inequity. Amos the herdsman denounces it; Jeremiah weeps over it. One of the common threads throughout the Bible is the destruction and rebuilding of the city.[3] This plethora of polarities is what will be investigated here.

The sociocultural analysis which will end this chapter, will bring the five part framework directly into play for the purpose of understanding the raison d'être for the particular configuration of polarities expressed by the people of our culture. Although the emphasis will be on the institutional element of the Man, Nature, Culture, Institution, and Artifact framework, an identification of the part played by each of the elements will be made.

Polar Values Toward the City

In this section, the views outlined in Chapter 2 will be analyzed in an attempt to gain an understanding of what it is about cities that has been negatively valued. As has been mentioned earlier, and as is apparent in Chapter 2, the majority of views expressed have been negative. This does not mean that positive values are not possible, nor does it mean that they have not been expressed. As this analysis will bring out,

there are a number of things about the city that even the people reviewed in Chapter 2 recognize as desirable.

Negative Values

A common thread runs through and links every single criticism of the city contained in Chapter 2. This thread may be called commercialism, capitalism, free enterprise, or a number of other designations. What is important is this: the above cited people were all, in some way or another, criticizing the excesses which came in with the rise of the merchant class. The rise and the dominance of this new philosophy and the city it created is the common linkage.

Crevecoeur was less concerned about showing his distaste for cities as he was about emphasizing the freedom experienced by every American symbolized in land ownership. He does, however, make a point of lumping cities in with the great lords, monarchs, and aristocrats. Freedom, to him, was inherent in our being a land of tillers of the soil. Cities were just one part of the bondage identified with life in Europe.

Jefferson was much more definite in his inditement of cities. In Jefferson's strong desire to protect America's national interest, he focused his attack on the manufacturing elements of cities. He preferred for our nation to remain extractors and growers rather than

finishers. He feared the kind of people associated with manufacturing cities like those of Europe where the Industrial Revolution was getting its earliest start. The men of manufacturing cities were mobs with no principles or manners, as far as Jefferson was concerned. Jefferson feared the filth and disease characteristic of European manufacturing cities and the men these cities seemed to produce.

De Tocqueville centered his attack on the people of great cities. Calling them rabble, he feared that they would rise up in rebellion to overthrow our then young democracy. Like Jefferson, de Tocqueville uses the great manufacturing cities of Europe as examples of what he feared.

Emerson's negative comments on the city are less precise than Jefferson's. He centers his criticism on the apparent lack of sincerity found in cities, and on imbalance of material values found there, to the detriment of spiritual values.

Thoreau constitutes the most extreme of the urban commentators reviewed in Chapter 2. He not only dislike cities, he also found fault with farming. The isolated individual was his ideal. In both city and farm he viewed the economic pressures of making a living to be unnatural to the inherent needs of man.

Henry Adams viewed the American city with disgust

because it lacked civility. Adams let his ethnic prejudice color his interpretation of what was wrong with our cities however. To him it was an overabundance of "Jews" and "bankers". This may be interpreted as meaning that Adams disliked the big city for its overemphasis on economic profit.

Andrew Jackson Downing disliked the city because it lacked human qualities due to its size and density and hurried pace. He saw it as a place to escape from, and viewed with dismay the fact that the land developers were building suburbs so much like the cities they were intended to provide release from.

Henry James focused his criticism on the fact that cities lacked the full complement of life's amenities. This lack of amenity is associated with the disorder and vulgarity prevalent in the city of his day.

Dr. Benjamin Ward's city "Hygenia" was designed in reaction to the overly dense and unhealthy conditions in the cities of his day. Ward regarded the cities he experienced as unfit for human habitation. Human beings were simply not, according to Ward, meant to live like so many bees in a beehive.

Howells was especially fearful of the effect that so many immigrants coming in response to the needs of the then burgeoning American industry might have on our country. Howells' fears rested, then, upon the

hoards of foreign immigrants attracted here by American big business.

Bellamy's utopian Boston shows what he disliked about cities in the characteristics of Boston he changed in order to make it utopian. Major changes included doing away with air pollution, water pollution, poverty, and petty competition, all characteristic of the laissez-faire philosophy then prevalent.

Henry James' brother, William James, found much to criticize simply in the bigness of American cities. He considered large cities brutal and inhuman. The larger they were, the more brutal and inhuman they were.

Jane Addams was also concerned with the inhumanity of cities; her concern was with what effect the exaggerated scale, characteristic of American cities, was having on the people who lived in them.

John Dewey and Robert Ezra Park were also critical of the American city's bigness and inhumanity. Dewey felt it to be detrimental to the growth and development of children. Park considered it a cancer, something to study in an effort to discover how best to cure it.

MacKaye called the city "iron civilization" and in so doing found its greatest fault to be an ever hungry and overly greedy industrial base. He saw the city as sapping the countryside of its land and resources and giving nothing in return.

Being an architect, Frank Lloyd Wright focused his attention on the city as an ugly scaffolding of parasites. The city to Wright is too fast paced, ugly and inhuman. Everyone in the city lives in a rented world for the purpose of leeching, like parasites, off of one another. The exaggerations of the business world are Wright's basic criticisms.

Finally, Clarence Perry was concerned with the effect large and over-built cities were having on family life. Perry finds the city an overly dense place with no place for family growth and development.

To these people, then, the city is too large, too fast paced, too dirty, overly built, detrimental to human needs, too greedy, and unhealthy. With the advances of the Industrial Revolution, we had the technology and the know-how to prevent or do away with much of this, but we did not; instead, the advances were used to build personal fortunes.

Positive Values

As might be expected, finding positive implications in the views expressed in Chapter 2 is a more difficult task than finding negative ones. In many cases such views are completely lacking, but in many others, they are at least implied.

Just as in the case of the negative values, the positive values expressed or implied toward the city have

a common link. The city is positively valued because it is the center of civilization, the life blood of such cultural pursuits as the theater, the arts, music, literature, social life, etc. The city is also valued for its ability to provide economic opportunity. Cultural and economic opportunity are thus seen as the city's main virtues.

Jefferson loved gaiety, architecture, painting, and music, and knew that only the large city could provide these amenities. In fact, he was considerably softened by trips to Paris where he had his more sophisticated tastes tempted. He also valued the city for its ability to give independence via self-sufficient manufacturing, and when it came to the education of his nephew, science was best taught in Philadelphia. The city was, therefore, not all undesirable. It had culture, and it offered economic and material independence.

Emerson loved the civilized life, and although he did not feel that one had to have cities to have "culture", he did recognize that the city had more "culture" to offer than the country. He also recognized the city as a place for business opportunity.

Henry Adams knew that the city was a place wherein a person could find the necessities for a full and well rounded life and was disappointed at the fact that business and money lenders overwhelmed the city's positive

features. Like Adams, Henry James also was disappointed in the American city for its crudity and lack of sophistication, elements which he knew cities should have.

Edward Bellamy knew of the virtues of city life, and rather than devise a farm-like utopia, he merely extracted the city's bad elements, leaving its culture, monumentalism, prosperity, and opportunity.

Jane Addams knew that the city, even with all its inhumanity, was a place for economic opportunity. Dewey knew that the city offered material and cultural benefits and sought to retain these in his progressive school.

Cities are, then, capable of being positively valued, but because our cities grew up in a surge of speculation, such city elements as would command positive values have been suppressed in the rush to build. European cities had more of these elements and thus those who knew European cities both loved them for their civility and feared them for the industrialism that was beginning to dominate them. Those who valued cities, therefore, focused on their cultural amenities and to some extent on their opportunity for economic security.

Alternatives to the City

Even with the above identified positive values, however, it is clear that the thrust of opinion concerning the city has been negative. This fact and the specific targets of the negative values are extremely important to the development of this thesis. Also important, perhaps even more so, are the kinds of alternatives the above people identify when they do find fault with the city. In the paragraphs below the alternatives identified by these people will be separated and their significance will be explored.

As was the case for both the positive and the negative values identified above, the major alternative chosen has a common thread running through it. It ranges from complete isolation or the farm to a blending of city and farm, but always it is a simpler and smaller unit of life that is chosen, one where the forces of economic determinism are not so strongly felt.

Earlier in our history, at the time of J. Hector St. John de Crevecoeur, American cities had not developed to the massive extent experienced in Europe, and as a result the reaction was to what we were afraid of developing, not what we had developed. Jefferson and Crevecoeur equated the farm and rural life with the good life and did not want to see European type cities in

the United States. Thoreau, the one radical in this analysis, chose isolation, but his friend Emerson chose to remain close to the virtues of the farm.

As we move on in history, and it becomes apparent that we were unavoidably to be an industrial and urban nation, the alternative chosen by the people reviewed in this period is that of the village or small town.

Andrew Jackson Downing, proposed as the ideal human settlement, the village. Dr. Benjamin Ward chose to spread his city "Hygenia" out so that the result was rural in character. William Dean Howells chose to have the bulk of life's activities centered in villages with the arts and government occurring in well spaced capital "cities". Bellamy brought a bit of the farm into the city by equipping it with generous open spaces. William James chose the village as preferable to the city.

Jane Addams' Hull House may be seen as an attempt to bring some of the small town virtues of local community life back into the city and Dewey chose the local community as the medium for his progressive school.

Benton MacKaye strongly advocated learning the "art of living in the open" and developed his regional planning philosophy around the idea of leaving the metropolis and returning to the land, the natural habitat of man.

Frank Lloyd Wright, the most vociferous critic

in this investigation, chose neither the small town nor the farm. His Broadacre City is a city of farms.

Clearly, the positive feelings toward the farm and small town run strongly in American culture. The feelings toward the city are strongly negative. Cities are negatively valued because of their lack of consideration for human life; the small town or farm is positively valued because it offers an environment free enough of other dominating values to allow it to offer the opportunity for a more human existence. But why the farm and not some other form of the city? True, some utopian cities were proposed which retained much of what is urban in nature, but most chose a small town or rural-like existence. This alternative was chosen simply because it was the only other alternative known and it was the most readily available. Now that we are armed with a fuller understanding of the nature of American values toward the city, let us go on to analyze this cultural information in light of the sociocultural framework identified in Chapter 1.

Sociocultural Analysis

First of all, the five part sociocultural framework for looking at human settlements will be reviewed. Recall that it is made up of five elements of Man, Nature, Culture, Institutions, and Artifacts. Man is the actor who acts to satisfy his long term needs through

institutions and in so doing, creates artifacts and affects and is affected by nature. All of this occurs within the context of his culture which passes on knowledge and ways of doing things to him which he adapts to the demands of his current situation and passes on to future generations. The city is, of course, a dynamic set of interrelating and interacting institutions which work together in relative proximity to one another to serve the needs of man. They exist, of course, in the essential framework consisting of the five elements cited above.

As the review has already stated, a city is made up of a number of institutions and is in fact a functioning set of institutions. The institutions are many and varied because man's needs are many and varied. The major institutions include, but are not limited to, religion, art, philosophy, science, family, education, engineering, medicine, economics, government, law, and recreation. Each of these, as was discussed in Chapter 1, has its own personnel, codes, concepts, attitudes and symbols which are all channeled in the direction of the institution's major goals.

The economic institution is only one of the institutions which make up the city. Like all other institutions, it has codes, concepts, attitudes, personnel, and symbols. The purpose of the economic institution is the allocation of scarce resources and in this country,

has been organized as a free enterprise system. In the economic institution, as organized in this system, each individual attempts to maximize his profit in the supply of goods and services in a competitive market. In the heat of competition and the pursuit of profit, other considerations are often overwhelmed. This is clearly what happened during the Industrial Revolution, and the era of laissez-faire in this country, and it is significant to the criticism that has been leveled at American cities throughout history.

By viewing the city as a functioning set of institutions, and keeping this in mind when referring to the dominant criticism aimed at American cities, it is clear that what has been wrong with American cities is an overdominance of our economic institution.

The people who have leveled such heavy criticism at the city have not disliked cities per se; what they have disliked are cities dominated by the economic institution. Such imbalance is bound to cause certain needs to be poorly met. For example, government should serve man's need to have certain aspects of his life fairly and equitably served and controlled. When, however, as has been the case with American cities, governments allocate a great deal of their time and energy competing with other cities to attract more industry, certain of the needs for government

are bound to go unmet. People have reacted against the city both as a place to have needs satisfied and as an artifact or physical entity primarily because it has shown the signs of the dominating economic institution, which, in satisfying its own purposes, has either neglected or distorted many of the purposes designed to be met by the other institutions which make the city a working entity.

In summary, what has happened in this country is that out of the myriad of institutions which make up the city, the economic institution has been dominant. This has resulted in an institutional imbalance which has caused the needs, usually satisfied by other institutions, to be neglected or ignored and has caused the creation of a physical city reflecting mainly the values of the economic institution.

Culturally, our past is heavily rural and pioneer in nature. Jefferson and Crevecoeur feared the cities of Europe where the Industrial Revolution had already begun. When the Industrial Revolution struck this country, the impact was overwhelming. The resulting cities were often ugly and inhuman, and clearly, they were recognized as such.

Having never experienced well-rounded cities (history has probably never recorded any) people turned to the only other human settlement they knew of, the

agrarian or small town settlement. The economic forces that overwhelmed and dominated the city were not as prevalent in the country. The country was turned to, because it appeared to be a clean slate wherein human needs could be met freely and on a human scale. The city could not offer this because it was already committed to the economic institution, and was encumbered with the massive and permanent artifacts reflecting and necessary to its goals.

Conclusion

This chapter has broken down the value polarities expressed in Chapter 2 and has shown that the preponderance of values are negative and both explicitly and implicitly directed at manifestations of the institutional imbalance experienced in American cities. Specifically it has been shown that Americans have been critical of the inequities caused by an overemphasis of the values of the economic institution.

In searching for an alternative to urban life, people have chosen a life as close as possible to the agrarian or pioneer life so well established at our country's outset.

As was pointed out in the conclusion of Chapter 2, when strongly felt values are expressed by such a wide range of cultural influentials, one can be sure that

such values are a strong part of our culture as a whole. Being a strong part of our culture, it is likely that they have influenced policy decisions at all levels, in this case urban policy decisions. In the next three chapters, the effect the above identified and analyzed value configuration has had on policy important to the growth and development of cities will be explored. Chapter 4 will look at the effect these cultural values have had on land use policy. Chapter 5 will concern itself with the effect on housing policy and Chapter 6 will concern itself with transportation policy.

FOOTNOTES

1. Ebenezer Howard, Garden Cities of Tomorrow (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1965), p. 46.

2. Howard, p. 46.

3. Kenneth E. Boulding, "The Death of the City: A Frightened Look at Postcivilization", in The Historian and the City, ed. Oscar Handlin and John Burchard (Cambridge: The MIT Press and Harvard University Press, 1963), p. 134.

CHAPTER 4

VALUE REFLECTIONS IN ZONING

Introduction

The previous chapters have made it clear that every culture has predominant values as a basic component. The values of a culture are many and varied, but there are always predominating values where major artifacts are concerned. This is true of the city. We have seen, in this respect, that the predominant values toward the city have been negative.

As with all cultures, values are passed on as a part of the transmission of the whole of the culture. As history has shown, predominant values are reflected at different times, by different people throughout history.

This process is important: values are passed on, they are reflected in how we respond to certain stimuli, and they are reflected in the decisions we make, both at the most elementary levels, and at the highest levels. Despite the overwhelming influence these values have, however, they are rarely verbalized or consciously considered.

If it is true that Americans are generally

unfavorable toward cities, then this should be reflected in the policy formulated for cities. Specifically, the negative values and their positive counterparts (the preferred alternative, that is) should be reflected in even the most high level policy designed to deal with urban problems. This chapter, and the following two, are designed to explore this question. This chapter deals with reflections of American values toward the city in the most basic and far reaching urban land use policy: zoning. There is no doubt that zoning has had a significant effect on urban land use.

The following sections will explore the subject of zoning in terms of its reflections of American urban values, and the effects of these reflections on the city. First the historical development of zoning as relevant to this thesis will be explored. Then the purposes of, and techniques employed by zoning will be explored and finally, the effect this has had on the city will be discussed.

Relevant History

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the village and the farm were still the predominant forms of human settlement in this country. The two-story detached house was the predominant dwelling type, "...a pattern still occasionally left untouched...and widely

copied or caricatured ever since."[1] The late nineteenth century saw a tremendous surge in urban growth and consequently, a great deal of concentration in cities. Row houses and densely built apartment developments were the characteristic dwelling types at this time. The early twentieth century saw the technological advancements of the elevator and steel structure, and the dictates of the economic institution increased densities and raised buildings to new heights. Later years saw a reversal of this trend with an emphasis on space and the dwelling types which feed on space: the ranch house, and garden apartments. Zoning played an important part in this evolution.

Between 1913 and 1916, New York reacted to half a century of industrial surge by enacting the first zoning controls. Half a century later, most of America's cities were zoned.

