Basic Issues of the Second Regional Plan

Regional Plan Association will soon publish a new set of policy recommendations for the New York Metropolitan Region. As they emerge from research, the Association is seeking comments from as broad a range of the public as possible—all who will make the effort to digest the facts and imagine the possibilities. This publication sets out the issues on which the Association would like thoughtful opinions. It includes many proposals which are not yet accepted Regional Plan Association policies.

The completed policies will make up the Second Regional Plan. The first *Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs* was published in 1929; its influence on the metropolitan highway network and on regional parks was significant. It also introduced some important design ideas, such as the superblock, adopted in Rockefeller Center, and subdivision and zoning concepts. That plan was pioneering; no one had ever conceived of a plan for a huge urban region before. Indeed, there was little local and no county planning at the time.

The influence of the Second Plan could be even greater than the effect of the 1929 Plan because now the idea of planning for metropolitan areas is widely accepted. It is now required by federal statute before a whole array of federal grants can be made. The articulate public is demanding more rational development patterns; many decision-makers recognize the regional aspects of their actions and that a regional plan is needed for guidance.

I. PROJECTIONS, PROBLEMS, PROPOSALS and THE ISSUES INTRODUCED

Current development forces

In research leading to the Second Plan, the Association identified and projected the following development forces with which the Region would have to deal:

—**The population** in the area under study for the plan (Map 1) is now 19 million people. It is expected to rise to 30 million by 2000.

Regional Plan Association projects a population increase of nearly 60 percent between 1965 and 2000 for the 31-county area (Map 1) surrounding the Port of New York.

—Population in the older cities is stable or dropping slightly. Their share of the total population in the Study Area is declining rapidly. But their share of the families with incomes below $5,000 a year is declining very little (Table 1); the poor remain primarily in the older cities while the middle- and upper-income population spreads outward.

The poor have remained in the older cities, for the most part . . .

. . . as the more affluent have moved to newer residential areas. Nearly 1½ million people moved from the old Core of the metropolitan area between 1950 and 1960 to newer areas of the Region.

Map 1

The Study Area for the Second Regional Plan—31 counties surrounding the Port of New York in Connecticut, New Jersey and New York. The population was 19 million in 1965; the area is 12,748 square miles.

Table 1.

PERCENTAGE OF THE REGION'S FAMILIES IN VARIOUS INCOME GROUPS, 1949 and 1959

County	1949 All Region's families	1949 Under $4,000 income	1949 $4,000-$10,000 income	1949 Over $10,000 income	1959 All Region's families	1959 Under $5,000 income	1959 $5,000-$15,000 income	1959 Over $15,000 income
Connecticut								
Fairfield	3.5%	3.5%	3.3%	4.3%	4.0%	3.2%	4.1%	6.3%
New Jersey								
Bergen	4.0	3.2	5.0	5.2	5.0	2.8	5.7	6.9
Essex	6.5	6.3	6.5	7.4	5.7	6.0	5.6	6.3
Newark	3.1	3.4	2.6	1.3	2.4	3.6	2.1	0.9
Hudson	4.7	5.2	4.5	2.3	3.9	4.3	4.0	1.7
Middlesex	1.9	1.9	2.0	1.1	2.6	1.8	3.1	1.4
Monmouth	1.5	1.7	1.3	1.2	2.0	2.2	1.9	1.5
Morris	1.1	1.0	1.1	1.1	1.6	1.0	1.8	2.1
Passaic	2.5	2.6	2.7	1.4	2.6	2.6	2.7	1.5
Somerset	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.3	0.9	0.6	1.0	0.8
Union	2.9	2.3	3.6	3.4	3.2	2.1	3.6	4.2
New York								
Dutchess	0.8	0.9	0.8	0.4	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.6
Nassau	4.8	3.4	5.9	9.4	7.7	3.7	8.7	14.8
Orange	1.0	1.2	0.8	0.5	1.1	1.5	1.0	0.5
Putnam	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2
Rockland	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.7	0.5	0.8	0.7
Suffolk	1.7	1.9	1.5	1.3	3.7	3.3	4.1	2.7
Westchester	4.4	3.4	4.5	10.6	5.0	3.5	4.9	11.1
New York City	57.4	60.2	55.1	49.6	49.1	59.7	45.8	36.7
Bronx	10.8	11.2	11.2	6.2	9.2	12.0	8.6	4.4
Brooklyn	20.1	22.1	19.0	12.9	16.8	21.9	15.5	8.3
Manhattan	13.5	15.7	9.3	17.9	9.8	15.4	6.8	12.2
Queens	11.7	10.0	14.2	11.8	12.0	9.3	13.4	11.0
Richmond	1.3	1.2	1.4	0.8	1.3	1.1	1.5	0.8
Total—22 Counties*	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**

Source: U.S. Census, computed by Regional Plan Association

*Note that this table applies to only 22 of the Second Regional Plan's 31 counties.

—**The pattern of development** on the outer edges of the urbanized area is new. Regional Plan has labelled it spread city. Seen from an airplane, the pattern appears homogenized. There are few large clusters of facilities, few high points, only a fairly even scatter of houses, factories, shopping centers and commercial buildings along the highways. The pattern also is far more spread than any urban area before. Subdivisions of one-family houses in the early 1960's had an average lot size larger than half-an-acre, compared to the typical suburban subdivision fifteen years earlier, such as Levittown, which had lots of about one-seventh acre.

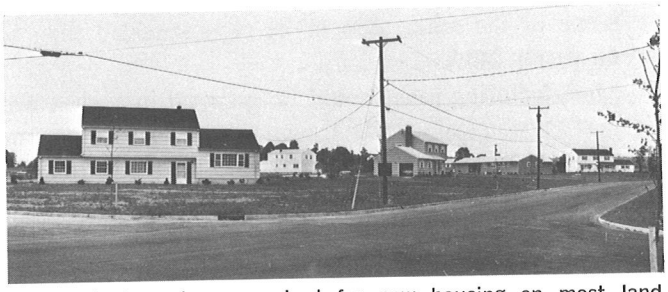
—The large lots for houses have been required by municipal zoning ordinances. A major cause has been school costs. Since most families moving into a new one-family house have school-age children who cost the school district more to educate than is paid in real estate taxes on all but the most expensive houses, municipalities have used their zoning power to try to reduce the total number of houses that can be built in their district(s). A major result of large-lot zoning has been much higher house costs because mass-production building methods cannot be used as readily as when the houses are closer together, and site preparation costs are higher.

—**The Region's economy** is changing radically. Manufacturing production jobs are slowly decreasing in number as productivity rises. Office jobs, on the other hand, are rising rapidly. In 1965, jobs in office buildings totalled 1.6 million. In 2000, they are likely to almost double to 3.0 million. While factories are moving out of the older cities of the Region, many new office jobs are locating in the old centers, particularly Manhattan.

—**Public park acquisition** just kept up with population growth in the Region between 1940 and 1959, but there were not enough park additions to compensate for overcrowding of the past and the swift growth of leisure and income which increased the demand for outdoor recreation faster than population increased. Furthermore, little of the added park area was in the older cities, where a severe shortage existed. Since 1959, however, public demand has resulted in a rush of park purchases which raised holdings by 26 percent while population rose only 7 percent. Nevertheless, total public park area in the Region in 1965 was 35 percent below the recommendation for that year in the Regional Plan of 1929.

—**The quality of the Region's public places**—the air, bodies of water, the design of commercial areas, the general appearance of the Region, has scarcely improved in recent years, though per capita real income has been rising about 25 percent a decade, and the great majority of the Region's population has been "trading up" in most aspects of their lives.

Homogenized urbanization typical of today's development: A scatter of one-family housing, garden apartments, factories and shopping, with little clustering of facilities and with few high buildings. This is near Hightstown, New Jersey.



Large lots have been required for new housing on most land surrounding present urbanization—two-thirds of the vacant land is zoned for one-family houses on half-acre or larger. These are houses on one-acre lots in Holmdel, New Jersey.

