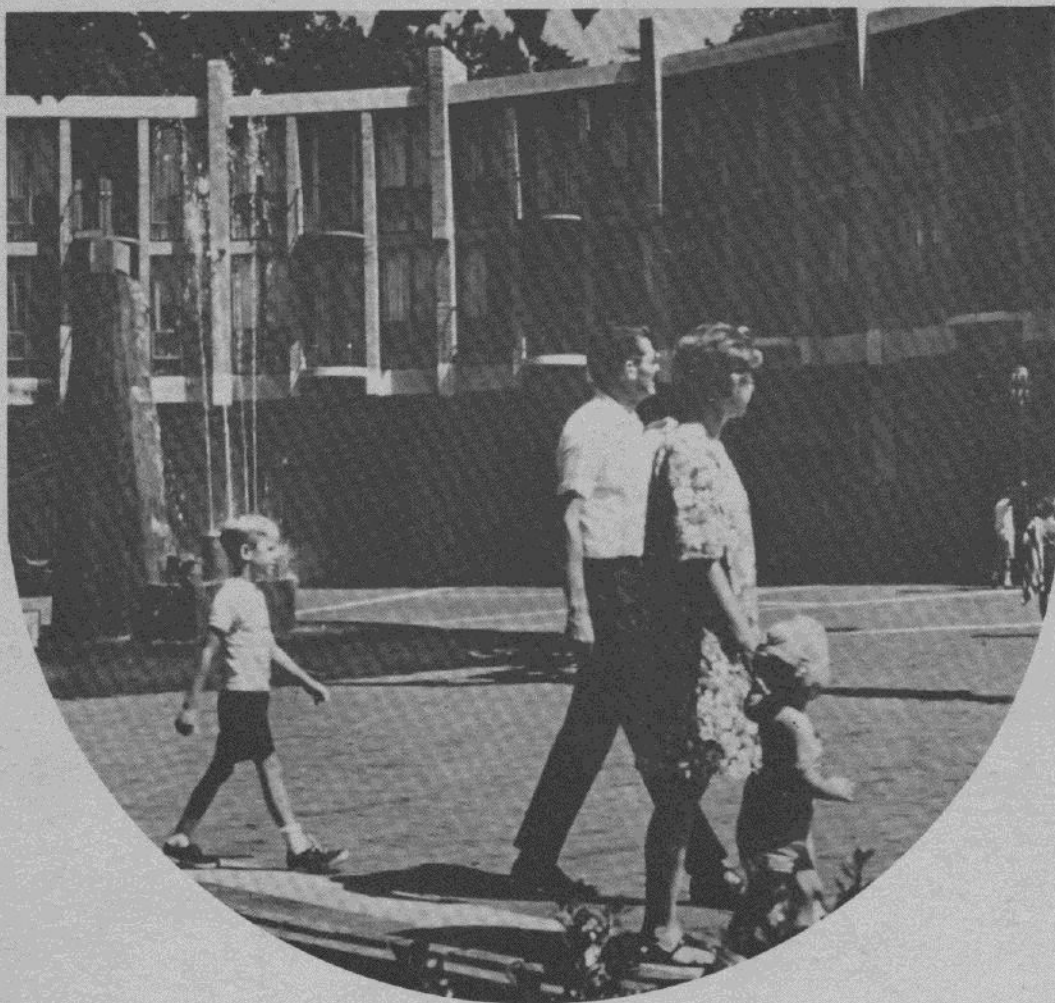


New Communities

An American Institute of Planners Background Paper—Number 2



New Communities: Challenge for Today

An American Institute of Planners Background Paper—Number 2

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The American Institute of Planners Task Force on New Communities was appointed on October 1967 by AIP President Irving Hand and the Institute's Board of Governors. It was asked to prepare a report for distribution both to the 4800 members of AIP and the general public. The board took this action in recognition of what it considers a critical need for national policy on settlement patterns, new communities, and urbanization. The task force was asked to produce a document representative of the best thinking of the planning profession in these areas.

At the AIP Board of Governors' meetings held May 4 and 5 in San Francisco, the board adopted a Statement on New Communities as AIP policy. The statement was based on the recommendations of the New Communities Task Force as they appear in Chapter 7 of this report. The report grew out of frequent meetings held by the task force throughout the fall and winter of 1967 and the spring of 1968. The material in this report was drawn from papers prepared by members of the task force.

The American Institute of Planners urges all major public interest groups to join with it now in calling for combined public-private action on a national urbanization policy for the United States, and in monitoring that policy when it becomes a reality. Every individual and organization concerned with improving the American environment through better plans, programs and design has a responsibility to cooperate in this critical effort.

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NEW COMMUNITIES

Rat

Americans and people all over the world love cities. They see cities as creative communities, centers of ideas and action, testing grounds for cultural change. But in America today our cities cannot fulfill their traditional promise because they contain too many people and too much poverty. They desperately need a breathing spell, a safety valve to release mounting pressures caused by racial inequality and by competition for space, housing, jobs and services. } Rat

What our cities need is a domestic detente. We can rescue our existing cities from constant crises and give hope to their residents by embarking on a major new experiment in urban living. We must create complete new communities which will offer our mobile population alternative environments and formulate a settlement policy to distribute the nation's population more rationally.

New communities represent a new American frontier for a people with expanding expectations. The existence of new communities varied in their scale, location and type would offer every individual or family selecting a place to live a wider range of choices in keeping with the principles of a democratic society.