Laissez-faire was at its height. Andrew Carnegie said at this time: "Few men have wished to know another man more than I to know Herbert Spencer, for seldom has one been more deeply indebted that I to him and Darwin." The philosophy of Social Darwinism was clearly accepted by America's elite. Secretary of War, Taft, gave a speech at Yale in 1906 wherein he stated: "The tendency in my own case, and I think in that of most graduates of my time, was toward the laissez-faire doctrine...."[2]

In 1894 we are told by Seymore Toll, in his book Zoned American, that the cross on top of the venerable Trinity Church in New York was, after fifty years of dominance, topped by the Manhattan Life Insurance building.[3] This was an early artifactural symbol of the sudden surge of power being felt by the economic institution. The 1811 Commission Plan of New York was another. It divided the heretofore undeveloped portions of New York into a grid of rectangles because, "...straight sided, and right angled houses are the most cheap to build and the most convenient to live in."[4]

The eruptive development of the skyscraper was another sign that economics was running the city. The Industrial Revolution had made it feasible via steel, electricity, and the elevator. "In less than 10 years after the Civil War, plans were afoot to quadruple what had been the average sixty-foot height of the city's commercial office buildings."[5] Edward M. Basset, a forefather of zoning, tells us that "the first skyscraper to be erected in a block would cover the entire lot up to the roof and open its windows on neighboring lots."[6]

Seymore Toll describes Fifth Avenue as "...of a piece with the turbulence in the country at large--soaring hope, cruel exploitation of men and things, strident materialism, large undisciplined energies...." He says of New York that "...in none of this sometimes exotic,

always frenzied activity, is there a suggestion that the men involved...thought about the public weal or even the owner in the next block...[they were] ...completely oblivious to all city planning values except the financial."[7] Such massive efforts directed at self interest produced a living environment barely within the limits of tolerance. As Mumford in his book The City in History reveals: "Life was actually in danger in this new urban milieu of industrialism and commercialism and the merest counsel of prudence was to flee...."[8]

The reactions to the excesses of the economic institution were extreme and often violent. It was a period, in many ways like our own, of reform and bloody confrontation. The period of the early 1900's was one of labor revolts and riots. "Most of these evils," Toll tells us, "of the opening years of the century smoldered visibly in the cities. If there was to be reform, the phoenix would have to rise there."[9] Pure water, garbage, waste, and sewage disposal, Mumford tells us, could not depend upon private enterprise--the nineteenth century bacame the century of municipal socialism.[10] Zoning emerged out of the cauldron stirred up in the battle between the reformers and the elite of the economic system.

Zoning appeared at precisely the point at which economic dominance was making its presence most felt in the building of the country's most spectacular buildings and

the transformation of one of its most lavish streets, Fifth Avenue. Louis Sullivan was the skyscraper's master and even he had reservations as a result of observing the trend in New York, "...such buildings crowded together upon narrow streets or lanes," he said, "...become mutually destructive."[11]

One year after a commission was created in 1913 to study the possibility of zoning for New York, legislation was passed allowing cities to zone.[12] On July 25, 1916 zoning became law in New York City.[13] President Hoover appointed the Advisory Committee on Zoning in 1921, and less than a year later the Standard State Zoning Enabling Act was drafted and passed. The first issue was published in May, 1924. More than 55,000 copies were sold, a best seller by anyone's standards, and within a year one quarter of all the states in the Union had passed acts much like the Standard State Zoning Enabling Act.[14]

Zoning and planning were twin issues in the early days of their reform efforts. "To bring back fresh air, pure water, green open space, and sunlight became the first object of planning...."[15] This is just as might be expected when it is recalled that "countryside life" was the main alternative turned to by urban critics. Camillo Sitte, influential among the planners of America, insisted on the hygenic function of open space calling it "sanitary green". Scientific

proof of the need for sun, light, air, and cleanliness came with advances in biology.[16] Zoning's role in bringing this about was stated well by an early planner, Benjamin Marsh: "The most important part of city planning, as far as the future health of the city is concerned," he said, "is the districting of the city into districts or zones in which the buildings may be a certain number of stories or feet in height and cover a specified proportion of the site."[17] Marsh was in effect citing the openness of the small town-agrarian settlement as the answer to the urban problems of the day.

Germany had zoning long before it was proposed in America, and planners and reformers alike looked to Germany as a model. There was a critical difference between Germany and the United States, however. As Seymore Toll states: "One of the basic axioms of American cultural history is stated as either a mistrust or hatred of the city as an object and way of life....The German regards his town as an organism, whose development both deserves and needs to be controlled with the utmost thought and care."[18] America, in line with her negative attitude toward the city as a living environment, chose to use zoning to flee the city more than to repair it.

Leo Marx found that a strong literary theme in American literature has been followed throughout our history. The theme, as mentioned earlier in this thesis,

consists of: a disillusionment with the city, a retreat to nature, followed by the sudden intrusion of civilization and resulting in a reluctant but necessary return to the city again. This same theme, Marx tells us, is repeated in the American suburbanite's move from the work place to his suburban retreat and then back to work again.[19] Zoning appeared just when this fabled cycle was gaining momentum in real life.

The suburban move was selective but strong. "...Taxpayers welcomed this flight to the suburbs, it provided a safeguard against intolerable congestion."[20] Sociologist Charles Zueblin, in 1905, predicted that "the future belongs not to the city but to the suburb."[21] Residents of the colonial era lived close to the countryside while still residing in the city, "the suburb restored the dream of Jeffersonian Democracy,...the small face to face community of identifiable people participating in the common life as equals."[22] Clearly America was bound up in an intimate affection for her rapidly fading rural cultural base. Yet cities were powerful magnets; as the centers of the powerful economic system, they offered independence, at the same time, however, they were by their very institutional imbalance, undesirable living environments. In the suburbs people could "have their cake and eat it too", and by the 1920's almost a third of the metropolitan population resided outside cities in suburbs.

The meaning of this is clear when it is pointed out that, in the Chicago area alone, several suburbs have either park or forest in their names, and two have both.[23]

"Discontent is the precondition of reform. The reformers who first wanted planning and zoning had their portion of it. They well knew what the urban problems were, the overcrowding, the destruction of important amenities, the senseless growth."[24] New York's example caused zoning to spread much more rapidly than it would have if it had started elswhere. Height was a key concern. Invasion of different uses on one another was another concern. As Bassett, an early zoning advocate, points out, "...improper uses caused injury to homogeneous areas...."[25] Undue concentration was also high on the reformer's list. To quote Bassett again: "It became apparent that the remedy was not merely a limitation of height, but also...setting back...so that each owner would divide light and air with his neighbor."[26] Also looming large in the reformer's mind was the idea that more "New Yorks" were not to happen. Decentralization was an issue. Bassett "...believed in deconcentration--the wide distribution of places of work and homes...."[27] All of these issues reflect a desire to return to the scale of agrarian America, or at least come as close as possible. The "return" was legislated with a fervor unknown to most issues. As Toll points out, the spread of such an intricate law

so rapidly is an incredible phenomenon.[28] Consider for a moment, however, our cultural values and this is not so incredible.

In the outward growth of cities, zoning was in particular favor. The emphasis was on the removal of the economic uses from the residential environment. The landmark case of The Village of Euclid v. Ambler Realty Co. was fought because a newly adopted zoning ordinance prevented industrial speculation. Ambler, the plaintiff, argued that the ordinance was being used to "embed a fly in amber" by restricting the forces of urban growth.[29] The reformers did not believe they could completely overcome the forces of the economic system before this case was heard. The first New York zoning ordinance did not have separate residential districts because it feared that the courts would not uphold them. "But the demand... for the segregated detached, one-family house was so great ...that the courts recognized as valid the gradation of residential districts according to the number of families per unit building."[30] Indeed, the Euclid Case upheld zoning specifically because the court regarded the intrusion of industry and apartments into single-family zones as "...a public nuisance similar to the intrusion of a tuberculosis sanitarium....The court said, 'a nuisance may be merely a right thing in the wrong place like a pig in the parlor instead of in the barnyard' and after

describing the noxious consequences of allowing an apartment house in a single-family zone, it concluded, 'under these circumstances, apartment houses...come very near to being nuisances.'"[31]

Indeed, in the outlying districts where the one-family house, the symbol of America's love for the farm and the pioneer prevailed, the course of zoning was not only smooth, but it led to a rising demand for even stricter zoning over larger areas. Planners defended this bias. Bassett claimed that the varying degrees of density merely reflected the varying desires of people to live near one another.[32] Babcock assays the situation quite well: "If in the beginning, zoning owed much to the fears of Fifth Avenue merchants in New York City that the garment industry would encroach on their beautiful sidewalks, zoning can thank the residents of the North Shores and Westchester of this country for its remarkable survival."[33]

Today, the situation has stabilized. The anxiety which once was held by most Americans concerning the sanctity of their piece of heritage and retreat, (bound up in lot and home) has now turned to smugness and self-assurance or at the most, righteous indignation that it should be violated. This may be assumed when we see statements such as the following by Dennis O'Harrow in his Planning Advisory Service contribution: <u>New Techniques</u>

for Shaping Urban Growth: "The mixture of housing between private single-family dwellings and multifamily structures will remain about the same,..." he assures us, "multifamily structures will be mainly in-town... single-family houses will be suburban...."[34] Clan Crawford in his book Strategy and Tactics in Municipal Zoning further clarifies the current situation for us: "In Westchester, in Connecticut, and on Long Island, suburbanites...constantly fight to preserve them [their communities] at zoning hearings where they oppose commercial and industrial developments, apartments, and even single houses on small lots."[35]

The very bodies which make many of the planning and zoning decisions, the Boards of Zoning Appeal and planning commissions, also reflect these values. To refer again to Clan Crawford: "Most planning commissioners, city councilmen and other non-professionals concerned with the planning and zoning process have great preference for low density developments. They like to see houses on large lots, apartments limited to less than ten to the acre, and commercial and industrial buildings on large landscaped parks."[36]

Mr. Crawford forgets, however, that professionals are not exempt from cultural values. There are professionals who at least imply the second class nature of multiple-family dwellings. John Rosenthal, in his Planning Advisory

Service Information Report, Planning for Apartments, gives such an impression. He states that "a popular impression exists that multiple-family structures have a detrimental effect on the value of single-family residences. Such commentary is often heard in public hearings."[37] He reflects some of the same bias himself too: "There is no denying the widespread appeal of the detached home for a host of psychological, sociological, and practical reasons. The single-family home on its own plot of ground provides privacy, access to fresh air and sunlight, the potential for self-expression, and it is said to be the best place in which to rear children."[38] In his conclusion he gives a list consisting for the most part of American society's tranditionally labled "misfits" as "suitable" for apartments: "...A substantial portion of the population can suitably live in apartments. These groups include newly married couples; single and highly mobile individuals; the elderly; the financially insecure; and the house hater."[39] Such views expressed in a publication relied on by many cities for planning advice, indicates how our cultural bias for suburban developments is reflected at all levels.

This is further brought out in a Planning Advisory Service publication on row houses. In this bulletin it is pointed out that because row houses have existed mainly in center cities, "modern" zoning ordinances do not

provide for them.[40] It is pointed out that "the row house has frequently been pictured as a type of housing that perfectly illustrates conditions of overcrowding, lack of light and open space, and architectural monotony...." The article warns that "questions such as, 'Is this good housing or potential slum?' and 'Aren't these lots smaller than anything we've permitted before?' will be asked."[41] The distaste for the industrial city typical of America is reflected here. The following statement shows not only recognition of, and sympathy for such concerns, but also a degree of concurrence. "They (citizens) are understandably concerned that the endless monotony of the row house as they may have seen it in a few larger Eastern cities not be repeated in their communities....The row house properly designed and located does allow some advantages....A reasonable amount of row housing can be absorbed beneficially, but municipal authorities must be prepared to adopt and enforce development controls that are somewhat more stringent than those used for one- and two-family detached houses."[42]

Zoning then, was born out of a revulsion for the city as it had developed in this country. And, reflecting in part our cultural values, it soon became the tool and weapon of the drive to have the city benefits of economic opportunity, while retaining a semblance of the environment known for its humanity, the small town-

agrarian life. The extent of this drive has reached incredible dimensions, aided to a large degree by the legal sanction of zoning. William Whyte makes the thrust of this movement abundantly clear: "The boast of an advertisement for Washington Square Village (a high rise apartment complex) speaks volumes: 'Suburbia in the heart of Manhattan'."[43]

Purposes of Zoning

The purposes of zoning reveal a great deal about its concerns and emphases. The Standard State Zoning Enabling Act states them as follows:

> Section 3. Purposes in view--such regulations shall be made in accordance with a comprehensive plan and designed to lessen congestion in streets; secure safety from fire, panic and other dangers; to provide adequate light and air; to prevent the overcrowding of land; to avoid undue concentration of population; to facilitate the adequate provision of transportation, water, sewage, schools, parks and other public requirements. Such regulations shall be made with consideration, among other things, to the character of the district and its particular suitability for particular uses, and with a view to conserving the value of buildings and encouraging the most appropriate use of land throughout such municipality.[44]

Williams, in his book The Structure of Urban Zoning, provides a good synopsis of this rather involved statement. He states the goals for planning and zoning as follows:

1. Protection against physical dangers, particularly

fire and explosion.

2. Protection against common-law nuisances--noise and vibration, air pollution, etc.

3. Protection against undue traffic, i.e.: Traffic not directly serving the residents of the area.

4. Protection against ugliness ("aesthetic nuisances").

5. Protection against "psychological nuisances" based on irrational dislikes, fear of the unknown, or dislike of the "wrong sort of people".

6. Protection against congestion.

7. Protection of light, air, and privacy.

8. Provision of open spaces.[45]

The intent of these purposes is clear. They are aimed at the evils of the industrial city and reflect our agrarian prejudices. The following section will illustrate how the techniques used in zoning reflect our cultural value structure.

Techniques of Zoning

The typical zoning ordinance establishes districts; rules for the interpretation of district boundaries; district regulations; provisions for non-conforming uses; supplementary district regulations; administration procedures, a board of adjustment, a schedule of fees; provision for amendment; and a number of other miscellaneous items. Our concern here will center on districting and district regulations as these are the legal elements which have the greatest impact on the institutions of the city

and their physical counterparts.

Districting

The model on which most districting is based comes from the Standard State Zoning Enabling Act. The purposes for districting are stated as follows:

> Section 2. Districts--For any or all of said purposes the local legislative body may divide the municipality into of such number, shape and area as may be deemed best suited to carry out the purposes of this act; and within districts it may regulate and restrict the erection, construction, reconstruction, alteration, repair, or use of buildings, structures or land. All such regulations shall be uniform for each class or kind of buildings, throughout each district, but the regulations in one district may differ from those in other districts.[46]

Basically, the districting concept attempts to keep uses separated based on their degree of compatibility or incompatibility

Early zoning ordinances reflected the desire to provide a favorable atmosphere for the one family home by using a zoning "pyramid" for districting. (See Figure 4.1)

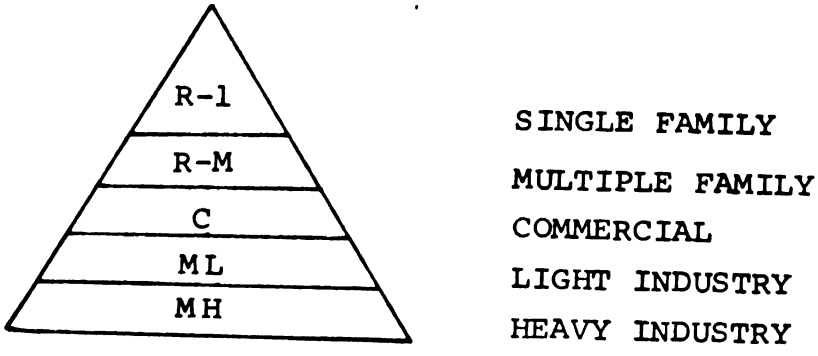

Figure 4.1 Zoning Pyramid

This allowed the "higher" uses to "encroach" on all uses below them, but did not allow any "lower" uses to encroach on those above.

Current ordinances allow even more sanctity for single-family homes by not allowing them to appear in commercial or industrial zones. At the same time, however, industrial and commercial zones are protected by the fact that this arrangement prevents houses from breaking up large sites. This new arrangement may be pictured as a square. (See Figure 4.2) This arrangement allows only

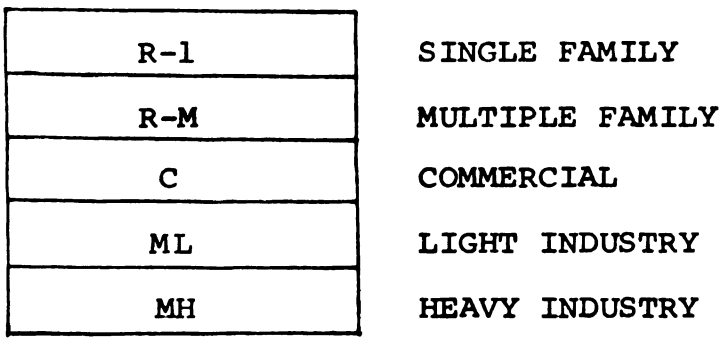

Figure 4.2 Current Districting Concept

minimal mixing between uses. Dennis O'Harrow admits that current zoning does preserve the sanctity of the detached home by placing it at the top and not letting any other uses in, with the possible exception of churches and elementary schools.[47] Let us now go on to examine the current trends in each of the various district classes themselves: residential, commercial, and industrial.

The typical residential section consists of a single-family district and one or more multiple-family districts. Within each of these districts, uses are allowed, according to their compatibility as listed below.