National Park Service

Park acquisition in the Region surged after 1960. This is Sandy Hook, obtained by New Jersey from the federal government in 1963.

But the quality of our environment as a whole has not improved along with rising real incomes. Appearance of public places, air purity, enjoyment of places of special beauty—like the Hudson River, above—all have been neglected.

The Second Regional Plan: a preliminary outline

As an alternative to the spread Region that present development forces probably would bring, the following recommendations have been prepared for consideration in the Second Regional Plan.

—Office jobs, hospitals, some universities, major retailing, cultural facilities, apartments and related services should be clustered in large planned centers serving between half-million and 2 million persons—both renewed and enlarged older city downtowns, such as Newark, Brooklyn and Jamaica (Queens), and smaller downtowns in the outer areas, including White Plains, New Brunswick, central Nassau County, Stamford, Bridgeport, New Haven, Trenton and Poughkeepsie. Some of the other sites to be recommended may be on vacant land.

—Manufacturing jobs should be grouped in such a way that economical public transportation can bring employees to them, particularly from the low-income residential areas of the Region, and factory workers should be able to find housing in outlying areas, where many factories are locating.

—Fast, frequent, comfortable public transportation service should be available wherever feasible.

—Public services in the older cities of the Region should be drastically improved. To do this, the federal government should take over the costs of all poverty-linked services, such as welfare, health and compensatory education, and sharply increase expenditures aimed at breaking the cycle of poverty plaguing many families.

—Financial pressures that have been fostering large-lot zoning by municipalities should be eliminated, and municipalities should be given incentives to rezone so that suitable areas can be provided for well-designed development houses on small lots, including attached houses, to complement more spread out neighborhoods.

—The quality of the environment should be greatly improved, including abatement of air and water pollution; much better design of buildings, residential neighborhoods, commercial areas and highways; and better maintenance of public places.

—A green framework should be set aside for the Eastern Seaboard, including a 10,000-square-mile Appalachian park system, addition of about 160 miles of oceanfront open to the general public, and parks in many places along the major river valleys—the Potomac, Susquehanna, Delaware, Hudson, Housatonic and Connecticut—and along the bays—Chesapeake, Delaware, Great South, Gardiners, Narragansett, Buzzards, Cape Cod and Long Island Sound. (Map 2.)

The plan also will include detailed recommendations on highways, rail service and possible new modes of transportation.

These proposals seem simple enough, but the issues imbedded in them are not.

Summary of the issues

There are seven basic issues, each bristling with component issues which also must be decided:

1. Where should priority be given to improving conditions for the poor and minority groups in regional development decisions? We assume it is an accepted value that everyone should have the widest freedom of choice of types and location of housing and job opportunities, without artificial obstacles such as race discrimination. But should development policies deliberately seek to integrate rich and poor, Negro and white? And, if so, to what degree? Should older cities provide vastly improved public services in order to help those living there reach personal goals and improve their living conditions and to keep more middle- and upper-income residents in the cities? Should job locations and transportation to jobs be organized with the needs of the unskilled particularly in mind? What priority should improvement of housing for the poor have in regional planning?

2. Should the current homogenized pattern of urbanization be continued or should it be modified to provide large and more varied clusters of activity? The fairly even spread of all the things of the city through the countryside provides a more open feeling than the tighter city pattern. It offers a generally green appearance over-all and relatively convenient access to everything by automobile. If carried out systematically rather than by happenstance, as now, it is conceivable that an efficient clog-free traffic pattern could be established. But it does not provide as wide a choice of jobs or urban amenities or close-by nature as other patterns would—and these could be available without destroying the green appearance or most of the auto accessibility.

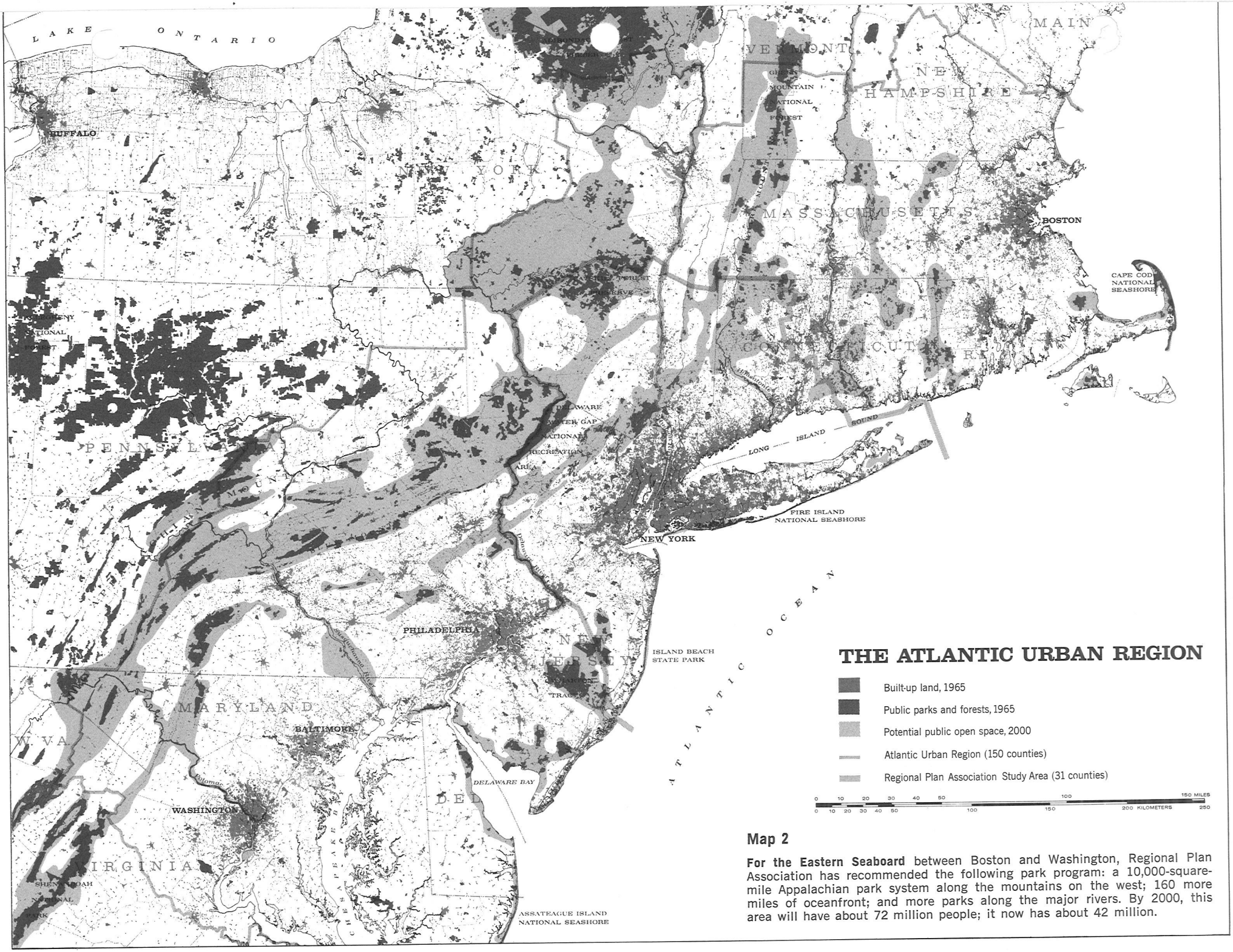
3. How compact a settlement will people accept? Here, we are concerned about the conflict between many people's private taste for more space, particularly in and around their homes, and the consequences of using more and more space for urbanization: a possible threat to the earth's natural processes and to wildlife, an inevitable encroachment on places of special natural beauty, and increasing dependence on the automobile.

4. Should public policies discourage further population growth in the Region? This issue goes beyond the one above—minimization of urbanized land—and raises such arguments as these:

In favor of restricting the Region's population growth, people argue that

—urbanization becomes socially and politically overwhelming when it stretches in a continuous broad belt for hundreds of miles.

