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NEW TOWNS IN U. S. AND EUROPE

Fran P. Hosken

Mrs. Hosken, an architect as well as a writer, has done articles for a number of American magazines and newspapers. She is the author of The Language of Cities, published by The Macmillan Co.

Perhaps "New Towns" is not the right definition because many of the urban developments we are concerned with here are not self-sufficient. Some are planned to eventually be on their own in terms of giving employment to most of their inhabitants in their own industrial parks. But others will always largely remain bedroom towns providing housing and a pleasant family life, education and recreation in a well planned environment; while jobs, at least for the head of the household, are sought in the city. We are not really concerned with definitions but with broad solutions to the universal problem of housing for the growing urban millions.

This summer on a trip across Europe and especially through the cities of Northern Europe, Stockholm, Oslo, Copenhagen, Helsinki, Amsterdam, Glasgow, and London, to mention the high points, I tried to get a general, if by necessity somewhat superficial, impression of what has been built in the last 20 years or since the end of the war.

If one could summarize—something that is not really practical due to the great variety of countries and political systems involved, also war destruction versus plain obsolescence—this could be said: In city after city I was amazed and at times overwhelmed with the quantity and also quality of the new housing and new communities that have been built on their periphery.

In the US by comparison we not only have been standing still, but our whole approach—indeed the physical results show it pitifully—is an inadequate, half-hearted attempt at superficially pretending to pay lip service to as serious a domestic problem as any growing nation must face. Because in the last 20 years, while the US market economy has had its way in our cities, many European countries have seriously and at great sacrifice to themselves (the taxes are very high indeed) successfully tackled the housing, living, education, and health problems for the majority of their populations.

From Oslo this quotation from Mr. Eric Rolfsen, the chief city planner of Oslo (a city of 500,000 in a country of four million): "After the war—and there was considerable destruction as we resisted the Germans before we were overrun and occupied—we considered many important alternatives how to spend our limited resources. We finally decided that housing should be given the first priority because it was fundamental to the welfare of our own people."

But Norway is not alone in this philosophy. Certainly the development of all kinds of satellite towns and housing—or whatever you wish to call it—around Stockholm is well known. The delightful town and shopping centers such as Vallingby and Farsta by now are meaningful to most planners and architects. Here a quotation by Mr. Albert Aronson, the manager of the municipal housing company Svensky Bostader, which has planned and built and now administers the Vallingby Community Centre: "But when will Vallingby be quite finished? Never!—if the underlying idea proves right and if Vallingby comes up to our greatest expectations. No living town will ever be finished. The richer the life at Vallingby, the greater the need of never-ceasing development, enlargement and expansion."

The great variety of all different kinds and types of housing and the quantity of differently designed centers, the many kinds of schools and educational facilities, indeed the many new experiments in ways of living, is seldom discussed. Especially around Stockholm, I was impressed with their great richness and variety; indeed it seems that every taste could be satisfied here—and all at prices that
most people can afford, not just the upper half as in the US.

But of all the new developments I saw, those outside Helsinki are, especially from an architectural, quality, and visual point of view, better and more attractive than any others. Tapiola, only five miles outside Helsinki, was started in 1951 and has limited its population to about 17,000 people. By now much of the town is completed and functioning. While it was built by private initiative, and many people own their own homes (mainly row houses) or cooperative apartments, certainly Tapiola is hardly a speculative real estate development in the US sense. Built at very low density (26 people per acre), it is really a garden city in the best sense of the word in a natural setting of great beauty, with many lakes amidst slightly rolling hills, beautiful birches, and tall pine trees.

In mid-August, with the sun still high and the days very long in this northern land, the flowers everywhere seemed to glow with color; the landscaping and planting of Tapiola is one of its outstanding attractions. The whole plan as well as the individually designed areas and buildings seemed to act together to form a thoroughly and happy environment. And this at a price that the vast majority of young families can afford. Nowhere in the US have I seen — at any price — a more attractive community with such a variety of housing built to such high qualitative and design standards and offering to its inhabitants so much in terms of pleasant living (from all kinds of cultural and educational facilities, including a theater and concert hall to all kinds of sports facilities, indoor and outdoor recreation).