R-1 SINGLE FAMILY DISTRICT
Permitted Uses
1. Single-Family Dwelling
2. Church
3. Elementary School

R-2 MULTIPLE FAMILY DISTRICT
Permitted Uses
1. Single Family Dwelling
2. Church
3. School
4. Multiple-family Dwelling
5. Private Club

The residential section, as the above history would indicate, has been dominated by the single-family district in almost every ordinance. "Single-family detached dwellings are the predominant housing type in all regions of the country except the heavily urbanized New England and Middle Atlantic states."[48] Lately even these areas have succumbed. Single-family housing has dominated new construction at least until 1960.[49] Indeed, the trend has been toward lower densities. Bassett in his book Zoning, emphasizes not the optimum density, but the lowest density the courts will accept as justified by public welfare. "No prospect of trouble arises in reducing the allowable number to three families per acre. It is not difficult to show...substantial relation

to fire [etc.] ....Beyond that it is doubtful."[50] The trend in residential zones, therefore, has been toward exclusiveness and low density. Only in the last few years have apartments been built in large numbers.

The typical commercial section often has two or more sub-districts within it, as the following example demonstrates.

C-1 NEIGHBORHOOD COMMERCIAL DISTRICT
Permitted Uses
1. Church
2. Multiple-family Dwelling
3. Grocery Store
4. Drug Store
5. Doctor's Office
6. Filling Station

C-2 CENTRAL COMMERCIAL DISTRICT
Permitted Uses
1. Church
2. Grocery Store
3. Drug Store
4. Doctor's Office
5. Department Store
6. Bank
7. Business Office

The trend here is toward the suburban shopping center with its own zone district. The center is usually one or two stories surrounded by huge parking areas and often landscaping.

Industrial sections are also divided up into two or more sub-districts, and are allowed to contain a limited number of uses, again based on "compatibility" as shown below.

M-1 LIGHT INDUSTRIAL DISTRICT
Permitted Uses
1. Filling Station
2. Auto Repair
3. Warehouse
4. Farm Equipment Sales
5. Electronic Equipment Manufacture
6. Wearing Apparel Manufacture

M-H HEAVY INDUSTRIAL DISTRICT
Permitted Uses
1. Filling Station
2. Electrical Equipment Manufacurer
3. Wearing Apparel Manufacturer
4. Truck Terminal
5. Steel manufacturer
6. Auto and Heavy Equipment Manufacturer

The trend in industrial districts is toward the spacious and landscaped industrial park.

Planned unit developments are a recent innovation which recognizes that different residential types and certain commercial uses can be mixed successfully and that the standard zoning envelope is not the only way to regulate land uses. The technique shows great promise, however, in many communities it is generally feared by single-family home residents, and efforts are usually made to require densities to be the same as the zone it replaces. "Buffering" the borders of such developments with single-family homes and/or landscaping is often done to appease bordering residents. In any case, our cities have already been shaped by the single house on a single lot approach.

Performance standards are another break-through for reducing the rigidity of zoning. With performance

standards, uses are separated based on the amount of smoke, noise, etc., they are characterized by rather than the use classification they fall into. Problems of measurement and enforcement have slowed down the progress of this technique considerably however.

From this brief glimpse at the trends in the various zoning districts, it should be apparent that not only has the urban home been given a small town-agrarian setting, but industry and commercial areas have also taken on the agrarian look. To accomplish this, several tools have been used.

Controls Within Districts

Within each district a number of things are controlled. The Standard State Zoning Enabling Act has served as a model. In this model the following appears:

> Section 1. Grant of Power--For the purposes of promoting health, safety or the general welfare of the community, the legislative body of cities and incorporated villages are hereby empowered to regulate and restrict the height, number of stories, and size of buildings and other structures, and other open spaces, the density of population and the location and use of buildings, structures, and land for trade, industry, residence or other purposes.[51]

The control of building height, area coverage, yard dimensions, lot sizes, and buffer requirements are the major tools used within districts for land use control. This section will discuss each of these briefly and their

characteristic trends.

Buffers are designed to reduce the impact of one use-district on another where they meet. There are use buffers and landscape buffers. Use buffers function by allowing only those uses which appear together on the zoning hierarchy to come together in reality. Multiple-family zones might be put between a commercial zone and a single-family zone as a buffer. The logic here has been criticized because it assumes that if a commercial area is too much of a nuisance for one family, it is less of one for five families.[52] Nonetheless the method is widely accepted and used.

The landscape buffer is more popular. Its approach is to hide commercial and industrial uses behind trees and a wide strip of grass. As Mary McLean states it: "The question...becomes this: what are the characteristics of a planting strip that succeed in reducing the effects of seeing a factory, a parking lot, an office building, or some other non-residential use?"[53] The trend toward using landscapped buffers is increasing.

Height regulation has been used a great deal in past years and it is subject to much emotional involvement. Bair relates an incident where "...large lot single-family detached types from an area three miles away rose in embattled ranks to fight a proposed high-rise--which none of them could have seen--because it would be out of

character...or...people who live in high-rise buildings might be different."[54] The larger portion of our cities, the suburban areas, are now strictly controlled for height, even in the case of commercial establishments. Planning Advisory Service recommends a height of no more than 35 feet for shopping centers in order that they avoid appearing "intrusive".[55]

Area coverage or bulk controls are used to avoid structures which cover more than a percentage of the lot. The floor area ratio (FAR) is one method. This technique reduces coverage by setting the building dimensions as a fixed ratio of the lot area. The trend is toward low coverage. The Planning Advisory Service report on shopping cneters suggests a floor area ratio of no more than 0.35, that is 35 square feet of floor area for every 100 square feet of lot area.[55]

Yard requirements set minimum footages for the distance between the front, side, and rear of a building and the lot boundary. In line with the requirements discussed above, larger yards are the trend.

Minimum site areas are another way of assuring that plenty of space is available for building. Let us again turn to the shopping center report for an indication of the trend. "...The standards for minimum site areas have been steadily increasing since 1950....The zoning

ordinance should lead, not follow such trends."[57] The philosophy espoused is: the more, the better.

The historical trends and techniques sketched above have had a tremendous impact on the city as a whole. The next section will discuss how zoning has effected the city and its institutional structure.

Effect on the City

The concept of districting (each pig in its own pen) is a definite reaction to the exaggerated and extreme mixtures found in the industrial city. The solution seized was simple and direct. If cities were suffering because of over mixture, why not separate the three most commonly identifiable uses: residences, commercial establishments and industrial uses? This simplistic and drastic measure has clearly reduced problems caused by extreme use mixtures, but it has in turn caused other problems.

As Haworth states: "When each function is assigned to its own district area...a large measure of excitement and vitality is lost. Residential areas in part become drab and lifeless."[58] Mumford underlines this point when he suggests that the suburb not only pushed away the dirty, busy, productive enterprises, it also refused its creative enterprises.[59]

Districting was based wholly on the concept of compatibility with little thought to the needs of the city's various institutions to interact. The city is, as defined here, a set of interacting and interrelating institutions, and when these are refused their interactional needs via districting, the city is less of a city. When institutions which must interact are separated the result is an increased need to travel, compartmentalized life, institutional inefficiency, the need for more and duplicated facilities, etc.

The height, yard, bulk, area, and buffer requirements which emphasize cushioning every element of the city with so many feet of open space end up producing sprawl. "There...seems to exist a virtually all-American feeling that land is plenty and that everybody has or should have access to a piece of his own...there is so much of it that it might as well be squandered."[60] Mumford reinforces the above statement: "...Wasteful spacing has become a substitute for intelligent physical design."[61] Indeed, new apartment developments, in order to gain admittance to recently developed parts of our cities, now have densities often lower than those of two-family and even one-family homes. The 30 foot lot of yesterday is an "anachronism", single-family home lots today range from 50 to 100 feet in width, even for moderately priced housing.[62] The old 6,600 square foot lot of World War II

has grown to 9,000 square feet today.[63]

Such policies have, in addition to the effects outlined under districting, the effect of destroying the nature component of the human settlement and reducing man's contact with, and awareness of nature. People are locked in the sprawling city, and can, only with great difficulty, experience nature directly. Although the single-family home eventually has a lawn and a few trees, the site is generally bull-dozed, flattened, drained, and filled before the house appears. For example, hills in the Los Angeles area are brutally shaved and terraced for single-family homes. The result is an artificial injection of trees and lawns, and the destruction of all that was natural to the site: swamps, hills, brush, animals, and other elements of nature in its original state. Sprawl thus destroys and isolates nature, and along with districting it aids in the poor interaction between the city's institutions.

The question is thus this: In attacking the evils of the industrial city, have we in fact created another, possible greater evil? Mumford answers this quite well: "What Francis Parkman had said of the westward march of the pioneer was equally true of the march to the suburb: 'The sons of civilization, drawn by the fascinations of a fresher and bolder life, thronged to the western wilds in multitudes which blighted the charm that had lured them.'"[64]

Los Angeles is a good example of how these forces can destroy both nature and create a city of extreme ineptness.

Conclusion

Zoning is a clear and awesome example of how America's negative bias toward the city, and her preference for the small town-agrarian setting can be in part reflected in a very basic and far reaching policy. In line with the negative bias toward the city, it grew largely out of a reaction to the overdominance of the economic system in urban life. The simplistic solution chosen of spacing and districting, and the emphasis placed on the sanctity of the one-family home with its own plot of ground clearly reflects the preference we hold for an agrarian life-style. There is little doubt that our cultural value biases have been reflected in this important urban policy; in its history, its purposes, and its techniques. The next chapter discusses the cultural value biases reflected in another far-reaching policy: the FHA loan insurance program.

FOOTNOTES

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4. Toll, p. 79.

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6. Edward M. Bassett, Zoning (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1940), p. 24.

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8. Lewis Mumford, The City in History (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1961), p. 492.

9. Toll, p. 27.

10. Mumford, p. 476.

11. Toll, p. 40.

12. Toll, p. 172.

13. Toll, p. 180.

14. Toll, p. 201.

15. Mumford, p. 475.

16. Mumford, pp. 475-476.

17. Toll, p. 124.

18. Toll, p. 135.

19. Leo Marx, "Pastoral Ideals and City Troubles", in The Fitness of Man's Environment, Smithsonian Annual II (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1968), pp. 122-123.

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CHAPTER 5

VALUE REFLECTIONS IN FEDERAL HOUSING POLICY

Introduction

Of all the artifacts in the urban milieu, housing more than any other, is the greatest shaping factor. Housing occupies more land than any other use, and other uses often must adjust their character to the character of the housing they serve. The nature of the housing in a city, therefore, determines to a large extent the nature of the city itself.

As was explained in the previous chapter, major urban-shaping policy often strongly reflects basic cultural values, even when such values dictate courses of action detrimental to the city as a whole. The last chapter dealt with the subject of the major land use control, zoning. This chapter will delve into the effect our cultural urban value structure has had on housing policy.

As with Chapter 4, one major "policy maker" will be chosen for review. In this case, the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) will be the subject of inquiry. FHA has been chosen because, like zoning, it has been a policy

program and an urban shaper of great influence and importance. The relevant history of FHA will first be discussed. (Special emphasis will be placed on FHA's policies toward single-family dwellings versus multiple-family dwellings due to the obvious cultural implications.) The purposes and provisions of FHA will then be briefly sketched, and finally, the effect FHA has had on the city will be discussed.

Relevant History

Americans have generally been a conservative people, yet our cultural proclivity toward home ownership has always made us go greatly into debt for a house, under the unquestioned assumption that this is the "best" way to live.

Before the depression, loans were handled entirely by private lenders. Charles Abrams, in his book The Future of Housing, provides an apt description of the lending conditions prior to FHA: "The mortgage system prior to FHA had become an indefensible arrangement for victimizing home-owners. It was characterized by short-term security, high interest rates, a relatively narrow market (chiefly institutional), and illiquidity."[1] Terms often ranged from seven to ten years with 35 percent down payments required.[2] The strength of our agrarian-small town bias, however, was still undaunted. Home buying

during the twenties increased and values became inflated. (See Figure 5.1)

The economic collapse of 1929 put millions of people out of their homes. Indeed, before the depression, 900,000 units of housing per year were being built. In 1934 only one tenth of this amount, or 90,000 units, were constructed.[3] (Figure 5.1) This disaster caused a reaction in the Federal Government, first with Hoover's Federal Home Loan Banks, set up to supply capital advances to home loan institutions, and later, after Roosevelt took office, with the Home Owner's Loan Corporation, designed to put funds behind faultering mortgages. While these and other programs were able to stop the massive numbers of people who were losing their homes, it did not result in a recovery. "Financial institutions handling the mortgages were stabilized but they were still fearful of making home loans for which they might not be repaid."[4]

The Federal Housing Administration was created by the National Housing Act of 1934 and was designed to encourage home building by insuring lenders for mortgages on small homes, and to some extent, low rent housing projects. In 1937 Section 207 insurance for multiple family dwellings was extended to mortgage loans on rental housing built for investment by private investors.[5] This was a change from the previous emphasis on low income housing. FHA thus insures both rental and sales and rental

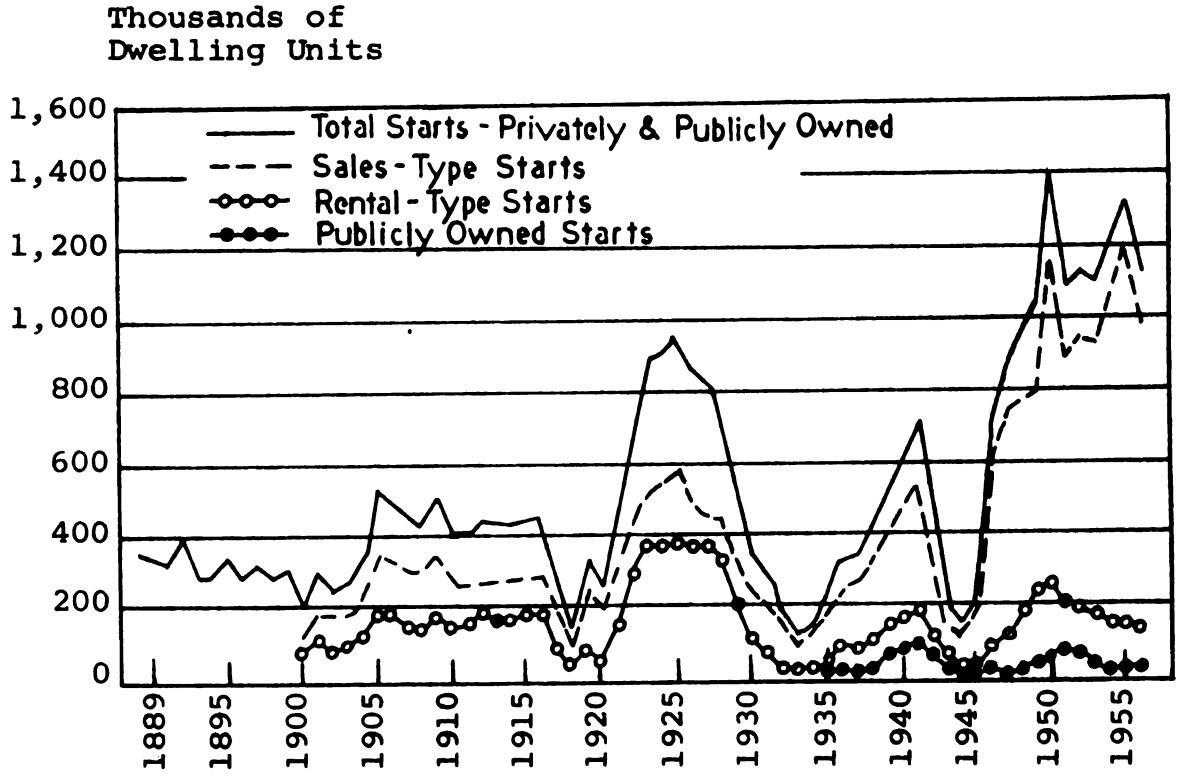

Figure 5.1 Total Permanent Nonfarm Dwelling Units Started

[a]U. S. Department of Labor, cited by Charles M. Haar, Federal Credit and Private Housing (New York: McGraw-Hill Co., 1960), p. 30.

[b]Earliest data available on sales type and rental type starts are for 1900.

[c]Earliest data available on publicly owned starts are for 1935.

units, "...but over the years the sales program has been by far the largest...."[6] (Figure 5.1)

Before going on, the particualr role played by FHA should be clarified. Paul Wendt points out, in his book Housing Policy--The Search for Solutions, that the major thrust of pre-war (and to a large extent post-war) government housing policies have been to promote greater stability in the flow of residential mortgage funds. In achieving this, government housing loan programs have been implemented through four principle agencies:

1. Federal Home Loan Bank System (FHLB) established in 1932 to provide a reservoir of reserve credit which would be available for savings and loan associations and other institutions investing mainly in private lenders.

2. Federal Housing Administration (FHA) established in 1934 to insure residential loans on new and existing dwellings made by private lenders.

3. Veteran's Administration (VA) authorized by the Serviceman's Readjustment Act of 1944 to guarantee private lenders against losses on housing loans.

4. Federal National Mortgage Association (FNMA) first organized in 1938 as the "National Mortgage Association of Washington" to aid in the establishment of a secondary market for FHA-insured mortgages.[7]

FHA is, thus, one among four major housing programs designed for people in the middle income ranges. Of all of these, however, it has consistently been the most prominent.

By reducing down payments and extending loan periods, FHA has made homeowners out of many persons whose incomes would never have allowed it otherwise. "Home-

ownership was expanded by letting the 'owner' become more of a renter."[8] The original program allowed for the insurance of mortgages up to 80 percent of value, 15 percent more than the best conventional loans allowed. Down-payments were 20 percent, reduced from the 35 percent charged by private lenders before. A maximum limit was put on the total amount to be insured to keep richer classes out of the program. The borrower then paid an insurance premium of one-half of one percent of the out-standing loan balance, and the lender was then insured against loss. Maximum interest rates of 4 to 5 percent were set, and the length of the mortgage was established at twenty years. This package was irresistible to the American public.