—there will be too little easily accessible, uncrowded outdoor recreation space available if the Eastern Seaboard continues to grow rapidly in population.



Map 2

For the Eastern Seaboard between Boston and Washington, Regional Plan Association has recommended the following park program: a 10,000-square-mile Appalachian park system along the mountains on the west; 160 more miles of oceanfront; and more parks along the major rivers. By 2000, this area will have about 72 million people; it now has about 42 million.

On the other hand,

—there are very real benefits which attract people to metropolitan areas.

—efforts to limit metropolitan growth around the world have met with very little success.

5. What process should be used to decide how much open space should be set aside and where?

6. How much in money and space should be invested in highways? Do we want highway engineers to devise the most efficient possible highway network that would satisfy the public's urge for high-speed automobile travel at a dollar price each motorist seems willing to pay, or should the effects of highway construction on other preferences and land development patterns be weighed also?

7. How much effort and investment should be put into improving the quality of the environment, such as air and water purity and the design and maintenance of public places, and what qualities should have priority?

II. THE BASIC ISSUES DISCUSSED

1. The plan and the poor

Urban planning often is considered a preoccupation of the middle-class. In fact, its effect on the poor could be greater than on others. They cannot as easily escape the consequences of an inefficient or depressing environment, and they are frequently more dependent on community institutions to make their way.

The availability of jobs is one consideration. Manufacturing production jobs, which include the largest number of unskilled jobs in any industry category, have been decreasing in the Region even as the labor force rises.

Between 1954 and 1963, manufacturing production jobs in the Second Regional Plan Study Area declined by 13,000, or 1.5 percent. The Region's economy is booming, nevertheless, mainly with office jobs. But this doesn't really help the unskilled because even relatively unskilled clerical tasks in an office usually require a considerable command of English as well as simple arithmetic. So job opportunities for totally unskilled persons of the kind that allowed immigrants of earlier periods to get a start here are not as readily available for the Region's unskilled today.

Looking at the economy of the Region as a whole over the long run, it is office employment that should be fostered, but for the short run, manufacturing production jobs should be courted for the unskilled.

In addition, productive jobs that unskilled persons can do should be sponsored by the federal government. One need only look around to see hundreds of projects that would make life pleasanter, which could be manned by people without much training or education. All that is needed is the financing.

The problem of finding unskilled jobs is exacerbated by recent factory locations. Despite the decline in production workers, there is a good deal of new factory construction going on, replacing obsolete plants and expanding space per worker. Nearly all of the recent factory construction has been outside of the older cities, while most of the unskilled workers still live in the cities. The number of production workers in the Core of the Region (New York City except Staten Island; Hudson County and Newark, New Jersey—see Map 1) dropped about 15 percent in the 1954-63 period compared to the 1.5 percent decline in the whole Study Area. Furthermore, few of these new suburban factories can be reached by bus or train, and about half of the families of New York City—and most low-income families elsewhere—don't have cars.

So, in addition to making the Region generally attractive to manufacturing, unskilled jobs and unskilled workers must be kept closer together within the Region despite the economic forces pushing the factory jobs outward and the social and economic forces keeping unskilled workers close to the center of the Region.

There are three ways to do this:

1. Make the Region's Core more efficient for factory locations by providing suitable sites and improved truck access. One of the best potential sites for modern factories in the Core is the Hackensack Meadows right across the Hudson River from New York City. About 100,000-200,000 factory-warehouse jobs could be located there and still leave open space for conservation and recreation and room for other types of facilities. A good example of needed truck access is in lower Manhattan, where the proposed Expressway would quadruple speeds over the busiest truck route in the world. Regional Plan has supported construction of the Expressway (below ground level) to keep factory jobs in Manhattan and Brooklyn, despite the relocation it would necessitate. Without it, dislocation, caused by the movement of unskilled jobs out of the Core, almost surely would be even more serious.

2. Locate factories that do move out of the cities so they can be served by public transportation, and adjust fares so unskilled workers can afford to commute long distances. In few places outside the older cities in the Region are factories clustering sufficiently to make bus or train service feasible.

3. Provide housing that factory workers can afford in the outer areas near the new factories. Many blue-collar workers moved to the suburbs shortly after World War II. Housing costs were within their budgets, and FHA and GI mortgages kept downpayments low. More recently, large-lot zoning policies and other economic forces have pushed the price of new housing in these areas beyond the budget of the typical factory worker, and there is little

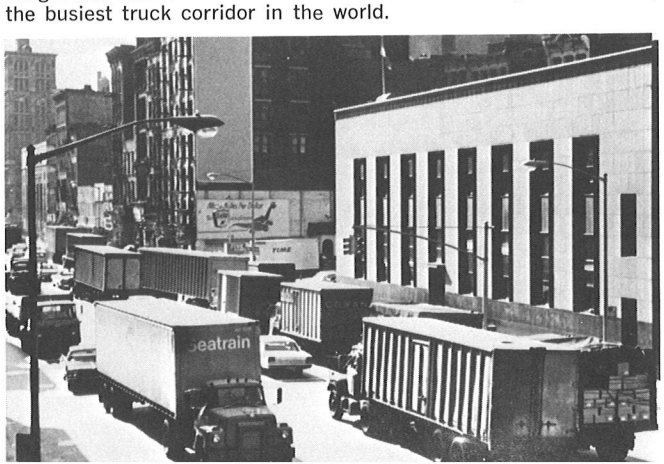
Most Ford Motor Company workers in Mahwah, New Jersey, like many other employees of factories in outlying parts of the Region, have to car-pool to work long distances from the older cities where they live. They seldom can find housing near outlying factories.

Scattered factories—like those shown here in the Hightstown area—cannot be reached by bus or train, and many unskilled workers do not own cars.

Fairchild Aerial Surveys, Inc.

The Hackensack Meadows, within sight of Manhattan, offers an opportunity to locate 100,000-200,000 more factory and warehouse jobs close to the center of the Region, readily accessible by public transportation to workers living in the older cities.

Better truck movement elsewhere in the Core also would help to keep factory and warehouse jobs accessible to unskilled workers. The proposed Lower Manhattan Expressway would relieve the congestion shown here on Canal Street and on adjacent streets, the busiest truck corridor in the world.



older housing near outlying factories that could pass down to families of lower-middle incomes, i.e., $5-9,000 a year.

Since localities get tax benefits from factories, is it reasonable to argue that those that accept them should be required to zone for housing that factory employees can afford?

(Housing policies are discussed more broadly below.)

Education and information for better jobs. But the Region cannot rely on a continuing supply of unskilled jobs, nor do many of those presently unskilled want to remain so or want their children to grow up unskilled. Furthermore, in-migration of poorly-educated adults may continue for many years. (While Puerto Rican in-migration has dropped nearly to zero, Negro in-migration has increased in the 1960's over the 1950's, according to the New York City Health Department.) So attention must be devoted to preparing people of all backgrounds for more skilled jobs.

Because the preparation needed for most jobs will be broader than on-the-job training, separate educational institutions rather than intramural training programs probably will be most appropriate. To encourage participation in continuing education and make it most convenient, both for the students and for professionals who might be needed to teach, continuing education for employees should be close to jobs. The assumption is that a worker is more likely to attend a course if it is close to his work and can be attended as an extension of working time or on company time than if it is separate from the job area.

For the children of the unskilled, higher education should be both convenient to jobs and to their homes so the student with little money can live at home and support himself.

Of course, cheap and fast public transportation to jobs and higher education also is important.

Information about job opportunities is a final need. Many people learn about openings via the grapevine, but when jobs are scattered throughout the metropolitan area, residents of low-income communities in the older cities don't always hear of them or know where to go to look. Since the Region is divided into three states and many localities, government employment bureaus don't provide a comprehensive job catalogue.