The equivalent to our public housing built as new residential communities outside Helsinki on city owned land is well designed and of excellent quality. Each community has its own shopping center and is planned complete with schools and transportation facilities into Helsinki. Pihlajamaki is one of these communities with not only a shopping center but also an industrial park.

In both Stockholm and Oslo new subway extensions have been built to connect the principal new housing areas with the central city. This new public transportation — which runs mainly above ground outside town — is clean, efficient and run by the government. It is intended and maintained as a service to the people, rather than trying to make a profit off their need.

In fact, the basic attitude towards housing in the Scandinavian countries vastly differs from ours.
in the US. To provide a decent place to live for every citizen is not an empty slogan (as that which introduces the US 1949 Housing Bill) but in fact a serious responsibility by the government.

Besides supporting housing in all different ways, from financing to actual building, the government is also responsible for free health care for all and free education and really adequate pensions for the elderly. For all this special taxes are paid, but it also works. There are no slums nor any dilapidated housing; I searched for them. Or what is called a slum compares favorable to much US middle class housing.

The one new town which is aiming to achieve an urban character as opposed to Tapiola's "garden city" approach is Cumbernauld in Scotland, some 15 miles from the city limits of Glasgow. Built to draw people out of the slums of Glasgow (large areas in the city have been torn down by now and are being rebuilt), it aims for a population of 70,000 and also includes a good sized industrial area. The town is built with complete separation of traffic between pedestrians and cars. Ring roads connect the different "neighborhoods". The new shopping and town center is built along a high ridge in the middle and really serves as center and visual focus for the whole
town. The building is serviced from below — the main road goes under the town center. Its imaginative design in concrete has many different levels and offers a variety of spaces connected by stairs and ramps and elevators for shops, restaurants, and business and professional offices, a library, the town hall, a technical college, clubs, etc. Many of the walking areas are covered, which in the Scottish climate, is a blessing. There also is convenience shopping in each neighborhood.

Gumbernauld exemplifies a new approach to town building in terms of denser and more compact urban living. Each neighborhood in Gumbernauld has its own character and specific design quality, and thus the town offers a variety of housing accommodations and different kinds of living. There are children's playgrounds for each group of houses and elementary schools serving each neighborhood. A large high school is at the edge of town, and other sites are reserved for secondary education as new areas get built. In fact, the schools provided by the county are usually built first. The shopping center by now is half built, and stores are rapidly moving into the completed spaces. The hotel was only opened this spring, and much remains to be done. The town center alone is expected to be doubled in size. Yet by now one can get a feeling of a new quality of life that has been planned and designed in these rather austere Scottish hills, mainly for families with young children. Somehow one cannot escape the notion that children brought up in this environment hopefully might turn out to be very different people with a positive and happy attitude towards life.

Of the new towns around London, I visited both Basildon and Stevenage, which have been discussed many times before. Both are designed for more than 70,000 people and are by now active thriving communities that have largely proven what they set out to do: to provide a sound, pleasant, and satisfying life and good housing, schools, and recreation for a majority of people of often very modest incomes, certainly very modest by our standards. But then they do not need to spend a quarter of this income on housing but much less, and health care for the whole family is entirely free and so are of course schools and much of the recreation. Both Basildon and Stevenage have large pedestrian shopping centers surrounded by county buildings. 
Cumbernauld Town Center — View of first Phase — October 1966, to the North from Carbrain Sina Road

Cumbernauld New Town, layout of Town Center showing all phases

Cumbernauld, Group of the First Apartment Houses

Cumbernauld New Town, Muirhead/Braehead Interchange. One of the twelve multi-level interchanges which will be provided to ensure a steady flow of traffic.
and business offices and recreation facilities. There are also local shopping facilities in each "village", including the obligatory English pub; these earlier towns are designed much more dispersed than Cumbernauld. One interesting feature is that many of the industrial plants, in order to attract female labor, have found it necessary to provide additional nurseries and day care centers for pre-school children. This especially in the new towns since the average age of the inhabitants is relatively young, and they are planned for families with children.