FHA loans have generally become easier to obtain for single-family homes over the years. The following is a synopsis of some of the major changes FHA has made since 1934.

1934: 80 percent of value guaranteed with an interest rate at 5 percent and 20 year terms.

1938: 90 percent of value guaranteed and terms increased to 25 years.

1948: Guarantee on the first $6,000 raised to 95 percent. Terms increased to 30 years.

1950: Korean War caused credit tightening resulting in term reduction to 25 years.

1954: Guarantee of 90 percent on first $9,000. Term returns to 30 years.

1957: Guarantee raised to 97 percent of first $10,000 with a maximum interest of 5.25 percent.

1961: Term increased to 35 years.

1965: 100 percent guarantee on first $5,000 and 90 percent on next $5,000 for veterans only.

1966: 1965 veteran benefits extended to non-veterans.

1968: Maximum interest raised to 6 3/4 percent.[9]

Generally, then, FHA benefits to their largest "customer", the home-buyer, have become better as the years have passed.

The immediate effect of FHA housing programs was a doubling of housing starts from 1935 to 1939 over the previous five years. In fact, before World War II, between 1938 and 1941, FHA was insuring 35 percent of all recorded loans on housing.[10] During the war years this rose considerably, because all new private residential construction was under material and priorities control administered by FHA. An acute need for rental housing developed at this time, and an emergency measure, Section 608, was devised to meet the emergency. Section 608 gave an extremely liberal loan package for rental housing. "...In the later post-war period, a major unprecedented contribution to the relief of the housing shortages was made...." by Section 608 efforts.[11] Since World War II, FHA has insured between 25 and 35 percent of all new private housing starts.[12] Paul Wendt describes the post-war housing policy as keyed to the following principles:

1. Primary reliance upon the stimulation of privately owned and occupied single-family homes.

2. Federal insurance and guarantee of loans to encourage the granting of loans on general terms by private lenders.

3. Specific interest rate subsidies for veteran groups.

4. The provision of publicly owned housing at subsidized rents for low income groups occupying substandard housing.

5. Federal loans and grants for urban renewal and slum clearance.[13]

It can be seen then, that U. S. housing policy began to move into low income areas during this post-war period, but remained largely favorable to the middle income home owner.

FHA's operations also expanded. Section 803 provided for war workers during the 1950's. Section 213 was added for cooperative housing. Section 220 was enacted to provide for the rehabilitation and construction of apartments in urban renewal areas. Section 221 was added for non-profit organization housing, and Section 231 was added for the housing of the elderly.[14]

Government guarantees have helped stimulate nearly a quarter of all new housing starts during the period between 1946 and 1967. The complete effect, however, has been even greater, as FHA standards have forced non-insured loans to approximate FHA in their offerings.[15]

In terms of the analytical framework used in this

thesis, FHA's provisions are a continuation of the zoning case. The overly dominant economic institution affected the family institution adversely by making housing, its major artifact, hard to obtain or undesirable. Our cultural value for ownership made people take financial risks, and the emergency of the economic collapse of 1929 caused the Federal Government to react. Given our cultural values, the "correct" action was obvious: Take the loan risk away from the lending institutions so that they would offer favorable loan packages. Give the average citizen the best kind of dwelling our culture knows, the single-family home, and allow him to make an inexpensive escape from the unnatural and inhuman city.

As a separate part of this "history", the following section will discuss an issue very germane to this thesis, the question of the emphasis given to single-family dwellings versus multiple-family dwellings.

Single-Family versus Multiple-Family Dwelling Provisions

Important to the development of this thesis is the degree to which prominent housing legislation has reflected the dominant value structure influencing our perception of cities. We have already seen how this value structure, strong and transmitted since the early eighteenth century, has come to affect major land use

policy. In this discussion concerning FHA's emphasis on single-family homes versus apartments, it will be made clear how our strongly felt cultural values have been reflected in housing policy. First the publicity given to each will be discussed, then a statistical comparison of the dominance of each of the two programs will be presented and, finally, the immediate reason for the particular emphasis revealed will be explained in terms of the degree of advantage one form has had over the other where their program provisions are concerned.

To begin with, the Veterans Administration housing program, closely related to FHA but not discussed in this chapter, has been offered for home ownership only. The bias of this program is clear, and its influence has been great.

The publicity given by FHA to the various programs has been clearly one-sided, in favor of the one-family owned home. This corresponds with what has been unofficial government policy for years however. Almost every one of our presidents has, at one time or another, given whole-hearted endorsement of the homeowner. President Hoover, for example, once said that "the present large proportion of families who own their own homes is both the foundation of a sound economy and social system and a guarantee that our society will continue to develop rationally as changing conditions demand."[16] Other more liberal presidents have

made similar statements.

FHA has made their seal liberally available for builders who display it on posters and advertisements and in so doing, "...imply that FHA insurance is a guarantee against loss to the homeowner too."[17] The bias is even clearer when we are reminded by Charles Haar of the still to be heard FHA related phrase, "'it's as cheap as renting'".[18] "Wittingly or unwittingly," Abrams states, "it [FHA] has become identified with a home ownership ballyhoo more persuasive than the voice of the most gifted home hawker. Thousand of citizens who should be tenants are being influenced to buy...."[19] FHA has actually joined with builders, lumber interests, and chambers of commerce in home owning drives. Into the field, they have put salesmen to aid in local campaigns. Literature on the virtues and "ease" of home owning abound, much of it either printed, endorsed, or distributed by FHA. Posters and better selling campaigns have been endorsed by FHA. Movies and expositions have also been part of FHA's home buying efforts.[20]

No publicity has been given to the risks of home buying, however, and the general rule that a person should spend no more than two times his annual income for a home has been greatly exceeded with FHA's blessing.[21] FHA's publicity efforts have clearly been aimed at increasing

home owning, and even, in many cases, toward convincing people not to rent.

Charles Haar tells us that "...the government's own help, through its insurance programs for building single-family homes for sale has drastically reduced the demand for rental housing."[22] And indeed the statistics bear this out.

In 1956, the proportion of non-farm households owning their own homes was 60 percent.[23] The proportion of rental units during the period since FHA and VA has been lower than during any similar period since the turn of the century.[24] This apartments versus single-family homes story is told quite well in Figure 5.2. Forty three out of every one hundred new dwelling units built in 1927 were for rent; in 1955, only nine out of every one hundred dwelling units were built for rental, an 80 percent decrease.[25] The FHA's program for rental housing (Section 207) has represented 58 percent of all mortgages for rental housing, yet it has constituted only 10 percent of FHA's business.[26] The above statistics tell a great deal about FHA's direct influence, but what follows is especially enlightening. Between 1935 and the end of 1966, FHA has insured 1.1 million rental units.[27] The Section 608 rental housing program for rental housing, an extremely attractive program and at its peak only between 1948 and 1952, produced 400,000 of those 1.1 million units.[28] Section 608 was

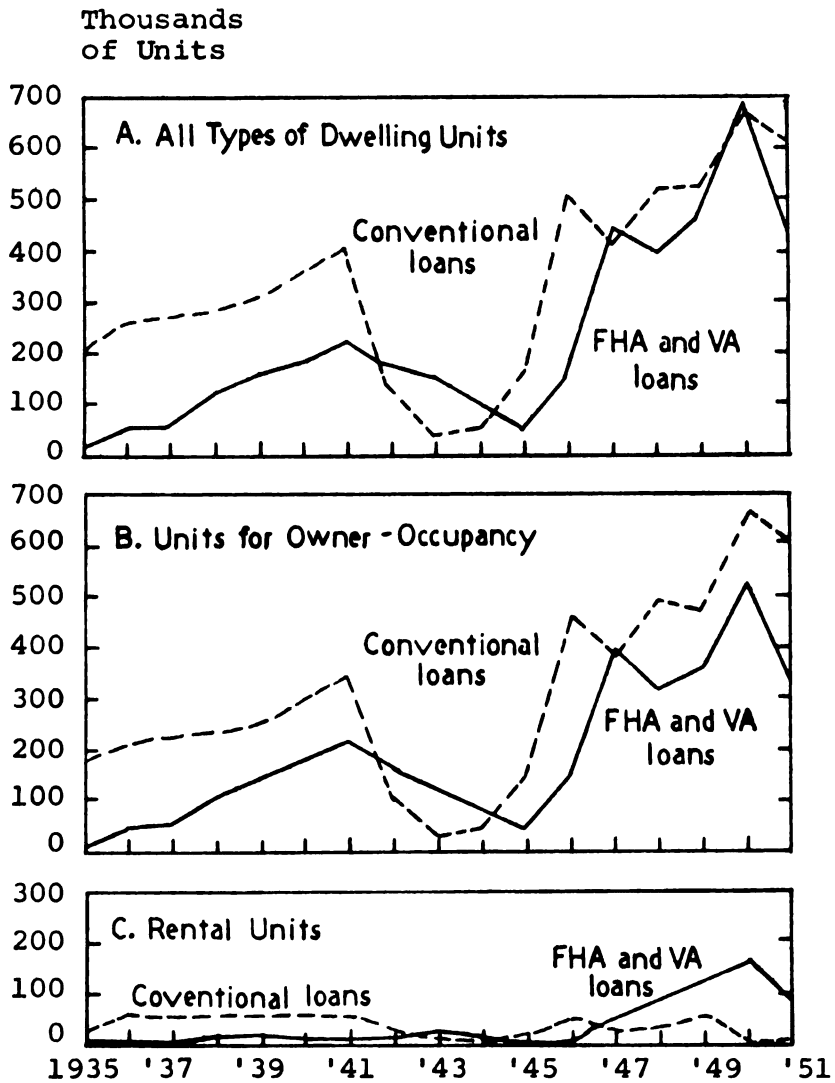

Figure 5.2 Number of New Nonfarm Dwelling Units Financed with Conventional and with FHA-Insured and VA-Guaranteed Loans--1935-1951

[a]Leo Grebler, Role of Federal Credit Aids in Residential Construction, Studies in Capital Formation and Financing, Occasional Paper No. 39 (New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, Inc., 1953), p. 19.

dissolved in the early 1950's due to a scandal.

Section 213, for cooperative housing, began in 1950 and has never been consistent. The Section 220 program for urban renewal apartments, and the program for housing the elderly, Section 231, have been small in comparison to Sections 203 (single family), 207 (rental) and 608 (rental).[29] More than just publicity has been behind this disparity. The comparison of these three programs, which follows, reveals a great deal.

When a person goes to buy a house, and wants to finance via FHA, he must do the following: he must release a fixed percentage of the total cost of the house as a down payment; the house cannot exceed a specified maximum price; he pays the loan off at an amount not exceeding a fixed maximum interest, for a period of time not exceeding a fixed number of years; and he pays a fixed insurance premium of one-half of one percent of the unpaid balance. The only other time he must deal with FHA is if he should fail to make a payment.

The rental program is quite another story. Only the attainment of the 207 program and the short lived 608 program will be considered here because these are the only ones which have been of any significance. As Paul Wendt points out, "Investors and private lenders have been reluctant to take advantage of loans under Section 220 and 221, and the administrative difficulties of gaining

FHA approval for such loans have been a further limitation of volume."[30]

Section 207 loan provisions have reflected a conflict of interest between FHA and the investor. The investor, according to the dictates of the free enterprise economic system, has been interested in a well defined program requiring minimum equity, maximum corporate cash earnings, quick cash distribution with minimum tax loss, and minimum administrative constraints. FHA, in its role as an agent of the governmental institution, has sought to serve the best interests of the family and the economic institution as a whole. In the case of sales housing, the benefits of FHA are passed on directly to the family; in the case of rental housing, the benefits must be passed on through an investor. In order that families are best served, FHA has felt that "constant vigilance and strict regulation are required to insure that benefits will not be absorbed before they reach the intended beneficiary."[31] Rental housing, thus depends on administrative discretion far more than on statuary law.

The fixed items in FHA's rental program are: the loan-value ratio, total amount of mortgage allowed per project, total amount of mortgage allowed per room, and the maximum interest rates. "Virtually everything else of importance is left up to the FHA Commissioner."[32]

Actually, FHA's controls over rental housing extend beyond those put on even a public service commission, especially when it is considered that public service commissions are given a government controlled monopoly and apartments are left to fend for themselves in a highly competitive market.

FHA's commissioner controls the maximum rate of interest to be charged. He also regulates the mortgage as to changes in capital structure, rate of return and method of operation. Rents are limited so that they are not lower than needed to pay for the loan and not higher than necessary to serve families with moderate incomes. Profits are regulated such that they will not exceed the fair market value of the land prior to improvement. (Home buyers are allowed to sell at whatever the market will bear and they may rent at any price too.) FHA also requires that it be given preferred stock ownership with the power to unseat directors on its own determination of breach of contract. Investors, usually interested in redeeming their original investment as rapidly as possible without a tax loss, must put 30 percent of their equity into irredeemable common stock as insurance. A maintenance fund must be put up. The investor usually wants to reduce his equity cash stake; FHA regards high equity as insurance of soundness. Thus, the most important element an investor considers, the amount of required

equity, is left up to the FHA commissioner.

The result of all this is much uncertainty where little uncertainty can be tolerated. And these are not all of the controls FHA has over the project builder. The following passage from Louis Winnick's book Rental Housing--Opportunities for Private Investment, gives a good portrayal of the situation faced by the apartment investor as opposed to that faced by the home buyer:

> Investor distrust takes the form of policing almost every action of importance to the operator of the property. This supervision has no parallel in the single-family home ownership program even though the amount of FHA's contingent liability for such programs is vastly greater. The FHA, for example, does not watch over the home owner to make sure he is adequately maintaining his property. The owner does not have to make advance deposits into a replacement reserve fund. His maximum allowable mortgage repayment term requires a significantly slower rate of initial amortization. He is unrestricted as to "profits"....He is not burdened with FHA as a preferred stockholder. And in case of default his responsibilities are much less carefully defined, if in fact any exist.[33]

The mortgage terms under FHA for apartments, although they have been getting more liberal, require too much cash equity, red tape, rent limitations, and other regulatory controls to be attractive. And those who fail to meet these requirements may be prohibited from all further participation.

This is not all, however, the markets for multiple-family and sales housing must also be considered. In the case of sales housing, once sold, the possibility of depressed value or loss is passed on to the buyer.

Capital for rental projects, on the other hand, becomes tied up, and the possibility of risk is thus greater. Charles Haar lists the risks of rental housing as including the following:

1. Long term investment risks.
2. The non-liquidity of the real estate asset.
3. Deteriorating municipal services.
4. Threat of rent control (beyond FHA's).
5. Growing blight in center cities.
6. Increased real property taxes.
7. High construction costs.
8. Unique maintenance costs.[34]

The risks of rental housing since FHA have been so great, in fact, that in the early days of Section 207 most of the applications for FHA insurance were "...simply efforts to bail out land or were so suspect otherwise as not to merit governmental approval."[35]

FHA and the no down payment VA program have so altered the market, in fact, that owning is often cheaper than renting. Indeed, Winnick tells us that "in a colony of identical homes, half for sale and half for rent, it is almost certain that...the monthly rental would exceed monthly cash outlay for ownership at the mortgage terms available...."[36] Considering the risks, the market, publicity, and the FHA programs, apartment investment is usually not apt to give returns commensurate with sales housing.

Section 608, a thirty year, low or no equity mortgage program designed to provide war housing for defense workers and veterans was the only truly successful rental program FHA has ever handled. It was enacted in 1941, but its effective life was between 1947 and 1951.[37] "In the two years, 1950 and 1951, more apartment units were built under 608 than by life insurance companies, limited dividend corporations, semi-philanthorpic organizations, and consumer cooperatives in the country's entire history.[38]

A scandal broke, however, when it was learned that FHA had guaranteed Section 608 loans on 700 projects running into millions of dollars over the costs of the projects themselves and leading to unreasonable profits. The 608 program was dissolved via Congress and 207 programs were so altered as to discourage investment.[39]

Purposes of FHA

FHA's general purposes include the following:

1. Retain lender confidence in mortgage loans.
2. Stimulate house buying via liberal loan provisions.
3. Stimulate housing construction employment.

In the case of multi-family housing, the following purposes might be added:

Protect contingent liability for the mortgage and the renters by:

1. High equity.

2. Rapid loan amortization.

3. Sound, well constructed projects.

4. Adequate maintenance.

5. Providing sufficient rental housing at minimum ren rents.[40]

Provisions

The following sections are administered by FHA. Because the provisions for Sections 203, 207 and 608 have already been discussed, and because the other sections under FHA have been relatively minor in their total influence, each section will only be briefly described here:

Section 203: This is the original FHA program. It allows a person to buy a dwelling with from one to four units for a low set down payment at a fixed maximum interest, as long as he pays an insurance premium of one-half of one percent of the unpaid balance over a fixed maximum term, and as long as the house is not valued at over a certain maximum.

Section 207: Added in 1937, this section allows a person to build a "project" of over 8 units for a down payment determined by FHA at a maximum set interest rate, and at a set insurance premium, as long as the project does not exceed a total overall cost and a total cost per room. Both are fixed. In addition to this he is subject to several other administrative controls, all discussed in a previous section of this chapter.

Section 213: A recent provision designed to stimulate the building of cooperatives.

Section 220: Set forth in the 1954 housing act for the purpose of aiding apartment construction in urban renewal areas.

Section 221: Designed to stimulate the building of apartments by cooperatives.