In sum, a long-range plan which would serve the poor and unskilled in relation to jobs would call for grouping of jobs in large enough clusters to be served by public transportation, with the jobs that require more than minor technical skills (e.g., office work, retailing and health services) located close to institutions of continuing education—in other words, the planned centers proposed for the Second Regional Plan.

Immediately, improved truck access to city factories and some investment in modern factories and factory sites in the cities should be provided as a stopgap, and

the Hackensack Meadows should be developed in part for manufacturing as a long-term efficient location. Public transportation should be geared to the jobs, and fares should be adjusted to the wages of unskilled workers.

The argument that municipalities accepting factories should also accept housing suited to factory workers seems reasonable. But it is only one element in the housing question.

Housing. There is virtual unanimity that slum housing is bad, but there is little agreement on priorities in attacking it. Remedies for the series of ills of the slums are conflicting; they cannot all be achieved at once. The main complaints are that

—housing is overcrowded.

—housing is unsanitary, unsafe, unattractive, and uncomfortable (particularly, stifling in summer and often cold in winter).

—housing is segregated—minority groups are kept apart from the rest of society.

—neighborhoods are overcrowded, with too little play space, light and air.

To remedy overcrowding in buildings and overcrowding of buildings and to integrate the area at the same time, a large number of people would have to move out or much higher densities would have to be achieved, in most areas with high-rise apartments. But forced relocation is a major complaint of the poor, and raising children in high-rise apartments—especially children just brought from rural areas to a city—is felt by many observers to be dehumanizing.

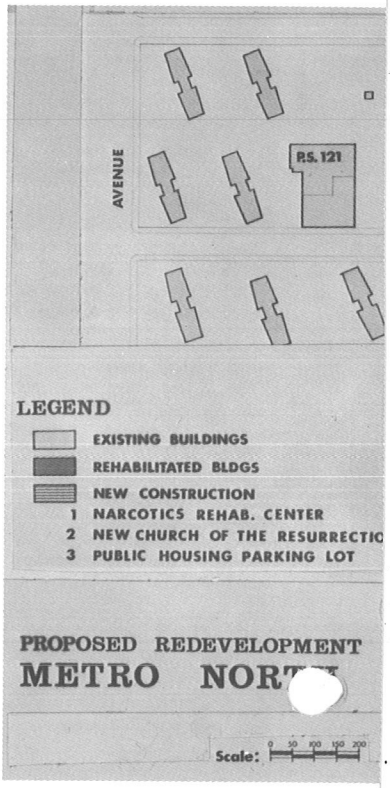
There is no miracle allowing city policy-makers to slip through the horns of this dilemma. One horn or another must be grasped, painfully. Nor does there seem to be unanimity among slum-dwellers as to which evil deserves to be exorcised first.

City government's first response to slums was total clearance and replacement by high-rise apartments, clean and utilitarian but not very attractive.

The main complaint, however, has been the dislocation of those who had lived on the site before. Even if they were allowed to return to the new housing—and a large number were ineligible for what was built there—buildings usually were not open for occupancy in less than two years after families were moved from the site. And many of those families who wanted to return objected to living more than a few floors up.

In the face of these complaints, urban renewal planners are beginning to involve the families living on the site, and efforts are being made to rehabilitate rather than tear down and to keep the fabric of the neighborhood. This has slowed the process, and still many families must be relocated just to achieve added light and air and eliminate overcrowding, with little progress toward racial and ethnic integration.

Suburbanization of poor families who prefer it has not been tried in this country (though it is usual in England). Garden apartments and attached houses are among the cheapest kinds of housing per square foot that we know how to build, yet we are effectively depriving the Region's lower-middle-income families with children of this option or of the somewhat more expensive one-family development house on a small lot, which is in the budget range paying extra money to build high-rise public housing



For many years, blighted neighborhoods were totally cleared and new housing built on the vacant site—for example, the Douglass Houses on the Upper West Side of Manhattan (left). Complaints about the extent of forced relocation and the destruction of community relationships led to urban renewal without total clearance and with community participation in the planning. This still leaves problems of relocation if overcrowding and racial segregation are to be relieved, but it leaves the community fabric and provides visual variety. Right, a draft of **a new renewal plan** for a neighborhood in East Harlem.

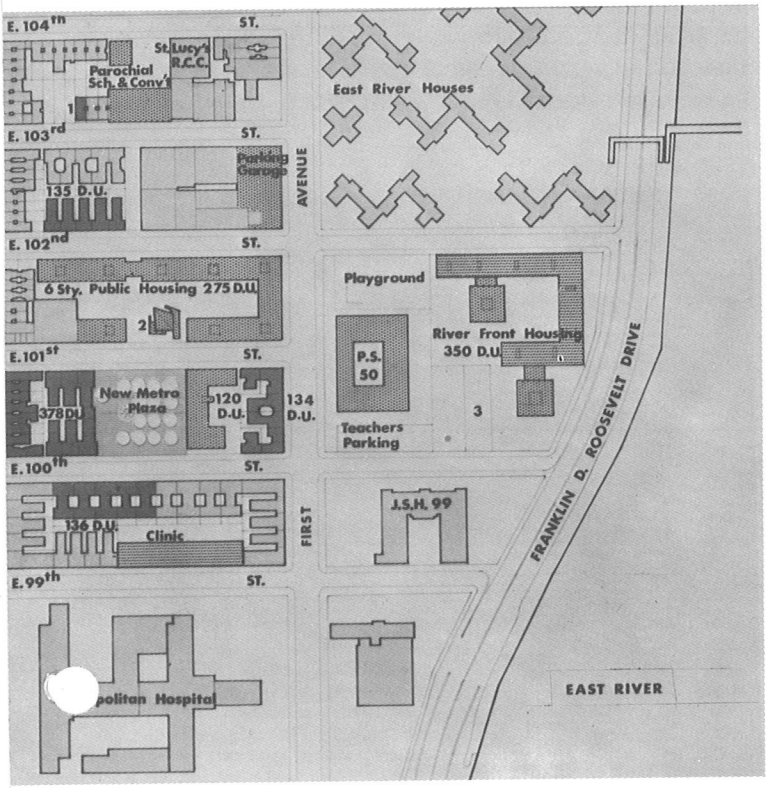
of many of these families. Furthermore, the public is on very expensive land when lower buildings on cheaper land would cost less. In addition, these types of housing are the fastest to build and use a higher component of low-skill labor than higher apartments. Assuming the houses are sold without any racial discrimination, this probably is the speediest method of relieving pressure on ghetto housing and employing unskilled workers. Possibly it would even leave enough room in low-income city neighborhoods so that with improved conditions, families of higher income and non-minority groups might eventually move into neighborhoods now predominantly Negro or Puerto Rican.

Right now, about 2 million persons are living in municipalities which control the zoning and building codes determining where some 13 million probably will live by the year 2000. The 2 million have quite different interests from the added 11 million. Their main concern is today's school taxes, judging from newspaper reports of zoning debates, so they would like to exclude all but the most expensive houses, pushing up required lot sizes to do this. In 1960, two-thirds of the vacant land in a broad band surrounding present urbanization was zoned for one-family houses on half-acre lots or larger. Nearly half of the land was zoned for one-acre lots. There is virtually no land available for low-cost housing for families with children within a reasonable range of a large number and variety of jobs in this Region.

Opening outlying areas to housing for Negro and Puerto Rican families with incomes of about $5,000-$9,000 a year would be necessary just to keep Negro and Puerto Rican neighborhoods from growing. The Negro-Puerto Rican population in the 31-county Study Area for the Second Regional Plan will more than double by 2000 and will rise from 14 percent of the total in 1965 to 20 percent in 2000, according to Regional Plan projections. About 70 percent of the rise would be from natural increase, 30 percent from in-migration. Without planned provision for housing for minority groups, present ghettoes will continue to spill over rapidly.

On the whole, Regional Plan considers the residential pattern to be a county and municipal planning concern, not a regional issue. But the housing market is regional and is distorted by zoning based on local financial needs. A relative handful is imposing rules born of their immediate self-interest that are not necessarily in the long-run best interests of the whole Region. Therefore, the over-all housing pattern and the rules that foster that pattern have become regional issues.