The new community will offer an especially important option to the disadvantaged Negro who is more frustrated than other Americans in his struggle for social and economic mobility and equality, whether he remains in the country or migrates to the central city ghetto where the majority of Negroes now live.

This nation should launch a massive drive to create integrated new communities at the same time that it improves the quality of life in existing metropolitan areas and neglected small towns. It should do this for the same reason that it is already working simultaneously to enrich the ghetto and build an integrated society—to create a single nation undivided by racial strife.

The AIP Task Force on New Communities believes urban America is at a critical juncture in history. It recommends

the reshaping of public policy to stimulate the expanded development of new communities. The task force urges the federal government to make a major resource commitment now to develop a national New Communities Program and a National Settlement Policy. A modest beginning has been made with the passage of Title IV of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968 and the earlier Title X program which provides federal guarantees for financing new community land development. But it is only a beginning.

In addition, it seems obvious now that private enterprise must commit more of its time, dollars and talent than it has in the past to develop new communities in the United States. All levels of government must re-examine the factors in public policy that have so far limited the role of the private sector in creating new communities. And the federal government must formulate and enforce standards of excellence and equality for public and private developers engaged in the construction of new communities.

Planning with people must be the philosophy of all those specialists—professional planners, developers, builders, and governments—who become involved in new community development. It will cost more and complicate the development process to consult with potential residents of new communities and with local residents in areas slated for new community development, but it must be done. Unless the interdisciplinary teams that create new communities make every effort to encourage citizen participation in the development process, the end products could well be sterile academic models instead of dynamic, democratic communities.

New communities will offer new types of environments, free from the worst irritants and pressures of metropolitan areas, in which people will have a better chance to work toward ending the dangerous divisions between black and white, rich and poor and young and old that are increasing in the United States today.

ACTION PRIORITIES

Recommendations for the Federal Government

Develop national social and economic policies as essential prerequisites to the establishment of a National Settlement Policy. These policies would set objectives, standards and guidelines for a New Communities Program.

Establish concurrently with a National Settlement Policy equivalent policies important for new communities in the fields of transportation, natural resources, human resources, housing, education, health and public welfare.

Include in any federally supported New Communities Program guarantees of equal opportunity in housing, employment and education for the disadvantaged, members of minority groups and people in the low and moderate income brackets.

Create a National Urban Communities Commission through Congressional action, possibly involving appointment of a Congressional Select Committee on urban communities, to formulate and administer the National Settlement Policy, and grant sponsorship franchises to qualified corporations and agencies for new community development.

Create a federal New Community Development Agency committed to build no less than five new cities in the next decade on federal land holdings, the majority to be outside of metropolitan areas. This could be a federal agency of conventional organization such as NASA, a more independent federal agency such as TVA, or a public-private corporation such as COMSAT.

Create a separate, comprehensive program, administered by a single federal agency, to aid in the installation of public facilities in new communities to take the place of the many federal departments and agencies, each with its own set of administrative regulations, that now administer such programs.

Define standards for granting of franchises by the National Urban Communities Commission for development of new communities.

Award no less than 300 franchises during the decade 1970-1980 for new communities with minimum ultimate target populations of 25,000 each.

Form a federal technical aid and incentive package including grants-in-aid, credit support (direct loans, loan insurance, secondary mortgage, market operations) and technical assistance to encourage joint public-private development of new communities.

Coordinate programs and budget allocations of federal agencies related to new communities development with the national policies for settlement established by NUCC. Program coordination should be monitored by the Bureau of the Budget.

Commit \$25 million per year initially in federal grants-in-aid and expenditures for new community development beyond what is already programmed for new community aid. Earmark an additional five per cent of all federal credit activities for new community development.

Increase maximum project size under the Title X (new community land development mortgage insurance) program from \$25 million to \$50 million and increase total insurance coverage from \$250 million to \$500 million.

Extend the Title X general maximum loan term of seven years to a flexible ten to 15 year term to be determined by the Secretary of HUD.

Develop new sources of federal fiscal aid for new communities such as:

- a. a supplementary grant program tying together several existing grants*
- b. an Urban Development Bank chartered by the federal government to make long-term low interest loans to local and state public agencies and corporations undertaking new communities development.*
- c. a "soft" loans consortium of private banks which through federal encouragement could finance \$250 million worth of soft loans activities for special social services otherwise not easily covered by private credit instruments.*

Recommendations for State Governments

Create specific regional development policies on the state level. State governments should work with the National Urban Communities Commission and pertinent local bodies in evaluating and selecting desirable sites for new communities for which franchises should be awarded.

Use state planning agency expertise in the new community development process and coordinate federal and state agency plans and assistance for new settlements through the state planning office.

Form state-level public-private development corporations to create new communities.

Review requirements at the state level for governing new communities; develop new non-restrictive enabling legislation and delegate to local governments the authority for them to effectively plan, develop and govern new communities.

Revise planning, zoning, subdivision and other enabling legislation to permit local government to prepare modern, flexible laws and to provide high quality public facilities and services in new communities.

Expand the responsibilities of state social service agencies to include programs for new communities.

Extend state education legislation to provide funds, services and facilities to new communities.

Review state agency regulatory powers and duties to determine their specific influence on new community development.

Give consideration to assigning higher priorities in state operational budgets and capital fiscal programs to state agency activities that have new community application.

Establish state grant and/or loan programs that could be used to match federal grant-in-aid programs in such areas as housing, water and sewer systems and transportation.

Encourage state housing agencies to consider new communities as sites for public housing. Tie housing relocation programs to public or subsidized housing programs for new communities.

Establish state revolving funds for advance planning and advance land acquisition.