Section 231: Designed to stimulate the building of housing for the elderly.

Effects on the City

FHA has certainly done a great deal of good in terms of several immediate problems. By controlling that portion of the economic system concerned with housing people at a profit, it has served the needs of an institution primary to any culture, the family. The major and indispensable artifact of the family is the house, and FHA has helped to house millions in a manner they never could have afforded otherwise.

But there is more to the story than this, for the major artifact of the family is also the major artifact in the city. Any such broad ranging policy concerning housing, therefore, is bound to have a strong effect on the city as a whole.

FHA has had some detrimental effects on the city similar to those found with zoning. Zoning has provided the legal means to fill our cities with the space consuming single-family house, and FHA made it financially feasible. By making it extremely easy for people to satisfy their culturally defined desires for housing, FHA has subsidized the single-family home and helped reduce the investment potential of other forms of housing, in particular, the apartment. FHA has even influenced zoning standards.

FHA has set minimum lot areas, lot coverage standards, yard measurements, and many other design criteria for both single-family houses and apartments insured by them. The tendency has been toward an increase in lot sizes and area requirements. The effects of this sprawl inducing policy on the interactional needs of the city's institutional complex has been amply discussed in Chapter 4 on zoning.

In addition to sprawl, FHA has also been contributory to the general flight from the central cities. The National Commission on Urban Problems reported in 1968 that "there was evidence of a tacit agreement among all groups--lending institutions, fire insurance companies, and FHA--to block off certain areas of the city with 'red lines' and not to loan or insure within them."[41] The suburbs are "...where the vast majority of FHA homes have been built."[42] As the people have left, the tax money collected from them has also left, resulting in the general decline of whole areas. The loss of governmental services, or at least their unequal distribution, has left the central areas with an incomplete and unbalanced institutional arrangement. The basic needs of the people (employment, supplies of needed goods, services, etc.) are thus unmet. The density of these areas remains and the quality of life deteriorates.

Lewis Mumford describes the paradox quite well in his book The Urban Prospect: "Public policy in the United States is both contradictory and self defeating.

Instead of lowering central densities, most urban renewal schemes...maintain...or create higher levels (of density) than they replace. But home loan agencies, on the other hand, have been subsidizing the wasteful, ill-planned single-family house, on cheap land, ever remote from the center of our cities, a policy that has done as much to promote suburban drift as the ubiquitous motorcar."[43] (Chapter 6 deals with the "motorcar".) In general then, FHA has both aided the family, and on the other hand, helped cause the institutional ineptitude of today's sprawling city.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown how a major urban housing policy body, FHA, has largely reflected the negative urban bias Americans have been shown to consistently hold in Chapter 2. Also reflected in FHA's policies has been a tendency to choose, as an alternative to the industrial city's high density housing, a housing pattern more characteristic of our highly idealized small town-agrarian past, a tendency also shown to be strong in our cultural history in Chapter 2.

Apartments have, through "guilt by association", been identified with the tenement dwellings of the industrial city. Single-family homes have, of course, been strongly identified with the agrarian-small town

life so preferable to the great people in our past. By giving preference to this type of dwelling as best for an urban existence FHA has partly served to mirror both the negative values toward cities common to American culture and the positive values we have exhibited toward the small town-agrarian life.

The fact of this "automatic" value reflection is important. It shows how detrimental simply accepting our value system can be. FHA has obviously contributed to the detrimental effect on the need for interaction in the urban institutional structure. FHA's policies have been shown to contribute both to the decline of the central city and the rapid spread of megalopolis. Chapter 6 will deal with the final urban policy to be considered in this thesis, the National Defense Highway Program.

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29. Beyer, p. 458.

30. Wendt, p. 219.

31. Winnick, p. 172.

32. Winnick, p. 176.

33. Winnick, p. 183.

34. Haar, p. 193.

35. Abrams, p. 235.

36. Winnick, p. 64.

37. Haar, pp. 194-195.

38. Winnick, pp. 194-195.

39. Wendt, pp. 215-216.

40. Winnick, p. 175.

41. National Council on Urban Problems, p. 101.

42. National Council on Urban Problems, p. 99.

43. Lewis Mumford, The Urban Prospect (Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1968), p. 102.

CHAPTER 6

VALUE REFLECTIONS IN FEDERAL TRANSPORTATION POLICY

Introduction

The final major policy area to be discussed is transportation policy. It has already been demonstrated how zoning, the major land use element, has reflected a negative value bias in its emphasis on the spacing of uses and the sanctity of the single-family home. It has been demonstrated, also, how the major housing policy of FHA has favored the single-family home and thus fits into the cultural value picture painted in Chapter 2.

Now it is time to enter into a discussion of the all important linkage factor in the city's institutional life, the transportation network. The nature of this network largely determines the extent to which a city may function as an entity, an entity, as defined in this thesis, of institutions. In terms of Chapters 4 and 5, transportation must both link and complement the zoning and housing elements of the city.

The Interstate Highway program will be the specific transportation policy dealt with here. As with FHA and zoning, the Interstate System of highways has been

a formidable shaper of the city both as an artifact and an institutional entity. The Interstate Highway system has been and is a truly stupendous undertaking and has served to shape our cities perhaps more strongly than any other policy. An historical investigation will be the first facet covered. Pre-auto transit will be quickly summarized, followed by a summary of the development of highway policy. Special attention will then be given to the neglected alternative of mass transportation. The discussion will then go on to review the purposes and provisions of Federal highway legislation and will end with a discussion of some examples of how the negative urban bias of transportation policy has effected the city.

Relevant History

As our individualistic and laissez-faire history would lead us to expect, the Federal Government has only entered the area of transportation reluctantly and when the need was clearest. The Federal Government's attitude toward urban transportation has followed a three stage development: (1) Laissez-faire, (2) Highway and street aid only, and (3) The beginnings of mass transportation aid.[1]

In the early days of laissez-faire during the 1800's cities either had no intracity public transportation or they relied on brightly painted omnibuses (small horse driven open air "buses"). This form, of course,

did not have any significant urban shaping qualities. The railbound horsecar, introduced in the latter 1800's allowed about two miles expansion due to its ability to go two miles in thirty minutes. The cable car, introduced soon after the horsecar, allowed an additional four or five miles expansion. The contemporaneous streetcar covered this territory in a more efficient and economical fashion, however, and soon became the preferred form of transit. Even this form was subject to challenge, however, and the development of the subway and elevated complemented by the steam train pushed the city out even further.[2]

For a good part of America's urban history, cities were shaped by public transportation more than any other factor. With the sudden influx of immigrants and the rapid industrialization of the city, the rich made their "cultural mecca" to the country. The dominance of public transport could be seen in the star fish pattern of the city, the arms being shaped by the lines of subways, elevateds, and most of all, streetcar lines. Farming could often be seen carried on between the arms of the "star fish" (See Figure 6.1)

The street railway, or streetcar, was big business at this time. Streetcar lines often speculated in land leading to amusement parks and cemetaries[3] where people spent their weekends. "Popular enthusiasm for the electric streetcar was feverish. Civic pride...demanded

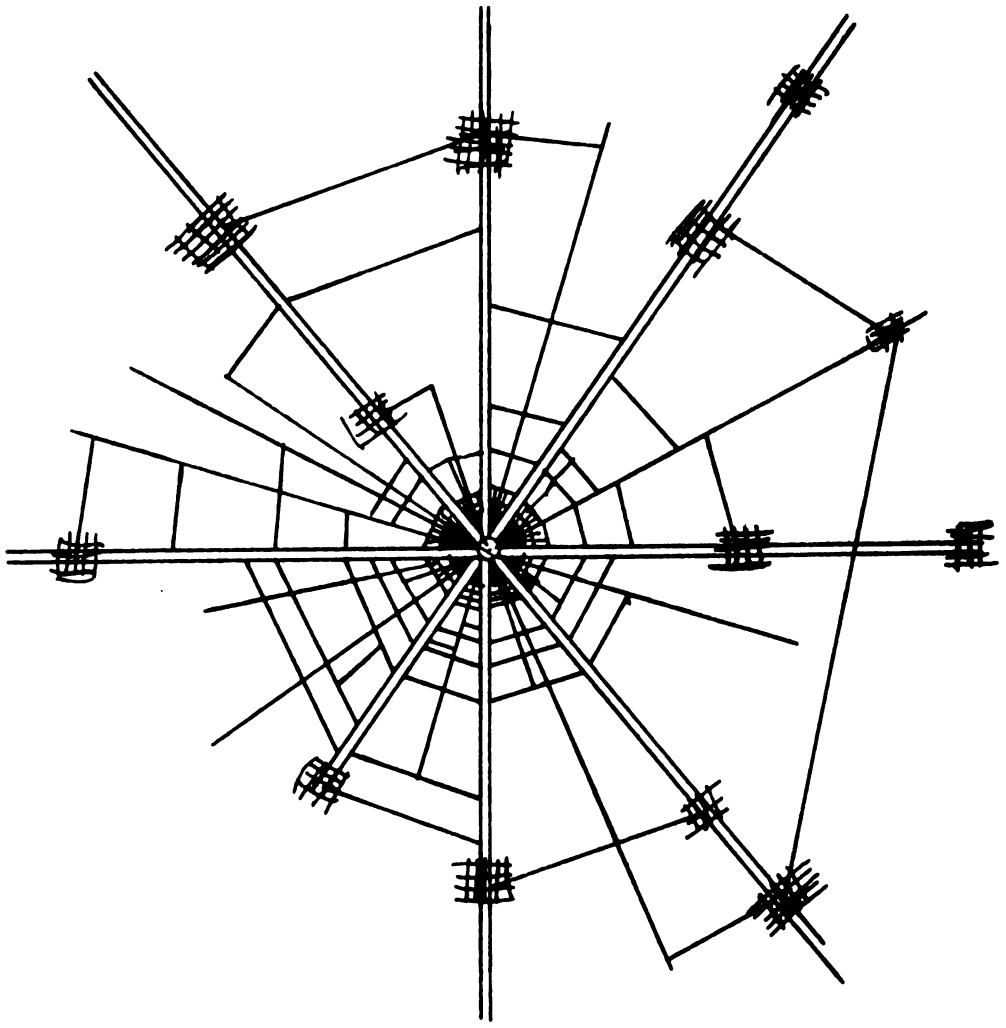

Figure 6.1 City of the Nineteenth Century

[a]Victor Gruen, The Heart of Our Cities (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1967), p. 269.

electric streetcars as visual evidence of their progressive spirit."[4]

The street railway companies were, however, heading for inevitable trouble. As smaller companies were bought out by larger ones, there was a tendency not to do away with the debts they incurred. This was workable as long as these moves insured greater monopoly, and the financial situation remained stable. A series of panics began to cause several companies serious problems, however, and by 1910 many companies were already in serious trouble. Then came the automobile and the popularity of this new form of transportation combined with the street railway's financial burdens spelled ultimate disaster, unless aid could be summoned. Many companies tried switching to buses, but to little avail. "Government policy encouraged the automobile and high pressure automotive advertisement spread the word."[5]

President Wilson established a Federal Electric Railway Commission who studied the railway problem and listed the following as problems: (1) Overcapitalization, (2) Neglect to amortize excess capitalization, (3) Failure to amortize normal accrued depreciation, (4) Payment of unearned dividends and neglect of ordinary maintenance, (5) Overbuilding, and (6) Uniform five cent fare. No help was forthcoming from the Federal Government, however, and by July, 1920, 116 companies were in receivership.[6]

The automobile, an unmentioned part of the business-like report of the President's commission, was to spell the ultimate demise of the street railway and other forms of mass transit. The freedom of movement afforded by the automobile allowed greater expansion, and filled in the spaces between the arms of the "star fish" with single-family homes. (See Figure 6.2)

It was approximately at this time that the Federal Government began a long and involved policy of aiding street and highway construction. The Federal-Aid Road Act of 1916 was the first step in this direction. The act was primarily for intercity roads, however, as places of over 2,500 persons were exempt from aid except for areas where houses averaged two hundred feet apart.[7] The reasons for this urban neglect are rather simple. First of all, highways were originally under the jurisdiction of the Department of Agriculture. Also there was the fact that rural roads were very poor, and cities had no idea what they were to experience with the coming of the automobile. Even with the policy in favor of intercity roads, this step was a major factor in the increased usage of the automobile.[8]

The depression saw more Federal aid to streets and highways in the form of the Emergency Relief and Construction Act of 1932 and the Hayden-Cartwright Act of 1934. Both specified funds for roads in cities, but

their actual aim was the relief of unemployment.[9]

Near the end of the thirties, however, urban areas began to feel greater demands upon their highway systems due to the great suburban trends already discussed in Chapters 4 and 5. George Smerk, in his book, Urban Transportation, cites FHA and the unaided and weakening mass transit industry as important factors in this move.[10] A 1939 report of the Bureau of Public Roads stated that it favored a system of direct interregional highways allowing access through and around cities as the solution to the traffic problems in the spreading cities. Shortly thereafter, Federal interest in such a solution was further evidenced in a Presidentially assigned committee established for the purpose of proposing a system of highways for national defense and interregional transportation.[11]

It was not until 1944, however, that the Federal Government first acted with money and programs aimed at the construction of highways in cities. The Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1944 gave effect to the 1941 recommendation for limited access highways. The National System of Interstate Highways was formally designated in 1947 and the President's Advisory Committee recommended that the Federal Government take major responsibility for the completion of the system. Thus with mass transit in a moribund state, the 1944 Federal-Aid Road Act put the

Federal Government on a firm path of highway support.

The act offered $225 million for projects on the Federal-Aid Highway System; $150 million for projects on secondary and feeder roads; and $125 million for Federal-Aid Highways in urban areas, per year. Fifty percent was to be paid by the Federal Government and fifty percent by the States. Right of ways were aided on a one third Federal, two thirds State basis. Forty thousand miles of Interstate Highways were designated for the purpose of connecting metropolitan areas, cities, and industrial centers.[12]

This act was an important move. But the question remains: Why did it take so long for the government to act? The suburban movement was already well under way, spurred financially and legally, as we have seen, by FHA and zoning. Urban areas were served by the Federal Government in previous acts only in a marginal sense. Why was transportation policy ten to twenty years behind?

Norton, in his book, National Transportation Policy, supplies an answer:

> In the years before 1945, little or no thought was given to the urban transportation problem...the problem barely became apparent by 1930, and during the years of the depression, from 1929 to 1947 the state of public affairs did not allow any realistic approach to the problem. Secondly, the war and immediate postwar years, 1942 to 1947, were hardly conducive to long-range planning...the city and the automobile were accommodated to each other in a catch-as-catch-can fashion.[13]

Circumstance thus accounts for the delay in transportation policy. Provision of housing and regulation of land use were of primary concern, transportation was left to chance until the need was great.

Once started, however, this "afterthought" was seized upon with great zeal. An early planning commission report from Los Angeles, for example, demonstrates this fact. In reference to highways it says: "We must not let this interest wane--we must not allow this potential support to disappear--we must take heroic measures to solve this increasingly important transportation problem."[14] Freeways are emphasized in this report as the solution to the congestion caused by dispersal. "...We must employ facilities which are deliberately designed for the decentralized community, but that design does not need to increase the destructive aspects of decentralization."[15] Clearly, the limited access highway was accepted as an answer to the traffic and transportation problems caused by dispersion, and as a means to retain and further dispersal policies. "An important result of the act of 1944 was that it set the pattern for Federal aid to urban transportation on a highways only basis...."[16]

The most significant move made by the Federal Government for aiding people in getting from their "country homes" in the suburbs to their employment in

the "city" came with the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1956. This act put the country on a major course to constructing the National System of Interstate and Defense Highways (the Interstate System) to meet the needs of 1975.[17] "This act has been dramatically touted as the greatest program of public works since the Great Wall of China."[18]

The system will connect forty-two state capitals and 90 percent of all cities with more than 50,000 persons. Six thousand seven hundred miles of planned access highways were slated for urban areas.[19] The old Federal-Aid Highway System was given $125 million for the fiscal year ending in 1957, $850 million for 1958, and $875 million for 1959. Of this total, 25 percent was designated for extensions of these into urban areas. The Interstate System was quite another story. One billion dollars was designated for fiscal 1957, $1.7 billion for 1958, $2 billion for 1959, $2.2 billion for 1960 through 1967, $1.5 billion for 1968 and $1.25 billion for 1961. See Table 6.1 for a complete listing through 1963. The mileage on the system was increased 1,000 to 41,000 miles. The Federal share was increased to a tempting 90 percent. The States, thus, only had to put forward 10 percent.[20]

Fully 38 percent of these Federal funds were spent in urban areas from 1956-1959.[21] Figure 6.3 shows the general Federal spending trend. Figure 6.4 indicates

Table 6.1 Federal Aid Authorization by Type of Road System, 1946-1963 (in thousands of dollars)

Fiscal Year	Federal-Aid Highway System	Secondary and Feeder Roads	Urban Highways	National System of Interstate Highways	Total
1946	225,000	150,000	125,000		500,000
1947	225,000	150,000	125,000		500,000
1948	225,000	150,000	125,000		500,000
1949	--	--	--		--
1950	202,500	135,000	112,500		450,000
1951	202,500	135,000	112,500		450,000
1952	225,000	150,000	125,000		500,000
1953	225,000	150,000	125,000		500,000
1954	247,500	165,000	137,500	25,000	575,000
1955	247,500	165,000	137,500	25,000	575,000
1956	315,000	210,000	175,000	175,000	875,000
1957	371,250	247,500	206,250	1,175,000	2,000,000
1958	382,500	255,000	212,500	1,700,000	2,550,000
1959	393,750	262,500	218,750	2,200,000	3,475,000
1960	405,000	270,000	225,000	2,500,000	3,400,000
1961	416,250	277,500	231,250	2,000,000	2,925,000
1962	416,250	277,500	231,250	2,200,000	3,125,000
1963	416,250	277,500	231,250	2,200,000	3,125,000

[a]U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Public Roads, Highway Statistics--1959 (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1960), Table FA-200, pp. 143-144, cited by George M. Smerk, Urban Transportation: The Federal Role (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1965), p. 134.