Conceivably, a de-emphasis of the local real estate tax as the main support for public schools would weaken the almost universal suburban front against small-lot and attached housing. Tax de-emphasis could be accomplished by increasing state aid to public schools until it reached a point at which the local tax burden per school child was sufficiently small to be ignored in decisions on local land use. (Presently, New York provides about 50 percent of total public school costs, Connecticut about 40 percent, New Jersey about 30 percent.) The formula could allow a locality a tax bonus on each house, if that were needed to persuade municipalities to zone for houses on small lots. An alternative method would be a county or state real estate tax assessment, distributed



Conklin & Rossant

School costs soar as an area suburbanizes, and each new household pays less in real estate taxes than is required to educate the children of the household. The response of suburban municipalities has been to raise the lot size required for each house and so limit the number of houses that can be built in their school district. This also increases the cost of the houses and, therefore, the taxes paid on them. At the same time, it keeps out the lower-middle-income families who were able to afford suburban housing right after World War II. Relieving localities of real estate tax pressures would be a step toward more varied housing types and income levels in the suburbs.

on a per capita basis to the school districts. Undoubtedly, other methods could accomplish the same purpose.

A possibility remains that no municipality would want lower-cost houses or the lower-middle-income families who would live in them, even if each house brought a tax profit—especially if many occupants were Negro or Puerto Rican.

Municipal reaction probably will depend on the relative strength of two political coalitions: on the one hand, those who are vigorously opposed to lower-cost housing, to lower-middle-income families, and to minority groups in their area; on the other, landowners, shopkeepers, newspaper publishers and others who stand to gain from an influx of population, plus civic leaders who believe in the fairness of such a policy, and people who prefer living in a community with a variety of residents. When the real estate tax burden is lifted from local planning and zoning policies, it will be time enough to evaluate the need for further adjustments in regional land-use policy, e.g., county zoning powers or a limited veto over municipal actions. They may not be necessary.

As to public housing, the difficulty of finding suitable locations is intensified by the requirement that low-income families be rehoused in the municipality where they are living. This leaves the larger cities with the greatest burden of public housing, and it complicates renewal of blighted areas in suburban counties because frequently these areas are in municipalities which are almost completely built-up so there is no suitable room for urban renewal relocation.

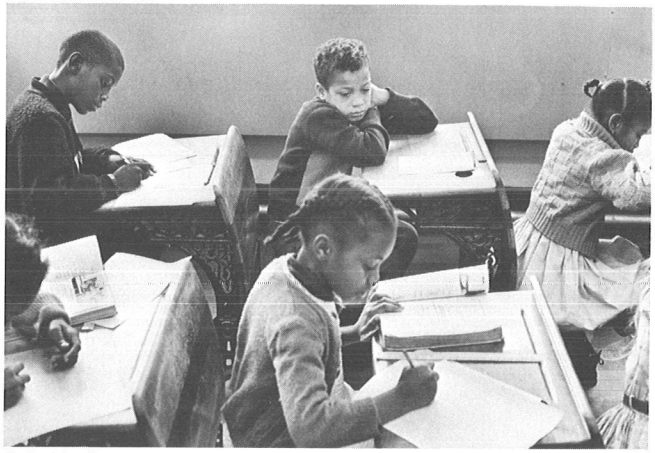
The solution outside the Core might be to rely on the county for public housing and urban renewal relocation. In the Core, state programs would be needed to allow relocation of low-income families outside the municipality in which the low-income families were living. In many instances, it is a state action that forces low-income families to relocate—particularly new highways; it would seem fair to expect the state to take full responsibility for satisfactorily relocating the families anywhere in the state that fits the families' needs.

Recent experience leads one to expect resistance to public housing in almost any community. It is the American way to fight within existing political rules for one's own self-interest even knowing it to be selfish—and most people see their own interests threatened by an influx of low-income families into their community. However, it is also the American way for reformers to gradually change the rules until a rough justice is accorded, and for the majority to accept the new rules without much protest. (The New York City commuter tax is an example. One could hardly expect suburban legislators to vote for it, but there has been little fuss since it passed.) Therefore, it is not unreasonable to expect massive community opposition to specific low-income housing projects but as much support as opposition to an over-all policy which fairly allocates low-income housing among a number of communities.

Integrating daily activities. There is a growing debate among persons who seem equally concerned about helping Negroes and Puerto Ricans to greater mobility and opportunity:

Should priority be given to achieving integration of all facilities, so that the same jobs, education, services, goods and recreation are readily available to minority groups as to the majority? Or should reform efforts concentrate first on increasing the number of jobs right in the areas in which minority groups live, on improving education in schools in those neighborhoods, on providing more services and better shops with fairer prices and

Low-income families requiring public housing are excluded from municipalities where they are not already living because public housing, like that above in New Rochelle, New York, is a municipal responsibility. This not only keeps the burden of poverty in a few cities and suburbs, but it also limits renewal of blighted areas in many small municipalities like New Rochelle because they have little land available for relocation. County or state public housing and urban renewal relocation programs might relieve this situation.



Robert Adelman, Center for Urban Education

Schools in Newark and New York City are rapidly losing white pupils while gaining Negro and Puerto Rican pupils, eliminating the possibility of school integration in many areas. In both cities, more than half the public school enrollees are Negro or Puerto Rican. Some recent studies seem to indicate that integration may be the most important element in improving learning speed of minority group children.

a better environment right there, and let integration come gradually after better jobs and education have filled in much of the gulf separating minority from majority?

At the moment, there is no solid evidence—and there is strong disagreement among experts—on whether racial integration is essential in public schools to raise the achievement of Negro children. If a decisive correlation between integration and achievement were demonstrated, certainly more intensive efforts should be made to achieve integration wherever possible.

Racial and income-level integration in other activities, such as shopping, seems likely to benefit low-income families also. For example, the poor are not as likely to have to pay more for what they buy in an integrated shopping area. Here, Negroes and whites shop at Abraham & Straus in downtown Brooklyn.

As to other activities, the large-scale planned centers proposed for the Second Regional Plan offer a chance to do both—improve facilities in or adjacent to the slums and speed integrated use of them. This is feasible because several old downtowns gradually have been surrounded by slum housing, and in large part, minority groups have occupied that housing. Enlarging and modernizing the older downtowns would attract people from outside the ghettoes to them—promoting integration—while improving what is offered to those living in the ghettoes.

Downtown Brooklyn, Jamaica (Queens) and Newark are good candidates for an enlargement of offices, health services, university campuses and major retailing. In all three cases, it would improve these services for Negroes and Puerto Ricans living nearby as well as bring increased white non-Puerto Ricans into the area and so stimulate normal integration of activities. (Harlem is not included because the Manhattan central business district has traditionally been its "downtown," but some subcenter office jobs and related activities probably could succeed there.)

Of course there are difficulties.

Some observers doubt that business people will locate offices in places like these, even if there is a tremendous

Downtown Brooklyn seems like a good location for added office jobs projected for the Region and for other large-scale activities like health services, higher education, the arts.

Frederick A. Schroeder

Jamaica, in Queens, also would be a good location for added "downtown" activities. By keeping busy centers close to neighborhoods where minority groups live, integration is maintained in daily activities, and more job opportunities and better shopping and other facilities are likely to be convenient to minority groups.

Newark is the third location in the Region's Core that seems suited for increased office employment and other "downtown" activities.

surge of office jobs in search of sites, as Regional Plan has projected.

Second, in old central places, it is impossible to move fast because there is a great deal already on the ground. Indeed, Newark's effort to compete for the new State medical school by trying to hastily assemble a site big enough for a large campus to match a site available in a suburb was one of the grievances aired at the time of the riot.

A third problem is that many of the activities intended for these centers are activities of middle- and upper-income people more frequently than of lower-income groups, yet these sites are all but surrounded by low-income groups.