Enact the necessary state legislation to permit use of the power of eminent domain for land assembly.

Recommendations for Local Governments and Metropolitan Agencies

Encourage metropolitan planning agencies to conduct new communities feasibility studies and impact studies.

Form local-level public-private development corporations to create new communities. Local governments in larger suburban counties might be best suited to undertake such developments on the sub-state level.

Establish development agencies at the local government level to organize current suburban development into new community form. Such agencies would be more limited than a state or local development corporation but would have power to acquire land, prepare it for development and dispose of it for development in accordance with a detailed plan.

Create a new unit of general local government which would merge the functions of independent authorities and agencies responsible for providing public facilities in new communities. Short of this solution, an ad hoc mechanism jointly sponsored by state and local government could provide coordination.

Provide all the physical structures and facilities which support the network of public services in the new community.

Use the Section 204 Review Authority granted in the 1966 Metropolitan Development Act to encourage desired levels of public investment in new communities.

Recommendations for All Levels of Government and the Private Sector

Involve both white and black leaders, residents of areas considered for new settlements, and potential inhabitants of new communities in the planning process.

Create broad ranges of job opportunities and housing prices and rents in new communities to insure a mix of population from all social and economic levels.

Design new communities to provide inhabitants with: a broad range of choices in their activities and surroundings; a diversity of forms integrated with the natural environment, reflective of advanced technology, and equal to those found in larger cities; and an environment adaptable to economic and social development.

Provide a network of community health, education and social services that reflects present knowledge of human needs, new technology and emerging social policy.

Establish guidelines for planning and developing health, education and social services that insure:

- a. a realistic set of objectives for the composition of the population and their schedule of arrival;
- b. a comprehensive community service system that will use regional resources;
- c. program budgeting based on all funds potentially available; and
- d. a method for the transition of the public-private development coalition into a viable administrative mechanism for the new community.

Involve planners on several levels in new communities development as:

- a. advisors to secretaries of federal and state departments and major policy groups formulating national and state policies for new communities;
- b. social entrepreneurs working independently or for a public or private corporation;
- c. public agency planners expressing the public interest by providing guidelines for new community development; and
- d. planning specialists employed by public agencies or by the community developer.

Recommendations for Government on Expanding the Capability of Private Enterprise in New Community Development

Provide for the creation of state, multi-state, or local land development agencies that are empowered to assemble, zone, and improve land that can be made available through various arrangements and in various stages of improvement to the private sector.

Award to developers federal and state grants and loans from a revolving fund for advance land assembly.

Provide development loans or tax incentives to encourage businesses to locate in new cities built in undeveloped regions.

Make available to limited profit, franchised new community corporations a selected array of federal aids to local jurisdictions.

Entrust the power of eminent domain to private corporations on a controlled basis.

Allow financial institutions to participate more fully in land acquisition and development ventures.

Apply both property and income taxes on a sliding scale over the development cycle to relieve the financial burden in the initial stages of new community development.

Make grants for applied research to assist new community corporations that undertake costly research and related development, including devising new techniques for planning, management and control of new communities.

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1 New Communities and a National Settlement Policy

The American Institute of Planners believes that there is a crucial need today in these times of rapid change to develop the environment by conscious decision rather than by chance. Massive urban growth is a fact of life in America. Careful planning of that growth is not. The quality, pattern and costs of our current urban growth must be of great concern to all who want this country to make optimum use of its human, economic and physical resources.

From a public policy point of view, there are some crucial questions one should ask about the nature of the future urban areas of the United States: Are the visible results of the urban building process in our metropolitan areas satisfactory enough to serve as a pattern for the future, considering that within thirty years we will double the urban land in America? Has the building and urban development process provided the opportunity for a sufficiently rewarding life for most people? Are sufficient choices for places to live as well as for the location of economic activity available today?

This country has had a history of timid approaches to new settlement policies at the federal level, at the state level and at the regional and local levels. Now it needs a courageous new approach to planning the environment.

There is an urgent need for the federal government to establish a national settlement policy to provide the guidelines for a more equitable redistribution of our population and for the selection of new urban growth centers throughout the United States. The federal government should also set up a program to create new communities as alternative environments for Americans now living in urban, rural and suburban areas.

If one agrees that a modern nation's settlement patterns require thoughtful direction, then the United States urgently needs an urban settlement policy at the national level now. The alternative is the accidental environment which is only too familiar.

A national settlement policy might be described as a guideline for action on a national and regional

basis which could be flexible enough to meet the goals of specific regions and accommodate national needs at the same time. The task force believes such a policy would provide over time a clear statement of the savings that planned versus unplanned urban growth can provide. Chaotic change will become constructive change only through careful planning.

A national settlement policy would slow the growth rate of the great megalopolitan clusters and encourage the growth of the smaller metropolitan areas and cities of less than metropolitan size. It would probably give rise to several kinds of new communities, including satellites to the central cities of metropolitan areas and more nearly self-sufficient new communities outside metropolitan areas.

The current scale of U.S. urban expansion not only points up the crucial need for a fresh stage of new community building in America today, it also indicates the unique character of present opportunities. The scale of the nation's expanding population, economy and housing market has never been as great. It is this scale which provides a market not available before for creating new communities.

The urgent need for new American communities was implicit in the message President Lyndon Johnson sent to Congress on March 2, 1965. The message, entitled "Problems and Future of the Central Cities and Its Suburbs" pointed out that in "the next 15 years, 30 million people will be added to our cities—equivalent to the combined populations of New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Detroit and Baltimore. Each year, in the coming generation, we will add the equivalent of 15 cities of 200,000 each."