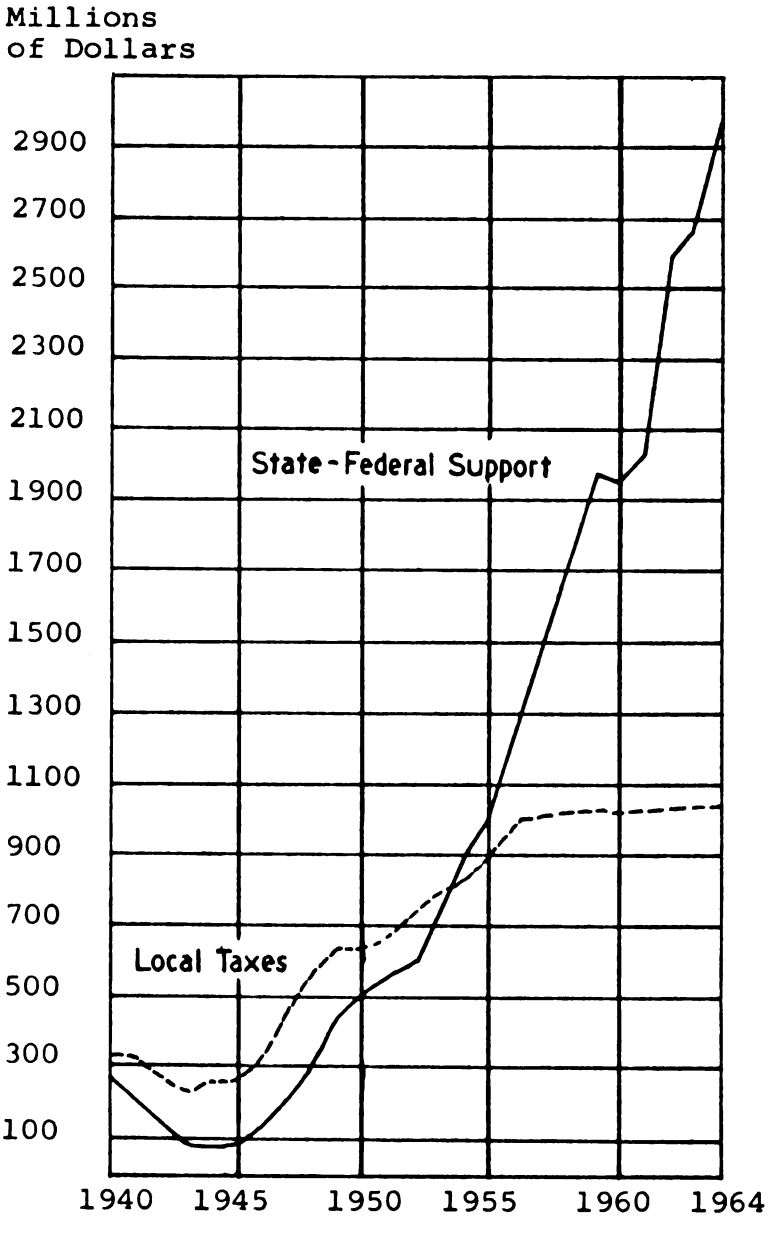

Figure 6.3 Financing of Urban Highways

[a]Wilfred Owen, The Metropolitan Transportation Problem (Washington, D. C.: Brookings Institution, 1966), p. 57.

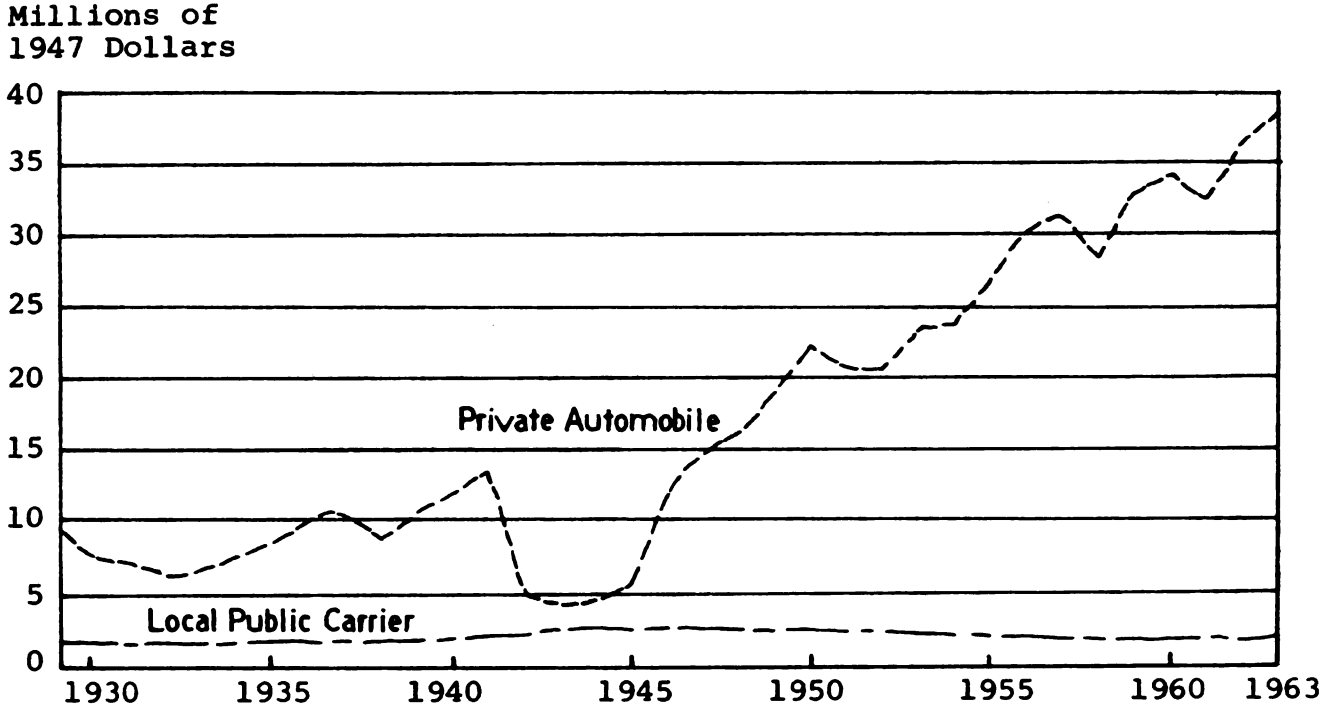

Figure 6.4 Consumer Expenditures for Automobile Transportation and Local Public Carriers

[a]Wilfred Owen, The Metropolitan Transportation Problem (Washington, D. C.: Brookings Institution, 1966), p. 57.

how this has affected individual consumer expenditures. In 1909, public carriers commanded thirty-three cents of every dollar; by 1963 this was down to four cents.[22]

The policy of aiding urban limited access highways is an important one. It indicates the Federal Government's willingness to support and further people's desire to escape the city. In that way it reflects a tendency to condone, sanction negative urban values so prevalent in our country's cultural history. The automobile promised opportunity to escape the city. Public carriers represented and required a degree of urban concentration. Concentration was associated with the industrial city, and dispersion with the country. In view of our cultural values, the choice was clear. We have seen that the means for moving automobiles was given great support. In order to put this into perspective, the Federal Government's support of mass transportation will be considered next.

The present stagnant condition of mass transportation is quite a change from the days when "...street railway securities were among the bluest of blue chips."[23] Despite the desperate condition of most transit companies, the Federal Government gave no aid at all (up to 1961), even with the pouring of so much money into the highway. Transit service had suffered from a half century of neglect--both economic and technological.[24] Between 1920 and 1950, rapid transit construction had

halted almost completely. New transit projects have been financed by municipally owned companies for the most part. Tire and fuel shortages during World War II helped rejuvenate the rapid transit companies, but when this "fortuitous crisis" ended, rapid transit declined rapidly once again.

Smerk describes the current situation quite well:

> In its present state, the urban transportation industry is generally incapable of appealing to a sufficiently large proportion of the traveling public to act as an agent of urban decongestion. Buses wallowing in rush hour traffic are simply too slow and uncomfortable...grade separated transit projects are too expensive....Street congestion or worn out equipment soon discourages the transit rider and persuades him to use his own automobile even though it adds to congestion on the streets and is a drain on his pocketbook.[25]

Senate Report 445, National Transportation Policy, often referred to as the Doyle Report, was an early critic of Federal policies. "Our investigations of deteriorating commutation service...reveals conclusively that the most important forces affecting these services are external... and largely beyond their control...." One of the major reasons for railway decline is listed in this report as "the great increase in Federal funds expended for urban capital improvements such as highways...."[26] The Doyle Report found further that action to save transit had been forthcoming by cities and states but that Federal actions had consisted of limitations on passenger fares, facilitation of train service discontinuation via the

Transportation Act of 1958 (116 trains were discontinued between 1958 and 1961), and a loan program, under the same act, which, because of the already shakey state of commuter service, was used mainly for freight service.[27]

As is suggested by Smerk, "perhaps most damaging has been the Federal policy of appropriating funds for highways only." Cities desiring to improve their transportation system would have been foolish to entertain an unaided mass transit program in view of the offerings of the Federal Government's 90 percent-10 percent highway package. Highways were, in fact, often built along side of mass transit lines. This happened to the Illinois Central Railroad which has lost half of their commuters in just twenty years. The Chicago and North Western Railroad showed a profit after refurbishing its equipment, but construction of the Northwest Expressway put them right back into the red.[28] Federal Government policy, then, has had a tendency to counter the efforts of all but automobile oriented transportation.

Aid to mass transportation has occured only recently. "The concept of mass transportation was rescued out of the cobwebbed attic of old urban technology, where it had been laid to rest, practically forgotten, by the enthusiasm over the automobile."[29] In 1960, the United States Department of Commerce and the Housing and Home Finance Agency (HHFA) called for better

coordination of all the elements of planning, including that for mass transportation. It suggested that funds be allocated for, among other things, metropolitan planning.[30]

A response was made in the Housing Act of 1961 which specified that mass transportation planning be a part of urban planning. Section 103 allocated a total of $4 billion maximum for all the act's provisions, of which $25 million was allocated for mass transportation demonstration projects and loans.[31] In all, the appropriations under this act were largely experimental where mass transit was concerned.

In the "Joint Report to the President by the Secretary of Commerce and the Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Administration", actual grants were, for the first time proposed on a two thirds-one third basis. The recommendations of this report were sent by President Kennedy to Congress in the same year. In 1964, the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964 was passed. This act continued the limited demonstration funds and loans for capital equipment started in 1961, and it went further by extending grants for two thirds the cost of new equipment and facilities. The act allowed $75 million for fiscal 1965, $150 million for 1966, and $150 million for 1967.[32] Smerk assays this jesture quite well: "The task of providing necessary mass transportation in our cities is a formidable one. It

is estimated that approximately $10 billion must be spent...in the next decade; $375 million will not go far...."[33]

Clearly, the appropriations for mass transportation have been too little, too late. When compared to the massive effort put forth for highways, there is very little the small appropriations for mass transit can do for the city. The years of neglect have been years of tremendous growth; our cities have literally been shaped by policies not conducive to mass transportation. When mass transit needed help, the Federal Government made no moves, when highways were in need, the Federal Government moved with great zeal.

A number of things have accounted for the legislator's blindness to mass transportation. Voters, for example, usually drive; rural factions are better served by highway; the Bureau of Public Roads has ranked high in the Federal hierarchy, etc. The primary reason was understood by Adna Weber many years ago however. In the late nineteenth century she wrote that "...the American penchant for the cottage is the cause, and the trolly car the effect."[34] Truly, the streetcar was more a means for escape than a vehicle for the futherance of the urban entity we have known. The highway was even better suited for escape, and so, reflecting our negative urban values, so basic a part of our culture, we allowed our policy

toward cities to hasten our escape.

A pamphlet put out by the California Division of Highways exemplifies the above contentions quite well. The pamphlet is entitled "How Los Angeles Was Unified by Freeways", and it characterizes the freeway dominated city of Los Angeles as "...polycentric, with multiple goals and attitudes. In a city of rebellious individualists, most were too impatient to shape their own image of the future to fit docilely to anyone else's scheme." Planning for freeways it says "...is far more minimal than the all encompassing planning done in many countries to affect citizen's lives."[35] The implications toward mass transit are clear. The freedom and individualism associated with small-town Jacksonian Democracy is well related to freeways as a mode of transportation.

The negative urban value structure of our culture comes out quite clearly in the caption under two pictures appearing early in the pamphlet. One picture is of an old four floor walk-up with an old car parked in front of it. The picture to the left of this shows a girl of three or four on a tricycle in front of a well-trimmed single family home. The captions read: "LEFT: Dense crowding typical of Eastern cities, as in this type of apartment, is rare in Los Angeles. RIGHT: Far more typical is single-family dwelling with yard and

driveway."[36] It is emphasized that the private car, allowing freedom of choice and movement, permits this.

The freeway was seized upon as a means for complementing the already agrarian tendencies in housing and zoning. The plight of mass transportation was ignored because it did not offer the same degree of escape from the city as did the automobile. There was no need to consciously weigh the pros and cons of mass versus individual transit, a culturally established reaction was already well set, and influenced the choice made.

In the next two sections, the purposes and provisions of Federal highway policy will be reviewed.

Purposes

Unlike zoning and FHA whose purposes have been well articulated, the purposes of the Federal-Aid Highway System and the Interstate System have only received cursory attention.

The following may be interpreted as the purpose for the construction of the Federal-Aid Highway System. The 1944 act indicates that its purpose is the "...post-war construction of highways and bridges, to eliminate hazards at railroad grade crossings, to provide for immediate preparation of plans, and for other purposes."[37] Without any elaborate justification, then, this act simply states that it is to provide for highway construction

and planning.

The purpose for designating an Interstate System of highways is stated in Section Seven of the 1944 act. The purpose of the section is "...to authorize appropriations for continuing the construction of highways; to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide for additional revenue...." Again the purpose is stark in its simplicity, the only additional purpose stated is that the roads shall be for the national defense, supposedly to move war vehicles in case of war.[38]

These purposes, unfortunately, are not very fully expressed. This is not a particularly severe disadvantage for this thesis, however, because the important question is, what were the highways used for. The answer to this question is clear. They were used in part as a solution to the traffic problems incurred by the automobile oriented suburbs which served to complement the American negative urban bias.

Provisions

Although several features of the 1944 and 1956 act have already been discussed, the major provisions of all the major highway acts will be reviewed here to clarify and emphasize their main provisions.

Highway Act of 1944

This act was drawn up as an amendment and supplement to the 1916 Federal-Aid Road Act, and was designed to "authorize appropriations for the post-war construction of highways and bridges, to eliminate hazards at railroad grade crossings, to provide for the immediate preparation of plans, and for other purposes."

Under this act, a total of $1.5 billion was appropriated at $500 million for each of three successive post war years. $125 million was allocated for urban highways. A federal share of 50 percent was to be complemented by 50 percent from the State for the highways themselves and a one third Federal, two thirds State share for right of way acquisition.

Finally, this act also stated that a National System of Interstate Highways of not over 40,000 miles be designated.[39]

Highway Act of 1956

This act was passed as an amendment and supplement to the Federal-Aid Road Act of 1916 for the purpose of continuing construction on highways, and as an amendment to the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 for tax purposes.

Under this act, the Federal-Aid Road Act was given authorized appropriations of $125 million for 1956,

$850 million for 1957, and $875 million for 1958. Forty-five percent for primary roads, 30 percent for secondary roads, and 25 percent for extensions into urban areas was allocated. The same fifty-fifty share designated in 1944 was held to for highways, the one third-two thirds provision was held to for right of ways.

The Interstate System was also designated in this act and its name was established as the "National System of Interstate and Defense Highways". Appropriations for this system were as follows:

$1,000,000,000	for fiscal year ending 1958
1,700,000,000	for fiscal year ending 1959
2,000,000,000	for fiscal year ending 1960
2,200,000,000	for fiscal year ending 1961
2,200,000,000	for fiscal year ending 1962
2,200,000,000	for fiscal year ending 1963
2,200,000,000	for fiscal year ending 1964
2,200,000,000	for fiscal year ending 1965
2,200,000,000	for fiscal year ending 1966
2,200,000,000	for fiscal year ending 1967
1,500,000,000	for fiscal year ending 1968
1,025,000,000	for fiscal year ending 1969

The Federal share was increased to 90 percent, leaving only 10 percent for the States to pay. Finally, the mileage in this act was increased to 41,000 from 40,000.[40]

Highway Act of 1962

This act provided that after July 1, 1965, the Secretary would approve no projects for cities of more than 50,000 persons without comprehensive planning considering other forms of transportation.[41]

Highway Act of 1966

Here, a specific clause was added to the Highway Act banning the use of trust funds for beautification or motor vehicle safety programs.