Fourth, many from the minority groups object to such plans because they seem to mean more relocation for Negroes and Puerto Ricans and public funds spent on downtown facilities rather than on housing.

However, a preliminary look suggests that relocation may not be a serious problem in any of these cities if plans are carefully made, and that the transportation advantage of these places would allow them to draw on large suburban labor pools as well as city residents. Nor is central business district renewal antithetical to housing renewal, since the enlarged centers do not drain local financial strength; they add immeasurably to it and so to the cities' ability to deal with other problems.

Improving public services in older cities. Municipalities have extra costs resulting from concentrations of poor people. These include municipal contributions to welfare and health services and the extra costs of educating those whose family background does not provide stimulation to academic achievement or supplementation of school work. Education is made even more difficult (and so more costly) when children are members of minority groups mistrustful of the school system and of teachers and administrators who are members of the "majority."

Because the poor and minority groups are concentrated primarily in a small number of older cities of the Region (see Table 2), the fiscal burden of poverty strains these cities. For example, New York City spends over $185 per capita on poverty-linked services—such as welfare, health, educational programs compensating for poverty disabilities, antipoverty programs, and housing—compared to about $65 per capita for the Study Area as a whole. As a result, other public services are not as good as they should be—parks and recreation, education for other-than-poor children, police protection, air pollution control, etc. This, added to the real and imagined negatives of living close to the poor and minority groups, has helped to push those who can manage to leave the older cities to do so. At the same time, more poverty-stricken Negroes and Puerto Ricans come into the Region (see Chart 1) and find housing mainly in the older cities. And so the geographical gulf between the middle-class and the poor widens, and the feeling of the poor that they are shunned probably increases.

Many people move out of the older cities for other reasons, of course, but the inadequacy of city finances to provide high quality public services in the face of the special needs of the poor certainly contributes.

Furthermore, the chance for the unskilled to get good jobs and for their children to break out of the poverty cycle will depend upon a great deal more investment in education, health and welfare than is now being spent or than the cities could possibly afford.

The disabilities of poverty are national problems that take place in cities because the cities offer the most hope in a not very hopeful situation. Frequently, for example, it is Mississippi, Alabama or South Carolina that did not educate or maintain the physical and emotional health of the family now living in New York.

A recommendation being considered by Regional Plan (based on a study carried out for the Association) is that the federal government should take over the cost of all poverty-linked services and that these efforts should be substantially increased. The scale of increase needed is indicated by the Study's analysis of New York City's budget. It was estimated that $300 million more is needed annually for education geared to poor children and $800 million more for other poverty-related public services.

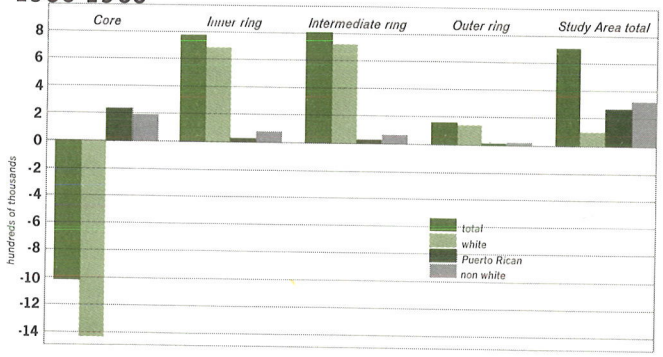
Table 2.

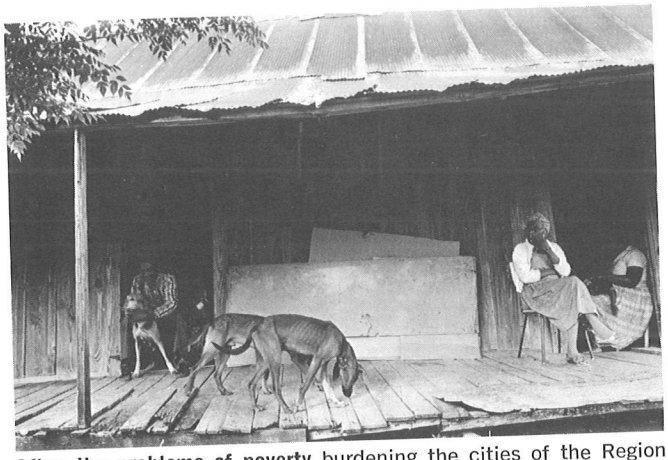
SHARE OF NEGRO-PUERTO RICAN POPULATION AND LOW-INCOME FAMILIES IN SIX CITIES

	% Puerto Rican and non-white population, 1960	% families with income below $5,000, 1959
New York City	22	45
Newark	37	52
Bridgeport	14	44
New Haven	16	47
Paterson	18	49
Trenton	24	47
Entire Study Area	**14**	**38**

Chart 1

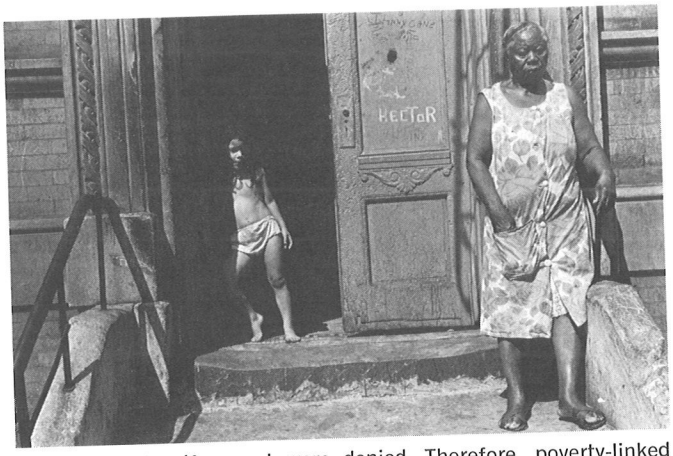
NET MIGRATION OF WHITES, NON-WHITES, AND PUERTO RICANS BY RING OF DEVELOPMENT, 1950-1960





Pix

Often the problems of poverty burdening the cities of the Region were born outside the Region, where opportunities for education and jobs and self-respect were denied. Therefore, poverty-linked public service costs seem appropriately a federal government responsibility rather than a city burden, as they are in part now.



Pix

"The problems of the Negro in the metropolis are also in a sense invisible. Superhighways and commuter trains bypass the slums. Urban renewal has moved the Negro out of some downtown shopping areas. Many people no longer live, work, or shop in the central city and therefore do not see the Negro and his often utter destitution.

It is often argued that Negroes will assimilate as all other ethnic groups have in the past. But when this is shown not to be the case, it is argued that the Negro is living in better houses and earning more money than ever before.[1] *Or it is argued that the civil rights legislation will bring about integration and equality. But the Negro's income relative to the income of whites has declined slightly since 1950, and cities and states have been relatively unsuccessful in bringing about changes in housing and employment discrimination.*[2]

In addition suburbanites think of racial problems as the city's problems. They are unwilling to acknowledge that the zoning laws of the suburban communities effectively restrict the entry of Negroes. Nor do they worry about the integration of the city's schools. Their children are in school districts where there are no Negroes and consequently segregation "is not a problem." . . .

As a result, the prospects for local solutions to the racial crisis in the metropolis are dim."

John H. Strange
"Racial Segregation in the Metropolis"
in Michael N. Danielson (ed.)
Metropolitan Politics, A Reader
(Little, Brown and Company 1966)

[1] See Charles E. Silberman, **Crisis in Black and White,** New York, Random House, 1964, pp. 37-8 and **passim.**

[2] In 1950 non-white median family income was 56 percent that of the white median family income. In 1954 it was 53.5 percent; in 1961, 53.4 percent that of whites. By 1963 it was even lower—52.9 percent of the median white family income. See U.S. Bureau of the Census, **Current Population Reports,** "Consumer Income," Series P 60.