The message continued: "... at the end of the century—in less than 40 years—urban population will double, city land will double, and we will have to build in our cities as much as all that we have built since the first colonists arrived on the shores. It is as if we had 40 years to rebuild the entire urban United States."

A GROWING NATION—PEOPLE AND PLACES

The phenomenal urbanization of the last twenty years has made our major cities overcrowded, unhealthy, unattractive and unsafe, and the migration from country to city shows no signs of abating. Most major American cities are faced with a typical pattern of a decaying central business district and loss of

business to newer growth areas near or in the suburbs. A belt of slums surrounds the city core and beyond this is a deteriorating commercial, industrial, residential grey area that separates the city from the suburbs.

The country needs a national settlement policy

and a national new communities policy to insure the orderly planning and development of new growth centers which would not replace existing cities but would reduce the pressures on them. What are the key pressures and trends that dictate the need for a national settlement policy and a new communities program?

Population—Growth and Distribution

Population and its distribution may be the most critical factors of all. Although the net annual increase in population is decreasing in the U.S., a total of 300 million people is expected by the year 2000. By the end of 1967 Americans numbered 200 million, and by 1975 there may be nearly 20 million more.

We are a predominantly metropolitan nation with approximately two-thirds of the population living in metropolitan counties. A number of these counties are growing with remarkable rapidity. Forty-five metropolitan counties, or about one out of five, experienced an increase in population of 25 per cent or more between 1960 and 1965.

Compounding the population problem is the urbanization process. As low income people from rural areas move into the cities, middle income people move from the cities to the suburbs. The suburban portions of metropolitan areas have received tremendous population increases in the last 20 years. Many suburbs are as overcrowded as central cities. If the human migration from less to more urbanized areas continues, it is quite likely that by 1975 three-fourths of the U.S. population will live in metropolitan areas.

Many who migrate from rural to urban areas move in search of work, education and other opportunities that are not available in rural America. All too often, what these people seek is not available in urban America for people without marketable skills and a good education.

The 1968 Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (the Kerner Commission Report) speaks of the future of our cities. It flatly states that the only possible hope for a unified non-violent black and white America is "a policy which combines ghetto enrichment with programs designed to encourage integration of substantial numbers of Negroes into the society outside the ghetto." That society does not have to be limited to existing metropolitan areas, their suburbs or small towns in rural America. It should include new communities. The Kerner Commission Report notes that "by 1985, the Negro population in central cities is expected to increase by 72 percent to approximately 20.8 million. Coupled with the continued exodus of white families

to the suburbs, this growth will produce majority Negro populations in many of the nation's largest cities."

The American Institute of Planners believes something must be done now to stop the social and economic trends that are creating two separate societies in America, one black and poor living in deteriorating cities, the other white and affluent living in sanitary "safe" suburbs. The Commission on Civil Disorders says it is unlikely that this increasing polarization of the races will suddenly reverse itself "without significant changes in private attitude and public policies."

Employment

Job distribution and access to employment is another critical concern that requires a new approach. By 1975 we will need 86.5 million jobs—11.5 million more than are now available. Projected rises in productivity and investments in new plants and equipment planned by business and industry are encouraging but the benefits may not reach the low income inner city dweller.

For many years the majority of jobs in the U.S. has been in the central cities. This is changing. In recent years expansion in new jobs, many of them service-oriented, and new plant facilities has been predominantly in the outer portion of metropolitan areas. In the manufacturing field, some non-metropolitan areas have experienced as high or even higher rates of growth than the suburban fringe areas.

The Kerner Commission Report documents this movement and notes that "most new employment opportunities are being created in suburbs and outlying areas. This trend will continue unless important changes in public policy are made."

Many of the people who desperately need jobs live in the cores of cities, not in the suburbs or rural areas where jobs are increasing rapidly. Transportation to new growth areas is inadequate or lacking, and additional travel expenses increase the financial burden of those least able to afford it.

To meet the needs of the underemployed and the unemployed, the Kerner Commission Report recommends creating one million new jobs in the private sector and an equal number in the public sector, all within three years. It also calls for the development of urban and rural poverty areas to create new employment centers. An expanding new communities industry would create a large number and variety of jobs not now available. New jobs in new communities would provide employment for many residents.

The AIP in its background paper on *Small Business*, published in April 1967, suggested that government and planning agencies encourage inclusion of a broad range of small businesses in the development of planned new communities through regulatory, financial or promotional devices. Such small businesses would provide numerous opportunities to many residents of new communities for entrepreneurship and employment.

Housing

To provide new housing for our increasing population and replace dilapidated housing, we will need as much new housing by the year 2000 as we occupy now. But we have been building only a million and a half dwellings each year, and very much less than that in 1966 and 1967.

The President's Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders recommends provision of 600,000 low and moderate housing units in the next year and six million units over the next five years. Expanding the limited supply of housing suitable for low income families is most crucial. However, constructing all the needed new housing in existing cities will add to their congestion, and possibly contribute to existing patterns of segregation.

The leadership and involvement of the federal government in the new communities effort will encourage the developers who plan and build new settlements to consider the critical housing and employment needs of the poor and the disadvantaged. A new communities program will extend current federal efforts to bring open housing and equal employment and educational opportunities to members of minority groups in existing cities and suburbs.

There is the danger that new communities could become white middle class ghettos, and it is up to concerned leaders and citizens, both black and white, to keep this from happening by insisting that the new communities have a broad range of housing in all prices and rents and the widest possible span of job opportunities to insure a mix of residents from all social and economic levels of life.