What then are the basic differences between these towns and their housing discussed and what is being built in the US?

First of all there is a difference in attitude. It is agreed in most of these northern industrial democracies that every citizen has the right to a living job and to decent housing, and right to free health care and free education, to social security and adequate support when old, as well as support between jobs. The basic difference between the US and these countries is that this is regarded as the right of each citizen — it would not occur to anyone to call this charity as it is often still done here. In fact, the people are supporting this legislation with their own money, and the taxes are very steep indeed. Nor is housing considered a consumer product on which to make a maximum profit — as in the US.

The actual building of the housing is organized in different ways, depending on the country, but everywhere there is a wide variety of choices, from single houses to large apartment blocks. There is private ownership, cooperatives, as well as
government financed rental housing where rents are adjusted to the income of the inhabitants. But everywhere the government takes part in the financing and sometimes also construction and upkeep.

The other basic difference, which indeed is crucial and which the US cities lack: Stockholm, as well as Oslo and Helsinki, own the land surrounding them. The land development legislation in Great Britain is well known. Without this control it would be impossible to build these new towns or indeed to plan any rational development for the benefit and use of the majority of the people (rather than in the US for the speculative gain of a few). There are no suburbs which follow their own destiny ignoring the city.

The new communities planned by the cities on their own land provide new and better living conditions and housing, while some of the worst old sections in the cities are being torn down and rebuilt. Schools, shopping centers, health facilities, recreation and industrial parks are planned as integral parts of the new towns. Traffic is organized for maximum safety for children, and frequently pedestrians move entirely separated from cars.

By contrast, the one thing that is entirely absent from all the developments I saw near the cities is the cheap and ugly commercial development that accompanies all roads out of town in the US, from used car lots to gas stations, doughnut and ice cream parlors, motels of every kind, cheap stores and eateries, all festooned with umpteen signs outing each other by attention seeking, blaring vulgarity. This simply is not tolerated by planners or by the public, a fact which is no loss to the enterprises involved because no one engages in this kind of showoff sport. All development is planned, and commercial development is designated to certain areas. In England, green belts surround all new towns near London, and there are definite planned city limits. The commercial real estate speculator is not permitted for his own profit to ruin the view for the motorist or spoil the attractive environment for the use of people.

By comparison with these people and government supported efforts, we have done painfully little in the US for the average US citizen and nothing at all for the bottom third of the country, some 40-50 million people, many more in fact than all the populations combined of all the Scandinavian countries. What we have built in terms of new communities is available only — due to cost — to the middle and mostly upper middle class.

The most attractive planned new development in the US that can be called a town is Reston in Virginia, some 30 miles outside of Washington and near the new Dulles Airport. The others that should be mentioned here are Columbia, Maryland (between Baltimore and Washington), and Irvine Ranch in Orange County, south of Los Angeles.

Reston’s town center is just 18 miles from the White House. On the edge of Lake Anne (which is used for swimming and boating) and punctuated by a high-rise apartment building, the town center is reserved for pedestrians. With shops, restaurants, and community facilities, it presents a gay and lively picture to the visitor. In terms of housing and recreation and just plain attractive living, Reston certainly is tops. But it is evident that at the prices this handsome, privately developed community must charge to those who want to live there, not even many employed in the shops of the town can afford to rent, let alone buy accommodations. Therefore in Reston — as obviously also with both the other communities mentioned, as well as all suburban developments everywhere in the US — price simply excludes more than half, if not two-thirds, of the population.