Highway Act of 1968

This act added 1,500 miles to the Interstate system, making the total 42,500 miles. Freeways were ordered constructed in Washington, D. C. Finally, $5,000 over appraised value was allowed for compensation for acquisition of property.

Effect on the City

Now that the Federal Government's highly automobile oriented transportation policies have been discussed, and their connection with our strongly held negative urban bias has been asserted, the question remains: How has this affected the city? Policies which simply carry out our cultural biases toward the city are not to be considered undesirable. The question to be considered is, how have they affected the operation of the city?

With 45 percent of our highway funds for planning and implementing the Interstate Highway system allocated for cities, it would be nice to report success. "Unfortunately this is not completely possible. The fact seems to be overlooked that, over time, the supply of a

facility will create a demand for its use."[44] "The basic function of urban transportation," the Doyle Report states, "is to move people, the basic function of cities is to provide a place for people to live and work with comfort and convenience. We have tended to lose sight of these fundamentals in the automobile age...."[45] The Congress Street Expressway in Chicago, for example, was designed to handle 6,000 vehicles per hour. At one quarter or one third of its capacity, the rapid transit facility in its median strip clearly surpasses the expressway in persons carried with only two tracks to the expressway's sixteen lanes.[46]

Indeed, government transportation policy often has been to the detriment of urban areas. Highways are always congested at their most needed times, and they deposit much more traffic at the city's center than it can handle. Smerk makes this rather blunt statement about the government's transportation policies: "If the Interstate System does not turn out to be an extraordinary benefit, it should definitely be classified as man's most appallingly wasteful project."[47] Indeed, while the Federal Government's transportation policies have, no doubt, had a beneficial side, the costs to the city have been rather great.

The costs in terms of space have been significant.

Highways are prime contributors to the dispersion of our cities. By making relatively cheap land suddenly accessible, highways encourage speculation and wasteful land utilization. For example, Route 128, a sixty five mile circumferential highway, ten miles from the center of Boston, was constructed on rural land which had been ignored for over 300 years. Yet before the highway was even completed, over forty industrial plants costing $100 million were under construction.[48] We are converting rural land such as this at a rate of <u>one million acres per year</u>.[49]

The automobile itself is an extremely flagrant space waster. "In most cities," the Doyle Report explains, "traffic congestion is not improving but worsening. It is becoming clear that progress cannot be made by using private automobiles for metropolitan mass transportation."[50] Automobiles carry on the average 1.2 to 1.7 persons. They take up three hundred square feet when stored at home and three hundred square feet when stored at their destination. Six hundred feet of space is required along the way and two hundred feet is required where it is sold[51] See Table 6.2 for an indication of how efficient the various modes of transportation are.

Lewis Mumford is especially critical of the space consumed by the highways themselves, and the parking required to store them. Of Los Angeles he says, "In the

Table 6.2 Practical Capacities Per Lane for Transit Vehicle Types, with Equivalent Number of Automobiles and Expressway Traffic Lanes

Type of transit Vehicle or Unit	Rush-Hour Period: Carrying Value (CV) per Unit	Rush-Hour Period: Riders per Unit [80% of (CV)]	Practical Capacity Express Service: Units per Hour 1-Way	Practical Capacity Express Service: Riders per Hour 1-Way	Equivalent Number of Autos for Same No. of Transit Riders	Traffic Lanes 1-Way
Motor bus--50 seat	70	56	120	6,720	4,480	3.0
Trolly coach--50 seat	70	56	120	6,720	4,480	3.0
Street car						
single unit--60 seat	100	80	120	9,600	6,400	4.3
2-car unit--120 seat	200	160	80	12,800	8,530	5.7
3-car unit--180 seat	300	240	60	14,400	9,600	6.4
Rapid transit train	1,500	1,200	40	48,000	32,000	21.3

[a]Adapted from W. S. Rainville, Jr., "Transit--The Traffic Engineer's Opportunity", Traffic Engineering, June, 1958, Table 3 (unpaged reprint), cited by George M. Smerk, Urban Transportation: The Federal Role (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1965), p. 72

interest of unimpeded traffic flow [land is wasted] .... Saving time by squandering space is hardly a public economy."[52] In the Doyle Report, the Chief of Los Angeles Traffic reports that fully eighty acres of land are consumed by one freeway interchange. Each mile of the freeway engulfs thirty acres. Los Angeles, the city of the freeway, is apportioned as follows:[53]

Streets, freeways and service	28%	
Off-street parking and loading	38%	
Sub-total rubber tired transportation		66%
Public buildings	5%	
Private buildings	28%	

Cities have adjusted to the automobile by "...throwing the doors wide open to [it] ...; by bringing freeways and expressways right into the city...; by providing...parking ...; by widening streets, and by generally promoting urban sprawl." The following statement by Victor Gruen sums the result up quite well: "...some of our downtown areas seen from the air seem tremendous parking lots, made inefficient by the few remaining buildings which interrupt them."[54]

The ability of the city's institutions to interact under such circumstances is extremely difficult. "By allowing mass transportation to deteriorate," Lewis Mumford emphasizes, "and by building expressways out of the city and parking garages within,...our highway engineers and city planners have helped destroy the living tissue of the city...."[55] "The suburbs can hardly perform the economic or cultural tasks typical

of most core areas...."[56] The separation of work from home and the time it consumes is another way the institutional fabric of the city has been harmed. Because Chapters 4 and 5 have already discussed this aspect of sprawl and separation, further elaboration will not be attempted.

Although the automobile often seems like an inexpensive mode of transport, it clearly is not. Table 6.3 demonstrates this fact amply. The individual pays dearly for the luxury of an automobile. Congestion hurts business too. The viability of the downtown is undermined when businesses leave due to congestion. Traffic jams, it has been estimated, cost the nation $5 billion per year in lost time, wages, fuel, vehicle depreciation, lower sales, and lost taxes.[57]

The highways themselves are expensive too. The total cost of the Interstate System when completed will be $41 billion with 45 percent of this cost urban, a full $18.45 billion. Wilfred Owen provides some interesting cost figures: Three miles of Central Artery in Boston cost $125 million. The first section of elevated expressway cost $57 million. Ten miles of the Hollywood Freeway cost $55 million. Eight miles of Chicago's Congress Expressway cost $50 million. The first twenty-four miles of Detroit's expressway system cost over $200 million, and these figures are not atypical. The

Table 6.3 The Cost of Getting to Work

Annual Commuting Expense in Dollars and Percent of Income					
your income	by foot ($100)	by bus ($205)	by train ($320)	by taxi ($455)	by car ($518)
$ 6,000	1.67%	3.42%	5.33%	7.58%	8.63%
$ 8,000	1.25%	2.56%	4.00%	5.67%	6.48%
$10,000	1.00%	2.05%	3.20%	4.55%	5.18%
$12,000	.83%	1.71%	2.67%	3.79%	4.32%
$14,000	.71%	1.46%	2.29%	3.25%	3.70%
$16,000	.63%	1.28%	2.00%	2.84%	3.24%
$18,000	.56%	1.14%	1.78%	2.53%	2.88%
$20,000	.50%	1.03%	1.60%	2.28%	2.59%

[a]**, in Readings in Urban Transportation, ed. George M. Smerk (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1968), p. 85.

total cost of Los Angeles' freeways has been projected at $2 billion. "The dilemma of Los Angeles," says Owen, "is that traffic continues to outstrip the rapid pace set by road builders."[58]

Although the highways were provided on the 90 percent Federal, 10 percent local schedule, it must be remembered that the maintenance and control of these roads is purely a local and State responsibility.

Nature and environment have suffered too. As was mentioned before, one million acres of land are taken up each year in urban sprawl. Smog caused by automobiles is destroying both animals and plants. Wildlife suffers in both their encounters with the automobile, and the destruction of their habitats. (The 1964 Mass Transit Act required that all projects meet air pollution standards. How ironic in view of the fact that the automobile, so favored by Federal policy, is the prime contributor to air pollution.)

Man too has suffered. A half a million people have been killed in motor vehicles on city streets since the turn of the century.[59] Highways also displace and destroy people and neighborhoods and are instrumental in the formation of slums.[60]

These, of course, are only a few examples of the effects the automobile oriented Federal transportation policies have been instrumental in bringing about. They

have been presented to emphasize that the policy of "highways only" preserved by the Federal Government has indeed been destructive of urban needs. These examples should demonstrate that when negative urban values are allowed to be reflected in major urban policy they can be harmful. This is especially true of our society, which is predominantly urban.

Conclusion

Again we have seen a major policy area formulated with little thought as to what it meant to the needs of the functioning urban entity; formulated with no thought as to the degree to which it might be reflecting values capable of reducing the ability of the city to function as an entity. Smerk demonstrates this point quite well:

> U. S. transportation policy, as well as many other aspects of Federal policy has been plagued for years by lack of coordination. It is almost inconceivable, for example, that the Interstate Highway program could have been formulated and undertaken in view of the proposed expenditure of tens of billions of dollars over a period of less than two decades, without a rigorous analysis of the effect such a program would have on non-highway-oriented modes of transportation. Yet, this is exactly what happened. Likewise, there was no thought given to the impact of Federal transport programs--principally highway programs--on urban areas. It was as if the various Federal programs carried on quite separately with none expected in any way to affect the others.[61]

Such lack of coordination is not an accident. Highways in the city were pursued because they complemented the

already established policies of the Federal Government to encourage as many people as possible to choose a life style centering around the single-family home; a life style reflecting a culturally biased distaste for the cities we have known in history, and a preference for the most humane alternative we were aware of, that surrounding the small town-agrarian life.

The purpose of this chapter has been to show how Federal transportation policy has complemented our cultural values, and how, as a result, our cities have suffered in their ability to function as urban entities. The next, and final chapter, will suggest changes for the planning process and urban policy.

FOOTNOTES

1. George M. Smerk, Urban Transportation: The Federal Role (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1965), p. 119.

2. Smerk, Federal Role, p. 18-28.

3. People often traveled to cemetaries at this time both to pay their respects to late relatives, and as a means of escaping the city.

4. George M. Smerk (ed.) Readings in Urban Transportation (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1968), p. 7.

5. Smerk, Readings, p. 63.

6. Smerk, Federal Role, p. 46.

7. Wilfred Owen, The Metropolitan Transportation Problem (Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1966), p. 52.

8. Smerk, Federal Role, p. 30.

9. Smerk, Federal Role, p. 124.

10. Smerk, Federal Role, p. 125.

11. Owen, p. 53.

12. U. S. Public Law 521, "The Federal Highway Act of 1944", 78th Congress, cited by Smerk, Readings, pp. 223-224.

13. Hugh S. Norton, National Transportation Policy: Formation and Implementation (Berkeley: McCrutchan Publishing Corp., 1966). p. 76.

14. Regional Planning Commission, County of Los Angeles, Freeways for the Region (County of Los Angeles: The Regional Planning Commission, 1943), p. 3.

15. Regional Planning Commission, County of Los Angeles, p. 26.

16. Smerk, The Federal Role, p. 126.

17. Owen, p. 54.

18. Smerk, The Federal Role, p. 131.

19. Owen, p. 55.

20. U. S. Public Law 627, The Federal Highway Act of 1956, 84th Congress, cited by Smerk, Readings, pp. 235-236.

21. U. S. Senate, Committee on Commerce, National Transportation Policy (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1961), p. 591.

22. Owen, p. 70.

23. Smerk, The Federal Role, p. 44.

24. Owen, p. 4.

25. Smerk, The Federal Role, p. 54.

26. U. S. Senate, Committee on Commerce, pp. 552-553.

27. U. S. Senate, Committee on Commerce, pp. 572-578.

28. Smerk, The Federal Role, pp. 56-57.

29. Smerk, The Federal Role, p. 140.

30. Housing and Home Finance Agency, and U. S. Department of Commerce, "Joint Policy and Proceedural Statements on Improved Coordination of Highway and General Urban Planning", in Smerk, Readings, pp. 251-256.

31. U. S. Public Law 87-70, "Housing Act of 1961", 87th Congress, cited by Smerk, Readings, pp. 257-265.

32. U. S. Public Law 88-365, "Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964", 88th Congress, cited by Smerk, Readings, pp. 311-314.

33. Smerk, Federal Role, p. 176.

34. Adna F. Weber, The Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century (New York: Macmillan Co., 1899),p. 469.

35. California Division of Highways, How Los Angeles Was Unified by Freeways (Sacremento: Department of Public Works, n.d.), pp. 3-4.

36. California Division of Highways, p. 2.

37. U. S. Public Law 521, cited by Smerk, Readings, p. 232.

38. U. S. Public Law 521, cited by Smerk, Readings, p. 233-234.

39. U. S. Public Law 521, cited by Smerk, Readings, pp. 231-234.

40. U. S. Public Law 627, cited by Smerk, Readings, pp. 234-236.

41. U. S. Public Law 866, "The Federal Highway Act of 1962", 87th Congress, cited by Smerk, Readings, pp. 236-237.

42. U. S. Public Law 574, "The Federal Highway Act of 1966, 89th Congress.

43. U. S. Public Law 495, "The Federal Highway Act of 1968, 90th Congress.

44. Smerk, The Federal Role, p. 74.

45. U. S. Senate, Committee on Commerce, p. 596.

46. Smerk, The Federal Role, p. 74.

47. Smerk, The Federal Role, p. 131.

48. Owen, p. 46.

49. U. S. Senate, Committee on Commerce, p. 586.

50. U. S. Senate, Committee on Commerce, p. 592.

51. Victor Gruen, "No More Offstreet Parking in Congested Areas", in Smerk, Readings, p. 80.

52. Lewis Mumford, The City In History (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1961), Graphic Section III, Plate 48.

53. U. S. Senate, Committee on Commerce, p. 592.

54. Gruen, in Smerk, Readings, p. 80.

55. Mumford, p. 510.

56. Smerk, The Federal Role, p. 79.

57. Harrison A. Williams, "Statement of Senator Williams of New Jersey, 1962, in Smerk, Readings, p. 70.

58. Owen, pp. 45-48.

59. Owen, p. 3.

60. Smerk, The Federal Role, p. 78.

61. Smerk, Readings, p. 251.

CHAPTER 7

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE PLANNING PROFESSION

Introduction

The major purpose of this thesis has been to determine how Americans have valued their cities, why they have valued them so, and to explore how these values may have been reflected in urban policy. The past six chapters have endeavored to achieve this purpose. A question of great importance remains unanswered, however. This is the question of what actions the urban planning profession can take, and what changes can be made in the policies reviewed to deal effectively with culture, values, and the requirements of our cities as sets of institutions. The scope of this thesis does not allow a detailed discussion of all of the aspects of this question. There is, however, a need for some general suggestions and proposals describing possible actions and areas for further research. This is the purpose of this chapter.

To begin with, a short review of American values toward the city will be made. Then, a discussion of some possible actions and studies the planner could pursue in the course of the planning process, will be undertaken.

Following this, some suggestions will be offered concerning the planning profession's role in Federal and State legislation. Finally some suggested changes in the major policy areas used as examples in this thesis (zoning, FHA, and Federal highways) will be put forth.

The American and the City

The American has been attracted to, yet repulsed by, the cities he has known. An important question arises, however, as to whether this dislike has been directed at cities per se, or one particular type of city. Has the flight to the suburbs indicated a complete rejection of all aspects of urban life? The answer to this question is quite clear when one considers the thrust of most urban criticism, as was done in Chapter 3. People have not disliked cities per se, but rather the type of cities we have tended to produce in the country both during the period of rapid industrial urban growth and to a large extent today. The city people have disliked is that which has favored economic values over all others; "...The environment most city dwellers have confronted is the product of forces, largely economic, over which they exert virtually no influence...."[1] The standardization and specialization of the environment created has "...reached a degree unprecedented in history."[2] In emphasizing one institution over others, the needs usually met by these other

institutions are inadequately served. This is what has made people reject cities in this country. Americans have not rejected the city as a general form of human settlement.

The influence of economic values has been greatest at the city's center; therefore, when the opportunity arose for escape, the trend was toward producing an environment at the fringe, exactly opposite to the excess density and mixtures of the center city. "...This suburban image," Edmund Bacon says, "came about...because valid dissatisfation with life in the city led to uncritical acceptance of the idea that the nearest thing to the exact opposite...was... best...that the more space around each home the higher the state of culture it represented."[3] People have confused density with congestion[4] and have felt that in order to get rid of the latter, the former must go too.

The fact that people have not rejected cities per se is amply demonstrated in the fact that few would leave it entirely. Economic, convenience, and social considerations have kept people in or near cities. Harlan Douglas describes the suburban move as "...the city trying to escape the consequences of being a city while still remaining a city: urban society trying to have its cake and eat it too."[5] The city has been positively valued for its economic opportunity and to some extent, it social variety. It has been negatively valued, however, for its overdominance of

economic values. People have sought to reduce this imbalance by turning to a varient of the small town-agrarian ideal; the suburb has been the result.

The policies and tools developed in recent years to deal with the city have reflected this "reactionary" trend. Zoning, FHA, and Federal transportation policy have brought the city from one extreme to the other. From a city of overcrowding and extreme mixture, they have helped create a city of extreme spacing and rigid separation. In their effort to make the city better these policies have created new problems; problems which cause such great men as Lewis Mumford to refer to the openness and low density of the FHA single-family home as "...another name for social and civic disintegration...."[6] Problems which cause him to criticize current transportation policies are lengthening distances, slowing travel, and dispersing facilities once close at hand.[7]

The planning profession has, of course, already done much toward improving the interaction and interrelationship between urban uses. The profession has fought for metropolitan government, which would allow adjacent cities to be governed as regional entities. Planners have introduced such zoning concepts as planned unit development and performance standards to help allow for a freer use of space and a beneficial mixture of uses; mass transportation has been the dream of many

planners for several years. The list could go on, but the important thing to consider is that much more needs to be done.