Education

With formal higher education now reaching more people than ever before, better informed citizens are seeking alternatives to life in both overcrowded megalopolis and monotonous suburbia. The growing Negro middle class, however, is primarily trapped in the central cities, shut out of white suburbs by prejudice.

Leisure Time and Recreation

In the near future our computerized society may enjoy a four day (or less) work week, and many persons will retire very early in life. Others may work at home, not in a downtown office, gaining time previously lost in commuting. The majority will seek more recreation and relaxation in their expanded leisure hours.

The increase in the number of people with leisure time, plus the increase in amount of leisure time available to each person and in discretionary income, is already causing a rapidly growing demand for recreation space and facilities which cannot be met by the center cities and suburbs alone.

Transportation

Changes in U.S. transportation patterns have drastically affected urban development patterns. Now high-speed freeway facilities offer the possibilities of "constructing" a new type of metropolitan region of the future, utilizing the new freeways to connect key centers—the existing central cities—with new communities.

New high-speed rail transport systems, short take-off and landing (STOL) aircraft, and other experimental types of mass transportation promise to become part of a new balanced urban transportation system in the U.S. which will closely link human settlements of all sizes everywhere in the country. New communities will not be isolated.

Health and Conservation

New communities will offer the opportunity for experimentation in new approaches to mental and physical health care.

Air and water in non-metropolitan areas is still less polluted than in the big cities and controls can be incorporated into the design and government organization of new communities.

Economic Growth

Overall U.S. economic expansion, measured by the gross national product (GNP) has produced an annual gain of approximately six per cent, on the average, in the production of goods and services during 1960-1965. According to the National Planning Association, projections of GNP for 1975 are \$1.3 trillion (in constant 1958 dollars) and \$2.6 trillion in the year 2000. New communities will represent a challenging new market for such an expanding economy.

MEETING THE CHALLENGE: RECENT EFFORTS

It is obvious that a massive effort is needed to correct the inequalities caused by the imbalance of opportunities in rural and urban areas. The people left behind in both country and city are too often those least able to find work and to support and afford an acceptable quality of education, health, housing, recreation, and other facilities and services that a city, small or large, should offer its citizens. The magnitude of the job to be done requires that a new communities program be a combined effort of the private sector and all levels of government.

Some programs to improve rural and urban living are being developed, but many of these work at cross purposes and have little positive influence on the urbanization process. Recent discussions in and outside of government have suggested various approaches to the problems of urbanization, center city ghettos, unemployment and underemployment, inadequate housing and schools, and the deteriorating environment in both rural and urban areas.

The Model Cities program, for example, is designed to solve the problems of the city cores with comprehensive planning and coordination of all programs. The Mundt Bill (S.J. Res. 64) proposes a Commission on Balanced Economic Development for achieving a better geographic and population balance in the nation's economic development.

A symposium on Communities of Tomorrow—National Growth and Its Distribution, sponsored by the secretaries of six federal agencies, was held in Washington December 11 and 12, 1967. Involved were the Departments of Agriculture, Commerce, Health, Education and Welfare, Housing and Urban Development, Labor and Transportation.

The Department of Agriculture has also issued a policy statement entitled *Communities of Tomorrow—Agriculture/2000* which suggests a national policy to correct the nationwide imbalance of people and opportunity through the creation of multi-county communities. In the area of planning, it recommends: a national land use policy that would provide guidelines for multi-county planning; planning of communities in which homes are in close proximity to job opportunities; recreation areas, community centers and schools in which there is a place for people who are highly skilled and those who are relatively unskilled; and encouragement of comprehensive multi-county planning among rural areas development groups.

The President's National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty has recommended the creation of multi-county organizations cutting across urban-rural

boundaries to cooperatively plan and coordinate programs for economic development. To finance development in rural areas, the Commission recommends the use of federal grants, loans, and industrial development subsidies, as well as state and local tax reform.

At its annual conference in July 1968 the National Association of Counties (NACO) adopted as part of its American County Platform for 1968-1969 a section on New and Revitalized Communities. This section states that NACO supports creation of planned new or revitalized communities as part of an overall approach necessary to the physical and social well-being of the nation and its urban-rural balance.

The NACO statement asks for the maximum utilization of the private sector, and the involvement of federal, state and local government in a new communities program. Specifically NACO urges Congress to establish an incentive program for business and industrial location and the necessary concomitant public facilities; it recommends that state legislatures authorize the establishment of state and regional industrial credit facilities as a means of providing additional sources of credit for businesses locating in areas whose development would further state urbanization policies; and it calls on states to encourage private developers to undertake new community development.

The Platform of the Democratic Party for 1968 states in a section titled "Opportunity for All" that "To revitalize rural and small-town America and assure equal opportunity for all Americans wherever they live, we pledge to: encourage the development of new towns and new growth centers; encourage the creation of comprehensive planning and development agencies to provide additional leadership in non-metropolitan areas, and assist them financially; create jobs by offering inducements to new enterprises—using tax and other incentives—to locate in small towns and rural areas; and administer existing federal programs and design new programs where necessary to overcome the disparity between rural and urban areas in opportunity for education, for health services, for low income housing, for employment and job training, and for public services of all kinds.

The 1968 Republican Party Platform speaks of the need for new communities in a section entitled *Crisis of the Cities*. It says: "For tomorrow, new cities must be developed—and smaller cities with room to grow, expanded—to house and serve another

100 million Americans by the turn of the century." To solve the crisis of the cities the Republicans promise "effective sustainable action, enlisting new energies by the private sector and by governments at all levels." The platform further states that "success with urban problems in fact requires acceleration of rural development in order to stem the flow of people from the countryside to the city."

The Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations has issued a report recommending the development of national and state urbanization policy and the consideration of programs to encourage and assist new communities as a possible component of such a policy.

The most recent result of all the proposals noted above was the inclusion of Title IV in the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968 (PL 90-448). Title IV supports the public-private partnership approach to building new communities, provides federal guarantees for financing new community land development, and includes incentive grants to encourage localities to use federal aid programs in developing new communities.

The principal obligations on loans guaranteed by the federal government under Title IV could not exceed \$50 million, and the aggregate of outstanding principal obligations guaranteed could at no time exceed \$500 million under the terms of the act. AIP feels that Title IV is a modest beginning for the federal government in its support of new communities. It provides needed financial guarantees,

but the title obviously does not represent the comprehensive national policy on new communities and settlement patterns that the task force strongly recommends in this report.

Critics of a national settlement policy and a new communities program may attempt to discredit them by accusing their proponents of attempting to create new black ghettos and perpetuate racial segregation in America through the construction of new communities. The best argument against such unfounded criticism, should it arise, will be the early, deep and continuing involvement of black leaders and laymen in the planning and development of these programs at all levels of government and in the private sector. New communities can help urban leaders and substantial numbers of core-city minority groups in their continuing attempts to break up untenable physical and social patterns of segregation. Of course, there must be guarantees in any federally-supported new communities program of equal social and economic opportunity for the underprivileged, the minorities and people in the low and moderate income brackets.

The United States today is faced with an unprecedented challenge and opportunity for success or failure—especially in the areas of environmental planning and social reform. The truly successful change succeeds because it is appropriate to its time, its place and its purpose. The AIP Task Force feels that new communities represent an appropriate, necessary and timely change for today.

2 American New Communities—Do They Exist?

Since the AIP Task Force recommends in this report a nationwide program of new community building, it is important to describe the current status of new communities in America. The term new communities conveys different meanings to different people. Because the words are used loosely, many people have the impression there are numerous new communities in the U.S. today that might be compared with British or Dutch new and expanded towns or Scandinavian satellite towns. This is not the case.

All but a very few of the American new communities offer only a narrow scope of housing and jobs and lack many basic community services and facilities. Many so-called new communities do not deserve the name since they do not offer their residents the maximum variety and choice of a complete living environment nor do they provide a sound economic base.

The developments in the U.S. called "new communities" are very disparate in nature. The proposed "new towns intown" and retirement communities, for example, are popularly considered to be new communities. Within metropolitan areas, old communities that have changed to accommodate growth may be thought of by some people as new communities.

National attention has already been focused on the needs of the central cities by many books, articles and studies. The AIP Task Force believes it is now important to complement inner city policies with positive programs for rebuilding areas on the peripheries of cities, for rebuilding and expanding small cities and towns, and for creating independent new communities of various types and scales in many locations.

Complete New Communities

The emphasis in this report is on complete new communities built on the expanding edges of existing metropolitan areas and on both new and expanded communities in non-metropolitan areas. To be independent, these new communities should have a sound economic base, a broad range of employment opportunities, a variety of housing types, prices and rents, an internal transportation system as well as convenient access to other communities and metropolitan areas, community facilities, services and amenities and an effective local government. Such settlements could range from small towns of 25,000 population to very large cities with a population of a million or more.

There are a number of ways to identify and classify

new communities: according to population size, land area, density, type and scope of economic base, land-use composition, and location. Geographical location is a very important factor because new communities in different places serve different sets of objectives. The location relative to existing metropolitan areas is significant. New communities may be designed as redeveloped areas in the central cores of major cities, as satellites within the fringes of urban complexes, or as self-sufficient units completely apart from metropolitan areas.

Until recently little information about American new communities has been available. What was known had been pieced together from many sources. There is no inventory of new communities built in the U.S. in the past 20 years. It is not known exactly how many there are, what size they are or where they are located. A survey of new towns, planned communities, and other large developments (950 acres or more) made by the U.S. Department of Agriculture (data unpublished) indicates something of the scale and location of new communities construction in this country and provides a base for further investigation. These data probably err on the low side; it is expected that further investigation will reveal additional developments of the types listed in the survey inventory.

Reports were received from or on behalf of more than 90 per cent of the counties in the nation. The replies indicated that in most of these counties no developments of 950 acres or more were known to be recently completed, underway or contemplated. The survey shows, however, that more than 500 large developments were started in 42 states between 1945 and 1967. The best information was obtained for developments begun in the 1960's.

Reports show that 376 large developments were started between 1960 and 1967. These involve approximately 1.5 million acres. Another 32 developments, with about 200,000 acres, were reported as being planned for construction within the next few years. Of these, six were listed as proposed "new towns." (The terms used here relate to this survey and are not used elsewhere in this report. Use of the terms "new town," "planned community," and "subdivision" as defined for the survey was an attempt to differentiate among types of large developments popularly conceived of as new communities.)

What kinds of developments are being built? Of the 376 developments reported as having been started during 1960-1967 on nearly 1.5 mil-

lion acres of land, forty-three "new towns," a little more than 11 percent of the total entries for 1960-1967, were under construction on 21 per cent of the reported acreage. Nearly half (46 per cent) of the total number of entries and nearly half (45 per cent) of the total acreage were for other residential uses such as subdivisions and planned residential communities.