In Reston, which is well ahead in development of the other two
Aerial view of Reston, Virginia

Reston, Lake Anne and Town Center

Photo of Columbia model view west toward downtown, 1980
towns mentioned, the visual as well as human results in terms of better living are quite evident. But it would simply confuse the issue to assume that communities catering to this kind of market could make the slightest difference to the problems which plague our cities. True, Columbia has been planned with the greatest of care and forethought. In the words of its idealistic and enthusiastic developer, James W. Rouse, "to grow better people, more creative, more productive, more inspired, and more loving people". But these new towns cannot possibly under prevailing financing and building methods and without massive government support provide housing for the people who need it most (or more than one-third of the US population).

Irvine Ranch, in turn, is being built around a new campus of the University of California, which provides a real focus and town center, far more interesting, challenging, and dynamic than the customary central shopping and administrative facilities. Yet Irvine Ranch in every other way is being developed by individual real estate entrepreneurs who buy different tracts of land on which they build most any kind of housing they can sell.

But one thing has never been mentioned: Even the most idealistic developer cannot control the community he may most carefully plan and build after he has sold the housing and after the shopping centers become largely the property of business undertakings. At the moment of the sale he loses control, and the new owner takes over to do as he pleases, which may include changing the original plans. Houses and land costs can be increased, and uses altered. There is no assurance that even open space will remain open under heavy business pressure (despite zoning regulations), as has been shown unfortunately in the past. The reason is that we lack all legislation to date to protect the land. The notion still prevails that land and housing is a commodity to be bought and sold in the open market for private profit. Even city redevelopment agencies who are authorized to acquire land by eminent domain sell it back again at greatly reduced prices (the difference is paid by the government, ie, from taxes) to private real estate firms for development — to be sure with some stipulations for some years ahead. But to this critic this seems far too limited control. The US myth that cities cannot acquire and own land because this is contrary to the concepts of a free democratic society in the light of actual experience is patently absurd. However, as long as this myth prevails and in the absence of any real planning legislation, we cannot hope to make any progress towards better housing, better cities, and a more equitable way of life.

The housing and urban development here discussed, all in democratic countries, should serve as an example of what can be done even with limited resources given the right priorities. Under our present system of development, we have, mainly by neglect, created the urban problems which now are threatening the life of and in the cities. Our affluence means little if it cannot provide the basic necessities of life — food, clothing, and shelter for all our people. To this have been added in the European industrial democracies the right to a job and free medical care and education for all. Certainly the urban problems which beset our society today are past the stage of superficial remedies. To tackle those requires a fundamental change of attitudes and the will to really create in practice an environment for a way of life put down on paper by our forefathers as the ideal American way.

This quotation from the speech of the eminent economist and social scientist Gunnar Myrdal at the annual convention of Americans for Democratic Action in Washington, D. C., this past April:

"At this point it is my duty to put in a reminder that the American mansion is a heavily mortgaged piece of real estate. It has to invest trillions of dollars within the near future to rebuild completely its cities, and, equally important, to rehabilitate the human content of the slums. As we all must be aware, this is an urgent necessity. The situation is continually deteriorating. Not to embark upon these huge investments soon, entails dangers for the cohesion of the American society and the stability of democracy."

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CONTRIBUTORS TO THE NORTH CAROLINA ARCHITECTURAL FOUNDATION

1 December 1967-31 March 1969

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*Ballard, McKim & Sawyer, Architects
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Allen J. Bolick
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WORKSHOPS OFFERED
Architects in the southeast will hear how to plan and finance profitable building projects June 7 in Atlanta at the second of four Professional Development Programs offered this year by The AIA.

Carl J. Tschappat, chairman of Georgia State College's real estate and urban affairs department, will be the lecturer. The session will cover loan decisions and risks, the mortgage market, taxes, joint ventures, syndicates and other matters.

Purpose of the AIA workshops is to help upgrade practice, compete in the sky-rocketing construction industry, and improve design of buildings and use of land.

Registration and information may be obtained from Larry C. Dean, AIA, at Toombs, Amisano & Wells, 148 Cain Street, Atlanta, Ga. 30303.