The Planner's Role

Current day planners follow a varient of the process indicated in Figure 7.1 in carrying out their planning responsibilities. The following paragraphs will review this process and suggest some changes which might improve it in light of the problems discussed in this thesis.

Currently, background studies (the first stage in the process) deal with the city's history, its growth, its problems, its place in the region, its general social and economic makeup, and its general assets and liabilities. These studies are used primarily as a quick reconnaissance to give the planner an idea of what he is dealing with and where he must concentrate his efforts.

Perhaps it would be useful to relate major policy, such as FHA, zoning, and Federal aid to highways, to the history and development of the city under consideration. This would serve as a basis for determining how these policies have been beneficial or detrimental to the city and would help in determining what policies the city should pursue in the future, and how the city might act to modify Federal policy.

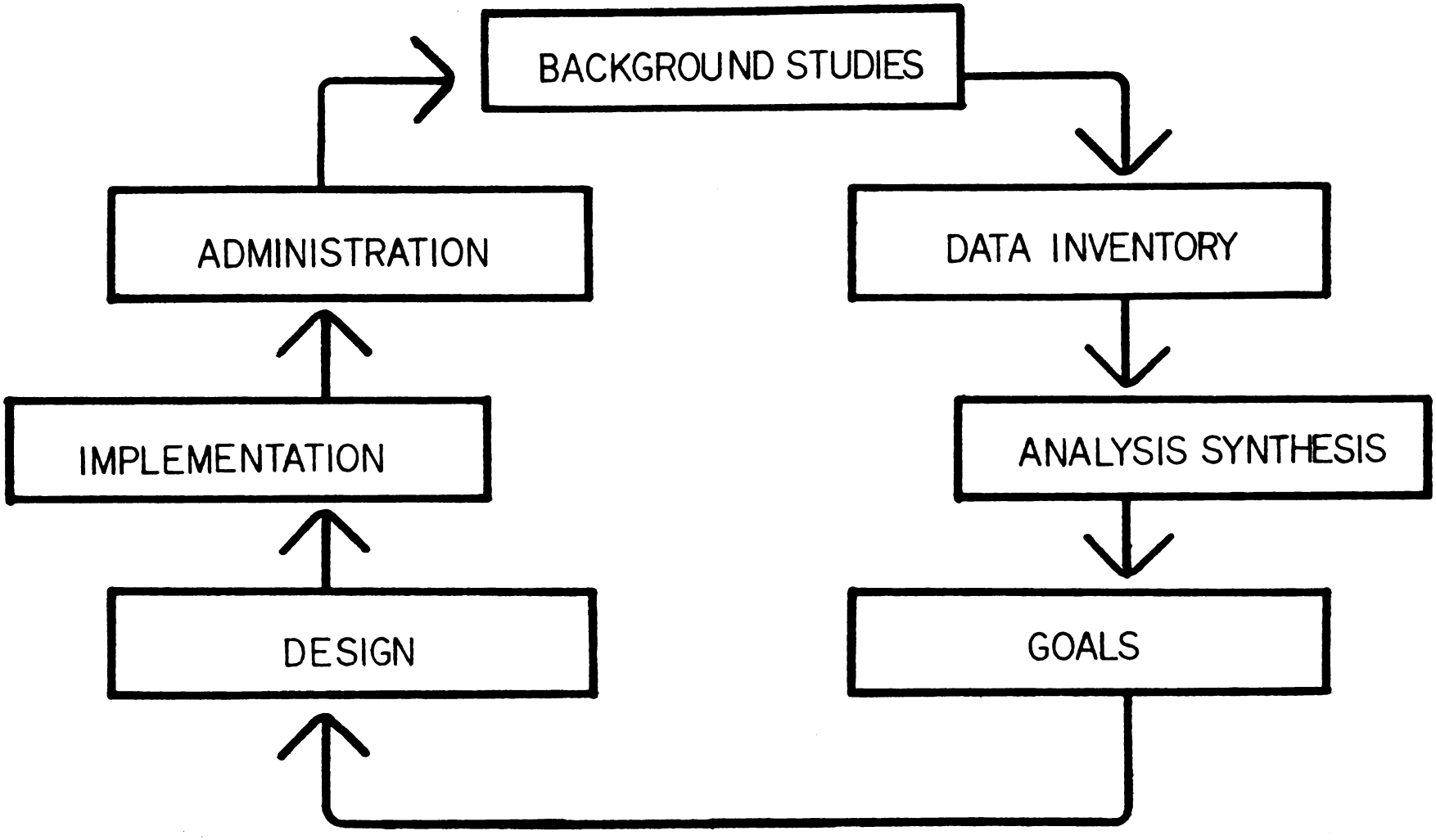

Figure 7.1 The Planning Process

Related to the issue of background information, but not necessarily a responsibility of the planning profession alone, is a need for studies which explore the exact types of environmental factors found to be pleasant or unpleasant in our culture over time. Here is where the help of the urban sociologist, historian, or scholar in American literature might be enlisted. What is needed is exemplified in the following suggestion by Leo Marx: "...the literary landscape can help sort out, clarify, and reorder the principles which guide (or should guide) planners."[8] He suggests that we take a thorough, precise and analytical inventory of the satisfactions that men have derived or claimed to have derived from various features of the landscape.[9] Planning professors in our universities could make these needs known to interested faculty in other departments to stimulate the needed research. Such information on our "cultural-environmental preferences" would be highly useful for the purpose of interpreting the meaning and significance of information derived from background studies, and in other phases of the planning process to be discussed later in the chapter.

The second stage in the planning process (data inventory) usually involves some or all of the following studies. The city's natural resources are inventoried; its economic base is delineated; population numbers and characteristics are studied; land uses are

inventoried; transportation facilities are studied; and community facilities are studied.

An additional useful study, in this area, might be a study of people's attitudes toward various environments of their own city and the kinds of things they like and dislike about different aspects of American cities in general. This would differ from the previously mentioned study in that it would involve interviews with the citizens of the actual city or cities being planned for. The previously mentioned study complements this study, but concentrates on an historical analysis of environmental preferences for our culture as a whole. The use of photographs would be helpful in portraying various aspects of urban settings. Sociologists could be enlisted for assistance in constructing meaningful questionnaires. The historical information derived from the research into our "cultural-environmental preferences" (suggested in the previous section) would also be useful here.

Research is needed in the area of developing studies designed to measure and evaluate the interaction carried on between the city's various institutions. If the concept of the city as a set of interrelating and interacting institutions is accepted, there is a need for ways of determining the interactional needs of these institutions. How much, for example, do the various aspects of the family need to interact with government,

education, etc. Ways of measuring such needs have not been developed. Further research is needed in this area. Once such studies are developed, they should become an integral part of this phase of the planning process.

The third stage of the planning process is the analysis and synthesis stage. Here, previously collected data is analyzed and put into meaningful context. Forecasts are also made at this stage.

Enlisting the aid of urban social scientists, historians, literary scholars, and/or their research could prove useful at this stage for gaining insight into the previously suggested attitude survey and in interpreting the cultural significance of the backgound studies and the studies of population, land use etc.

The goals stage is usually the stage where citizen participation is first solicited. (This stage is usually associated with policy planning) Based on the problems uncovered in the studies done in previous stages, citizens are asked to voice their opinions on the type of city they desire, and the goals they would like to pursue. Four basic alternatives are usually offered: (1) Sprawl, (2) Compact development, (3) Corridor development, and (4) Satellite development. Once popular opinion has been polled, goals are formulated which show promise of solving major problems and complementing the alternatives preferred by the people.

At this stage, greater emphasis needs to be put on communicating to citizens, the role their culture plays in the way they view different urban environments. Information derived from the studies of "cultural-environmental preferences", the city's attitude survey, and studies of the interaction requirements between the city's various institutions should be communicated to people via newspapers, radio, television, and pamphlets. A greater range of alternative urban environments needs to be developed which emphasizes the degree to which they complement the peculiarities of our culture, and the requirements of the city's institutions.

By referring to background studies which reveal the ways in which past urban policies and growth trends have affected the city, and the part played by our cultural values in this process, the planner will have a better chance of enlisting informed choices. Lewis Mumford provides an eloquent description of what might be considered the profession's role at this stage:

> ...Cultural flood control...calls for the erection of embankments, dams, reservoirs, to even out the flow and spread it into the final receptacles, the cities and regions, the groups, families and personalities who will be able to utilize this energy for their own growth and development.[10]

At the design stage, the goals and objectives formulated in the previous stage are translated into actual physical growth alternatives. If the goals and objectives

chosen earlier adequately reflect both our cultural values and the requirements of the city as an institutional entity, then alternatives, which also reflect these considerations, should be a natural next step and would use much of the same information.

In putting forth goals and alternatives which seek to consciously control our cultural values and the institutional elements of the city, the profession will at the same time be helping people to grasp the idea that they can have control over their environment; that institutions are not in themselves ultimate; and that our cultural values can be expressed while still maintaining a viable, functioning urban entity. The major policies discussed in this thesis, it has been shown, have tended to blindly reflect the negative urban values prevalent in our culture and our preference for the samll town-agrarian ideal. By consciously considering this aspect of our culture and by relating it to the requirements of a more functional city, more intelligently conceived policies, goals, and alternatives may be produced.

In the implementation and administration stages (the final stages in the planning process) the planner utilizes such techniques as zoning, subdivision regulations, capital improvement schedules, and urban renewal to realize goals and alternatives. These techniques should not violate the requirements of the functional city, as they

often do. They should not defeat or reduce the value of the goals and alternatives chosen in the planning process. A complete discussion of these considerations, as they influence the various implementing and administrating techniques, is not possible here. However, because zoning was used as an example of a major urban policy reflecting the negative urban bias, it will receive some attention in a later section of this chapter. First a suggestion for the planner at the State and Federal levels will be mentioned.

The planning profession's role at the State and Federal levels has never been well defined. Because Federal and State policy can be highly influential on the city, however, there is a need for more and better channels between the planner and these governmental bodies. Using the research suggested into our cultural-environmental preferences and the requirements of the city as an institutional entity and working through AIP, HUD and State planning agencies, the profession could criticize current and proposed urban policies and offer various alternatives. Planners have already voiced their concern over Federal and State transportation and housing policy. Better means of voicing concern and affecting Federal and State policy must now be developed. Exactly how this could be done would make a useful topic for further research.

The next few sections will offer suggestions for the kinds of changes that need to take place in the areas of zoning, FHA, and Federal highways. As with the previous discussion, the suggestions should not be construed as comprehensive or complete. They are merely suggestions as to the general directions these policy areas might take in dealing with the city. As with the previous sections, the thrust of the discussion will center on the need to facilitate control over urban institutions and the need to rationally satisfy our cultural values (specifically, the negative urban bias and its ramifications). In all of these areas, it should be clearly understood that no change can occur in one area without a change in the others. For example, efficient mass transit would be ineffective without changes in land use patterns and housing to bring more people and land uses closer together. This should be kept in mind while considering the following paragraphs.

The area of zoning, it has been shown, has largely relied on techniques designed to space out land uses and separate them into districts. It has already been demonstrated that this practice reduces the ability of the city to function and is a very wasteful practice.

Zoning must move in the direction of greater innovation. There needs to be a change away from strict districting and spacing. The emphasis should be on how to

bring uses together instead of how to separate and buffer them. If more information can be gained on the interaction needs of the various institutions and their counterparts, much could be done to improve zoning.

The use of planned unit development techniques and performance standards needs to be improved and continued. These are the kinds of innovations which are needed. Perhaps adding the concept of institutional interaction to criteria which are used to determine compatibility would serve to encourage and facilitate greater interaction between the institutions embodied in the city's various land uses. This might also serve to suggest various beneficial combinations of uses for planned unit developments and performance standard based zones.

Height regulations need to be realistically reconsidered. Limiting such uses as shopping centers to two stories is as ridiculous as building a building as tall as the Empire State Building on the same site. One results in underuse, the other in overuse. There needs to be a greater emphasis on "pulling the city together". Height regulations currently serve to defeat this purpose.

Lot area coverages and yard requirements also need to be reconsidered. More emphasis on techniques which pool open areas into usable spaces, such as planned unit developments do, are needed. Space consuming functions

such as parking lots need regulations which require them to be developed into structures once they reach a certain size, again, in an effort to bring the city together. Placing uses behind several hundred feet of asphalt and/or lawn serves to make the interaction between uses difficult and makes dependence on the automobile even more manditory.

In sum, zoning needs to be "loosened up". In reacting against the evils of crowding and the extreme mixture of the city of the nineteenth century, it has helped to produce an environment wherein interaction is difficult and expensive, and wherein space is needlessly squandered. A middle ground must now be sought.

FHA has done a great deal to shape the cities now prevalent in America. In emphasizing the one-family dwelling in both promotion and program offerings, it has facilitated the sprawl and separation our cities now suffer from.

FHA (and/or other branches of the Department of Housing and Urban Development) needs to rechannel its energies toward housing innovation more than has been the case in the past. What is needed more than anything else is an alternative to the space consuming single-family dwelling. Radical departures need to be developed which maximize offerings of space, privacy, and individuality. This may mean the development of radically different

apartment or condominium developments such as the "Habitat" development of the Montreal Expo '67, or it might mean better engineered and designed row type housing. Whatever its form, a substitute for the single-family home which allows the greatest degree of density while retaining usable open spaces and an "open feeling" needs to be advanced. This will mean reducing the discrimination of FHA in favor of the single-family home, and continuing and increasing efforts in the area of research and development.

Another change FHA and related housing programs might take is that toward helping a community to solve its housing problems as a whole. Rather than promote one or another type of housing, efforts might be better directed toward financing all of the different types of housing a city needs through one basic program. This would mean greater coordination of various housing programs and a redirection of priorities.

Just as the Federal Government's programs for housing need to be better coordinated and made less one-sided, the Federal Government' programs for transportation need this too. As with the other areas covered in this chapter, a complete discussion of all the ramifications in this area is beyond the scope of the thesis. A few suggestions can, however, be made.

There is a need for Federal policy to work toward encouraging balanced transportaion systems which serve to meet a city's total transportation requirements, rather than encouraging only one particular form of transportation. Belated efforts in this direction have been made, with the passage of the Housing Act of 1961 and the Mass Transportation Act of 1964, but an overwhelming advantage continues to be given to highway building which more than off-sets efforts at balanced transportation systems. There is a need, then for a reordering of priorities and more research and development of complete systems of transportation.

Transportation experts have already broken trips down into various types, and have studied their characteristics. Perhaps, via the research suggested earlier in this chapter on the interaction requirements of the city's various institutions, transportation systems can be developed which serve to link uses based on these needs. Our cultural bias toward open settlements needs to be considered, of course, but not to the detriment of the city as a functioning unit.

Conclusion

The suggestions put forth above will mean establishing policies which help, not hinder the functioning of the city. "...The discovery of techniques by which

the institutional ground of urban life can be ordered," says Haworth, "is the outstanding problem of the twentieth century--comparable in gravity to...world peace. For while peace guarantees life, urban order assures us that life will be worth having."[11] Techniques need to be improved and used to more and greater advantage. "The problem of the archtypical suburb," says Mumford, "is to trade some of its excessive biological space (gardens) for social space (meeting places): that of the city is just the opposite."[12] New and better techniques will be needed for this. Land uses and the institutions they represent must be better related to one another. Functional intermixtures must be experimented with. Applicants for zone alterations should be made to feel welcome rather than suspect when a new idea is put forth. Transportation systems must be established wherein "...the largest number of alternative modes of transportation at varying speeds and volumes for different functions and purposes [may coexist]."[13] "There is no one ideal mode or speed: human purpose should govern the choice...."[14] What are being referred to here are techniques and policies which serve the needs of our culture and the city, techniques and policies which are the result of conscious choice. The alternatives the planner puts forth must not only take cognizance of our peculiar cultural values, they must also be capable of creating a viable urban entity wherein

the various institutions of the city are able to interact and function freely and properly in their role of satisfying human needs.

FOOTNOTES

1. Lawrence Haworth, The Good City (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1963), p. 104.

2. Haworth, p. 17.

3. Edmund Bacon, "The City Image", in Man and the Modern City, eds. Elizabeth Green et. al. (Pittsburgh: Univeristy Of Pittsburgh Press, 1963), p. 26.

4. The concentration of uses in the city is essential to effective interaction. With proper planning, concentration need not lead to crowding. See William Whyte, "The Anti-City", in Green et. al.

5. Anselm Strauss, Images of the American City (Glencoe: Free Press, 1961), p. 241.

6. Lewis Mumford, The Urban Prospect (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1968), p. 82.

7. Mumford, Prospect, p. 116.

8. Leo Marx, "Pastoral Ideals and City Troubles", in The Fitness of Man's Environment, Smithsonian Annual II (Washington: Smithsonia Institution Press, 1968), p. 122.

9. Marx, in Smithsonian Annual II, p. 141.

10. Lewis Mumford, "The Mission of the City", in Metropolis: Values in Conflict, eds. C. E. Elias, et. al. (Bellmont: Wadsworth Publishing Corp., 1966), p. 46.

11. Haworth, p. 43.

12. Mumford, Prospect, p. 43.

13. Lewis Mumford, The City in History (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1961), p. 507.

14. Mumford, Prospect, p. 96.

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