Six per cent of the number of entries and six per cent of the total acreage were for retirement housing facilities, ranging from small subdivisions to large, planned retirement communities. A combination of retirement and recreation developments amounted to four per cent of the entries and five per cent of the acreage.

Nearly 24 per cent of all developments reported as being started in 1960-1967 were recreation or second home communities or subdivisions. These used 17 per cent of the total acreage on which construction began during that time span.

Industrial developments with two or more companies accounted for nine per cent of the developments reported, but utilized only six per cent of the total acreage.

Only 38 per cent (143) of the large developments reported in the Department of Agriculture survey as started in the period 1960-1967 are within Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas. The others are scattered—some in completely rural areas, others in the rural-urban fringe of non-metropolitan cities. Many of the non-metropolitan developments are, of course, for recreation and retirement. Even so, it appears that a high proportion of the large new developments being built in America today is in locations removed from the main corridors of population and employment.

Unfortunately, even the large number of new developments referred to above is not likely to meet the nation's need for new communities to accommodate the growing number of Americans. Furthermore, most lack the full range of elements necessary to build a complete human environment. An equally important drawback are the built-in racial and economic biases that exist in many new developments.

What the Survey Shows

The survey previously cited reveals that most of these new developments are being built on sites too close to cities to test their independence. On the other hand, they are too far from metropolitan areas for easy access to the city facilities that the new communities do not yet have. No mass transportation systems join these new developments to central

cities yet most lack a strong economic base and a variety of job opportunities for their residents.

The new American developments often are built without benefit of an adequate comprehensive plan. Too frequently, little consideration is given to the geology, topography and soils of the site chosen for the development. This results in construction that is difficult, dangerous or excessively expensive. Typically, insufficient effort is made by the developer to preserve the best aspects of the surrounding landscape, and limited consideration is given to the economic or social impact of the new settlement on the area in which it is rising.

Monotony seems to pervade many new developments as a result of poor site planning and mediocre design, architecture, and landscaping. Many of the settlements tend to be deficient in open space and their outdoor recreation facilities are often poorly located and designed. Some are lacking such basic community facilities and services as an adequate water supply, central water distribution and sewage disposal systems, trash collection, sidewalks, fire and police protection and libraries.

Finally, the range of housing types in the developments is very narrow. Single family detached houses predominate and there is a very narrow spread in housing costs or rents. Middle-income housing is most common. Low-income housing is planned for a few new communities, but it is not yet built.

To realistically analyze projected costs and benefits of new community proposals, developers and planners must keep long-range objectives in mind. Well planned and located new communities can serve many objectives. The Task Force suggests that New Communities can:

- offer every individual or family selecting a place to live an alternative environment to existing cities, small towns and suburbs
- offer greater social and economic opportunities, especially in the areas of housing, employment and education, to all people
- increase the general supply of housing and jobs
- encourage balanced economic growth by bringing current opposing trends of population migration to the central cities and suburban expansion of employment centers into harmony
- reduce costs of social services in the central cities
- gain economies of scale and higher service standards in community health, education and social services through planned, programmed

development and new technologies that test new concepts and reflect emerging social policy

- design new communities to provide visual and psychological enjoyment of the urban environment, and to offer a broad range of choices in activities and surroundings, a diversity of forms, and an environment adaptable to social and economic change
- reduce transportation costs and commutation time by coordinating transportation and land use plans within new communities and between new communities and existing cities
- enlarge investment opportunities and encourage a strengthened homebuilding industry
- provide opportunities for innovation in technology, land use planning, and general community building
- encourage desirable urban growth patterns
- reduce costs of public facilities
- conserve more of the rapidly disappearing open land in existing urban areas

This list does not exhaust the possible objectives.

However, the list suggests the complexities as well as the opportunities involved in the creation of new communities.

Human settlements are accommodations made by and for complex man and imposed upon complex nature. They are the manifestation of many development processes. The new communities effort must recognize and accept as a prime concern the complicated and fluid relationships of man to man and man to nature and must create settlements that promote and accommodate change.

There is nothing inherent in the process of building new communities today that makes the location, design, construction, and gradual occupancy of a new community any less complex a process of action, reaction, and random events than the processes which operated in the creation of our established cities. A national new communities program as part of the national settlement policy would simply attempt to rationalize this development process in the belief that new communities carefully and imaginatively conceived, planned and built are one important way to guide the rampant urban growth that threatens this nation in the final third of the twentieth century.

3 Designing for Optimum Choice

How shall new communities be designed? What shall be the criteria and how will their high quality be assured? What can and should be controlled in the form and activity of new settlements in a democratic society? These are not easy questions, and any answers are only likely to raise other, more difficult questions as a consequence of seeking some honest directives. These questions cannot be put aside, however, for no matter what future social purpose or economic aims the nation may hope to satisfy with new communities, the first step in building new communities is to create spatial environments.

Man knows now that the physical environment influences him quite beyond the immediate aesthetic experience it provides, and he now suspects that the city is more artifact than organism, more within his power to control—or at least to predict—than a look at some of our current cities might indicate. He is also discovering that, while each city is unique and a cardinal principle of design is to capitalize on unique qualities to establish a sense of place, there are design considerations about which one can generalize.

Urban design in new communities will concern itself with the same attributes of cities that have been its province in existing urban communities. Urban design will deal with the form of new communities: the three-dimensional arrangement of structures and voids, and the activities distributed within these. What seems to distinguish the new community design problem is the scale at which designing can be done relatively free from constraints that have heretofore been accepted as part of the problem, those “existing conditions” planners are accustomed to working with. The range of alternative forms that can be considered will multiply significantly as a result.