WALTER C. BURGESS, AIA
Walter C. Burgess, 51, Raleigh architect and member of the North Carolina Chapter AIA, died on Wednesday, April 9. Services were held at Cokesbury Methodist Church, Raleigh, on April 10, with burial in Wendell, where he made his home. Mr. Burgess had been ill for sometime and had closed his Raleigh office last year. He is survived by his wife, a son and three daughters. The North Carolina Chapter AIA extends its deepest sympathy to his family.
N. C. ARCHITECT TO RECEIVE NATIONAL AIA AWARD

Aldo Cardelli, AIA, of New Bern, and four other Italian architects will be honored by the American Institute of Architects for their moving monument to a savage event — the World War II Fosse Ardeatine massacre.

As Italy welcomed the advancing Allied liberators in 1944, the Roman underground killed 33 marching Nazi Storm Troopers with a hurled bomb.

The German command, on March 22, herded 330 Romans — some of them boys and some innocent parties picked off the street — into an abandoned quarry and shot them. With dynamite, the Nazis sealed the tomb. But, a shepherd discovered the hiding place of the victims’ skeletons.

One of the first design competitions in post-war Italy was for a fitting memorial to the reprisal victims. In 1950, the unique mausoleum by architects Nello Aprile, Gino Calcaprina, Aldo Cardelli, AIA, Mario Fiorentino, and Giuseppe Perugini was completed. Sculptors were Francesco Coccia and Mirko Basaldella.

Located off the historic Via Ardeatine — in an area of ancient Roman burials — the memorial was designed to leave the scene of the murders intact.

A concrete slab which appears to float on air — but is supported by three columns — rides over the 330 tombs, covered with granite from the Dolomites. Outside the tomb, bronze gates, designed by M. Basaldella, have lines suggesting barbed wire and bones. “The combination of caves and the graves... gives an imaginative and dramatic composition,” said the AIA Institute Honors Committee, which recommended the Henry Bacon Medal for Memorial Architecture.

The medal will be presented at the AIA Convention in Chicago, June 23, as part of the Institute’s awards program.

Aprile, Fiorentino, and Perugini still practice in Rome. Sculptor Basaldella is now director of the design workshops of Harvard University’s Carpenter Center for the Visual Arts.

Cardelli, who was part of the Partisan underground movement that fought the Nazis, came to this country in 1947 and obtained his Master of Architecture degree from the University of Pennsylvania in 1948. He has been associated with Robert H. Stephens, AIA, in the practice of Architecture in New Bern since 1951. He stated that the architects realized only small financial gain out of the memorial design competition. “But we were happy when the project developed as we had conceived it, and that it has lasted as a worthy reminder.”

NCSU STUDENTS WIN CASH AWARDS

Five architectural students at N. C. State University, School of Design, have received cash awards in the Architectural Student Steel Design Competition.

Sponsors of the competition were the American Iron and Steel Institute and the American Institute of Steel Construction. Students were asked to design an earthquake relief housing system in steel.

R. Gene Ellis, regional engineer for the American Institute of Steel Construction, presented the cash awards to the students. The awards were, $150, first; $100, second; and $50, third. First prize was divided between Thomas D. Calloway, Jr., fourth year, and Thomas R. Brown, fifth year; second prize was divided between James M. Kunkle, fourth year, and Cloyd M. Austin, fifth year; third prize went to Walter T. Vick III, fourth year student.
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CALENDAR OF EVENTS

May 6: Durham Council of Architects, Durham Hotel, 12:30 P.M., Sam Hodges, AIA, President.

May 7: Charlotte Section, NCAIA, Charlotte downtown Mall Community Hall, 12:30 P.M., Sherman Pardue, AIA, President.

May 8: Raleigh Council of Architects, YMCA, 12:15 P.M., Horace Taylor, AIA, President.

May 19: Winston-Salem Council of Architects, Twin City Club, 12:15 P.M., Lloyd G. Walter, Jr., AIA, President.


July 10-12: North Carolina Chapter AIA, Summer Meeting, Blockade Runner Hotel, Wrightsville Beach.

Aug. 8: Eastern Section NCAIA Meeting, Wilmington.

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