This compares to $1.5 billion now spent from federal, state and city funds on poverty-linked services. The City contributes $.5 billion of this, which would, under this proposal, be shifted to the federal government, leaving that money for other needed city services.

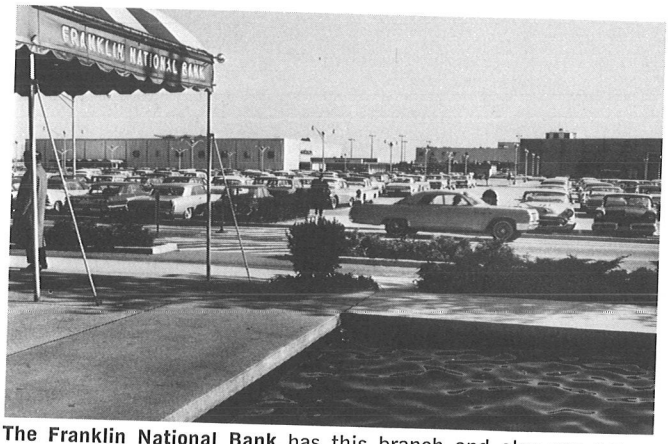
In all, federal poverty-linked services would, under this proposal, rise from $1 billion to $2.6 billion a year for New York City alone—which has about two-thirds of the families with poverty problems in Regional Plan's Study Area. This would imply an increase of about $20 billion in federal poverty-linked expenditures from the present $6.5 billion, raising the total federal budget about 20 percent—but cutting state and local poverty-linked expenditures by about $5 billion.

A summary of poverty-related planning issues. These, then, are the issues of regional development that seem to affect lower-income and lower-middle-income families particularly—accessibility to unskilled jobs, to training programs that might raise skills, and to higher education; improved housing, freer choice of housing location (which relates to job availability, also), housing policies that oppose the growing separation of rich and poor, Negro and white; improved services and more good jobs within or adjacent to low-income neighborhoods, with people from all over the Region, of all races and incomes, coming to them; and much more federal investment in government services in older parts of the Region (where poorer people tend to live), particularly in welfare, public health and education.

But all the planning issues will affect poor families both in ways peculiar to their economic and educational status and in ways similar to the effects on all residents.

2. Spread city or centers and communities?

Spread city is a new pattern of development, made possible by the automobile. Housing and other facilities are almost all spaced widely apart compared to older urban areas. While some of the non-residential facilities in spread city are grouped together in a planned way—for example, the stores in a shopping center and both stores



The Franklin National Bank has this branch and also one across the parking lot in the Roosevelt Field shopping center because there is no convenient way to get from the shopping center to this building though they are very close. This is typical of much suburban development—close but not related.

and small offices in the older small town centers, many more facilities than ever before are scattered with no relationship to any other activity.

A third pattern is forming, also: offices, retailing and related facilities are coming together in a general area, but because there is no planned relationship among them or common street system, there is no way to reach one from the other without a car.

In the past few years, shopping centers have become somewhat larger and more diverse, with movie theaters and even legitimate theaters, banks, a few offices. But Paramus' Garden State Plaza, probably the Region's largest suburban shopping center, has a total retail floor space, including some 100 stores, only five-sixths as large as Macy's single store in Herald Square. Even the most diverse shopping center bears little resemblance to the traditional city downtown in variety of activities offered.

The large planned centers of commerce, culture and education that are proposed for the Second Regional Plan would be brighter, greener, more attractive, and less congested than earlier downtowns, but essentially, they would perform the same function of bringing together those activities that large numbers of people do together and that they are willing to travel several miles to do.

Within the center, people would move around on foot or by short-distance conveyors—perhaps moving sidewalks or minibuses. Contrast this with the spread-city pattern in which almost all trips are by car, except within shopping centers. The spread structure leaves close sites unconnected. The Franklin National Bank, for example, has a branch in an office building right across the street from Roosevelt Field shopping center, but it also has to maintain a branch in the center.

A large percentage of the multi-family housing units needed in an area might be built as part of these centers. There, they would not disturb those who like only one-family houses in their neighborhood, and they would put the childless households, who usually live in apartments, close to activities and jobs. (One- and two-person households will nearly double by 2000, according to Regional Plan Association projections; there will be well over 2 million more. So the apartment demand probably will be great.)

Planned centers of non-residential activities and apartments provide five major advantages.

1. Certain jobs require frequent face-to-face relations with a large and varied group of people in other jobs. A compact center, in which large numbers of people are close to each other, is the best arrangement for frequent meetings.

Between 1959 and 1965—while population was growing rapidly on the outer fringes of the Region and remained stable in the Core, 30 percent of all the office jobs added in the Study Area located in Manhattan and more than 10 percent located in the Core outside Manhattan. The handful of corporate headquarters that have left Manhattan for outlying sites have gotten headlines, but Manhattan between Central Park and the Battery keeps increasing its office jobs about as fast as sites can be assembled, buildings put up and transportation capacity opened.

This has happened despite the advent of computers that can be tied to headquarters by long-distance telephone wires and despite closed-circuit television. It seems clear even to those promoting new communications devices that just as the telephone did not replace the letter and neither replaced face-to-face meetings, closed-circuit television and computers will not replace any of the three.

Nor can the automobile-dependent spread business district match large downtowns in providing convenient business relationships. Central Nassau County is a good example of a spread-city center. Some 100,000 persons work within a five-mile by five-mile square, and there is room to park near all of the jobs. Therefore, if one of the 100,000 wants to meet with another, he can travel con-

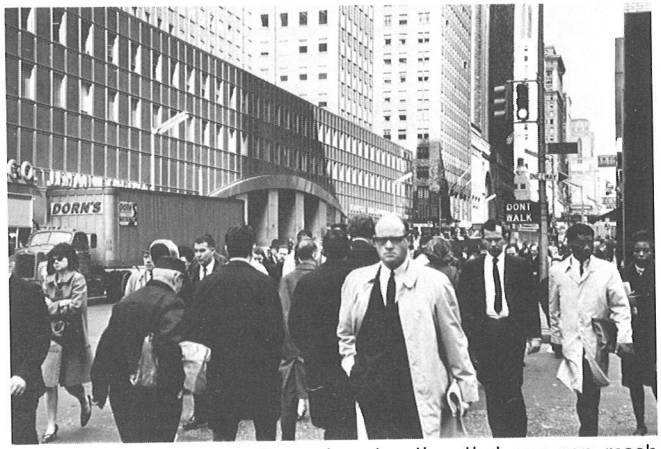
A spread "downtown," like central Nassau County, has the advantage of allowing everyone to move about conveniently by car. But even by car, the 100,000 persons employed there can reach only about 11,000 other employed persons within ten minutes of their work—a measure of how many links to related activities and services are convenient to an enterprise.

veniently by car. But even by car, he could reach only 11,000 other employees in ten minutes, and this is a good measure of the linkages and outside services conveniently available. In Newark, even though an employee might not be able to travel faster than a walking pace, he can reach 22,500 other employees within ten minutes of his job. And in Manhattan, he can reach 220,000 others within ten minutes.

But why reach so many other jobs? Isn't there a maximum beyond which it becomes merely more of the same? Apparently not. The number of people needing to interact during the working day keeps growing because knowledge keeps expanding. As knowledge accumulates, tasks become more specialized and organizations grow larger to take advantage of both. Cities, the meeting places of organizations as well as of individuals, grow larger, too. The optimum number of links from one organization to others constantly increases; the boom in Manhattan offices seems to testify to this.

2. Large job centers offer more people a wider choice of jobs within reasonable commuting distance than do smaller centers or scattered jobs, and vice versa, employers have a wider choice of workers in a large center than outside.

3. Other activities benefit from close links within the center, too. Universities find it easier to recruit lecturers in difficult-to-fill faculty positions if they are closer to related jobs. Students, too, find the real world a suitable laboratory in many fields of study. Furthermore, business, research establishments and governments are increasing their reliance on universities. Stanford's industrial park is an example of growing interaction between universities and research-oriented industries, which flocked to the park to be near the university. The university, in return, has recruited part-time faculty members from the industrial park.