A design policy for new communities will need two kinds of rules that will apply to the range of possible options. The first rule is that all options must satisfy a minimum number of crucial objectives which are integral to quality city form. Second, the arrangement of these objectives into a guiding policy, and the evaluation of possible options, must occur through maximum democratic participation in the processes involved.

Six Design Objectives

New communities in America are likely to have special needs and their physical environments, if thoughtfully conceived, can play an important role in the life of the new community. There are six key design objectives that seem to be more important

than others for new communities. And there are built-in conflicts in these design considerations that will hamper the formulation of design policy.

The most desirable design objectives or goals include:

- providing residents with a wide variety of choice in the locations, sizes and types of places to live
- minimizing the costs of building and maintaining new communities
- contributing to the economic growth and development of the community by attracting human and investment resources
- building diversity of activities and forms into the fabric of the community equal to those found in larger cities.
- creating and maintaining flexible forms which can be adapted at all times to changing social and economic development
- making expressive forms and assembling them into coherent patterns

Consider first the most serious obstacle to new communities—their financing. New urban development will be expensive. Despite maximum public assistance through credit-easing devices and outright commitments of money, there will still be pressures on planners to minimize the costs of building their proposals. And the potential citizens of new communities will rightfully demand that the new urban forms have the capability of being maintained and operated at minimum cost as well. One answer to this problem might be trends in new communities toward high density forms to minimize service costs. Or there may be tendencies to invest in the most efficient transportation systems in balance with numerical demand so that waste and underuse are kept as low as possible.

A second obligation that the physical forms of many new communities will have to meet is to aid economic growth and development. In a democratic society people are not assigned to places; they are encouraged to exercise their choice of living environment. It is the same with the distribution of private investment. Thus no one knows for certain how new communities will grow and change, how people will respond to new settlements. Physical environments must be created that can easily adapt to shifting economic requirements, technological innovations and human whims.

The choices people should have were previously mentioned as one design consideration. As a nation

America is tardy in recognizing how very important it is to an individual to be able to choose from among several alternatives where he lives, where he works, how he lives, and with whom and what he interacts. Only recently have outbursts of frustration impressed upon America's leaders the anomie that people can feel when free participation in society is hindered.

Clearly new communities have to find ways of releasing the individual from the inelasticity of his position in the culture, expanding his choices, and encouraging a yearning for identity and improvement. The physical form of a community can play a role here. The physical environment should persuade people that they can control their environment, that they need not feel passive in the face of the confusing urban milieu.

Another design objective involves building diversity into the community structure. New communities should provide a more than adequate environment by current standards by insuring that, for instance, activities that appear now only at the largest metropolitan scales are programmed into much smaller environments, too.

The objectives already named would seek to overcome present problems but at least one design goal must anticipate future demands or even try to mold new ones. The physical environment of a new community should be flexible to accommodate future development. The better life anticipated for the future complicates the job of designing the new community. How does one plan for people with more leisure time, more money, rising aspirations, and the anticipated polarization of goods and services around the demands of the elderly and the young, the two most rapidly growing segments of the population? Urban designers must be more aggressive in planning the future than they have been in planning the past.

Of course, even if urban form can serve all these functions equally well, it must do so with a minimum sacrifice in intrinsic integrity. The patterns of structures, voids, and activities that comprise form should exhibit some visual order at all scales. Forms must be coherent and expressive. In whatever way urban design assembles each of the parts of city form, those parts will require organization into a whole unit—they must be distinct yet easily related.

Conflicts in Goals

Turning to conflicts in goals, it is difficult to see how some of the physical consequences of minimizing first costs and housekeeping costs could simultaneously satisfy the goal of expanding economic growth and development. And the desire for flexibility of design could pull the form toward low density,

coarsely woven development and perhaps toward over-designed transportation systems which would raise costs.

Looking at the issue of freedom of choice, one must recognize that encouraging greater individual interaction with city life may require new community forms whose parts are mutually accessible and where ease of circulation becomes paramount. Yet this will cost more money as will diversity of forms.

Also individual choice must have limits so that some people do not gain their ends at the expense of others. Even if equal opportunity can be satisfactorily defined, the urban designer may find that an environment that provides an abundance of opportunities in order to enhance the sense of community may turn out to be too loosely structured to direct choice at the individual level.

The objective of flexibility raises many questions. Can we afford the cost of comfort? Will specialized uses and activities hurt flexibility? Will easy circulation be hindered by extensive patterns of open space, assuming leisure time will demand them? These and other conflicting design considerations should haunt the form-maker throughout his endeavors.

This chapter has expanded on the first rule for urban design of new communities—that all options must satisfy a minimum of crucial objectives. In addition, by illustrating some of the issues it has hopefully made clear the intention of the second rule, that the people involved should evaluate the options. Somehow each of these objectives must be satisfied in the design of new communities. They represent the minimum framework of constructive constraints in which these communities can develop. Through the democratic process the choice of the mix can be made, the issues resolved, and design policy formulated. No single individual or special group should make the choices and rank the goals.

It would be a moral error to promote minimum costs as a high priority design criterion in building new communities, for everything else depends on man's ability at almost any cost to make city form a more responsible agent in achieving the ends of urban culture. Let us look elsewhere for help in keeping expenses low. Technology may be the key source since technological improvements look promising. New forms of transportation and communication could be cheaper than existing forms, new sources of power may provide additional economies, new methods of construction may cost out well in large scale applications. Similarly there may be cheaper ways of managing and conserving new environments. Finding and using novel ways of mini-