In Manhattan, people work so close together that one can reach 220,000 other employed persons within ten minutes, even though a car cannot be used easily. In Newark, one can reach 22,500 employed persons within ten minutes of a downtown office—travelling on foot. So for business activities with many links, large, compact downtowns work better than more spread business areas.

Downtown campuses of state universities have been growing rapidly, like the University of Illinois' new branch next to downtown Chicago. University relations with the activities that go on downtown—business, government, the arts—are increasing.

Downtown campuses in many places are growing rapidly, e.g., the University of Illinois Chicago campus, the University of Wisconsin Milwaukee campus, the Rutgers University Newark campus.

Universities also have links to the arts. Experts are emphasizing the importance of their association with the wider community in support of cultural activities.

Librarians have long recognized the close links they have with other downtown activities and have advocated investing the extra sum needed to put main libraries in the heart of central business districts. As libraries become sophisticated information retrieval centers, their use by office workers and university faculty and students probably will increase.

The arts and continuing education for adults probably would attract more attendance in a large center. Regional Plan's recent study of museum attendance in Manhattan, Newark and Brooklyn substantiated the feeling we have had that people do more than one thing on a trip if it is convenient. About 77 percent of those attending three museums in Manhattan on a Thursday did something else on the same trip, and 65 percent who went to the Brooklyn museum and 72 percent who went to the Newark museum. Even on Sunday, nearly half of the visitors to these museums did something else on the same trip.

Probably women coming to a center to shop or get medical or dental attention would be more likely to go to a museum or the theater than if these other activities were some distance away. Similarly, it seems more likely that a couple will attend a concert or play if the husband walks under the marquee day after day to work.

4. By bringing a large segment of the outside-the-home activities together, a focus is created for a large-scale community. With such a community, support can be developed for much higher quality, more specialized services and goods than tend to be established in a homogenized urban area where facilities usually are built at less than optimum size or not at all.

As urbanization moves out in spread city, facilities usually are built to serve a smaller number of people than is optimum for specialization, efficiency and choice.

A first-class museum usually requires the support of a community of about a million people. Nearly 9 million people live in the suburban band around the Region's Core, yet there are no museums of first quality. In part, this is attributable to lack of large-scale communities with which as many as a million suburbanites identify.

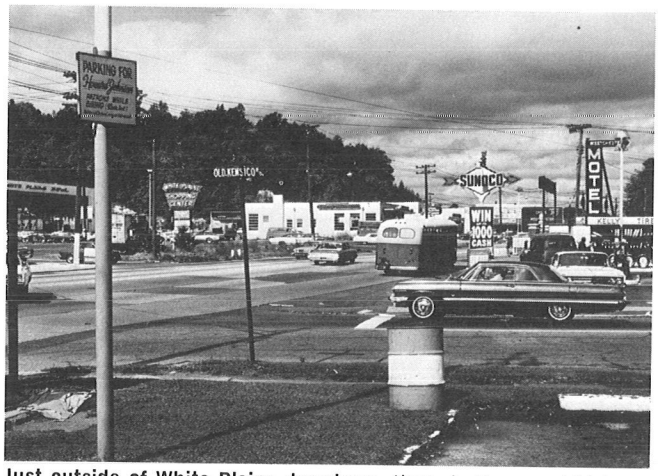
The best size for a hospital, for example, is said by health experts to be about 400 beds. Few hospitals in outlying areas are this large. Looking to the future, some experts foresee a "mother" hospital of perhaps 800 beds, which can offer the widest range of types of service and specialization, for example, open-heart surgery and cobalt treatments. A nearby medical school would be associated with it. The large health center would work with a series of hospitals perhaps half that size located in the area surrounding it. But this is not likely to happen without large centers around the Region.

Museums and performing arts also languish in the outlying areas from inadequate organization of the market and lack of large-scale communities.

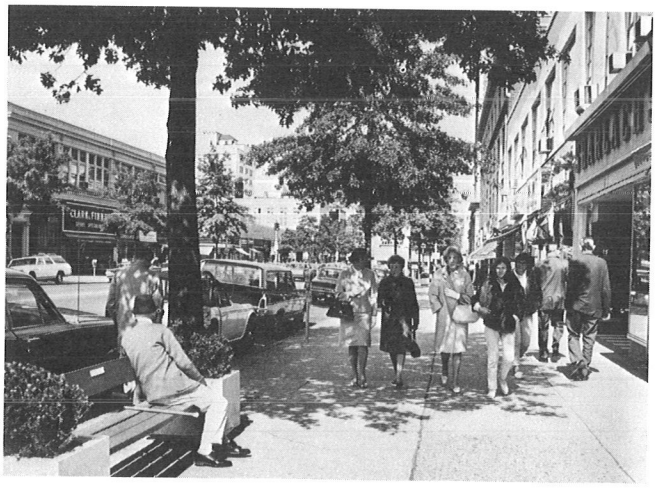
Nearly 9 million persons live in a 2,000-square-mile suburban band around the Region's Core—more people than live in any other entire metropolitan area in the country. About 1.5 million live in Nassau County (on Long Island), 1.3 million live in Bergen County and the southern half of Passaic (New Jersey), 1.7 million live in Westchester and Rockland (New York) and the southern half of Fairfield (Connecticut). Yet none of these areas has a concert hall with decent acoustics, a year-round theater, a first-class museum, or a big league athletic team. By contrast, the Minneapolis-St. Paul metropolitan area has about 1½ million people but has two good art museums, a symphony orchestra of note, a repertory theater and several visiting performing artists and theater series of first rank, plus big league professional baseball and football.

The Regional Plan survey of museum attendance suggests that proximity to Manhattan's cultural riches is not the main reason for failure of the suburbs to organize institutions of their own. Very few suburbanites attend the New York and Newark museums surveyed, even though the types of people who use these museums in largest numbers—professionals and executives—are overwhelmingly in the suburbs. They offer latent support for suburban art activities.

It seems to Regional Plan analysts that these suburban areas lack much of the urbanity that large numbers of people living near each other could have because the potential support is diffused. There is no single place in these areas on which support for such activities can focus. If they had such places—planned centers such as the Association is proposing—it is the Association's contention that these presently amorphous areas could become real communities, capable of supporting activities like the arts, high-quality adult education, perhaps professional sports, and other specialized activities which only large communities can support.



Just outside of White Plains downtown, there is the usual highway jumble of signs, each trying to catch the attention of the speeding motorist (above). The buildings have no visual relation to each other, yet they make up a single panorama, adding to the chaotic impression. **By contrast, downtown White Plains,** about a mile away (below).



Usually, it takes a market of a million people to maintain a good museum and symphony orchestra and even more people to support a professional theater and opera. In addition, it takes community leadership, which requires that enough leaders in the area have a sense of being a part of the same community. In other words, to provide varied cultural activities of high quality, at least a million people must consider a planned center to be their center.

Retailing, too, can offer more choice in a center, supported both by persons working there and by more population than is usually served by outlying shopping centers. Now, many suburbanites travel to the main downtown stores, past smaller branches of the same stores, in order to enlarge their choice and compare prices on expensive items, one retailing executive reported to us.

Altogether, it seems to the Regional Plan staff that a great deal more will happen and a much wider variety and higher quality of services will be available in the New York Metropolitan Region if the activities that draw large numbers of people are clustered in planned centers.

5. Planned centers can contribute to a better appearance of the Region, including keeping large areas open and uncluttered; they can provide more excitement and perhaps offer more representative politics. In addition to the basic purpose of planned centers—to provide an appropriate locale for office jobs and apartments and to make more things happen within easy reach of more people, there are a number of more subtle attributes which might have equal value to many persons.

Parking in spread-city's "downtown" is a sea of asphalt—Roosevelt Raceway parking field in the foreground, Fortunoffs parking lot next to it in the background (above). By contrast, a downtown White Plains parking garage (below).

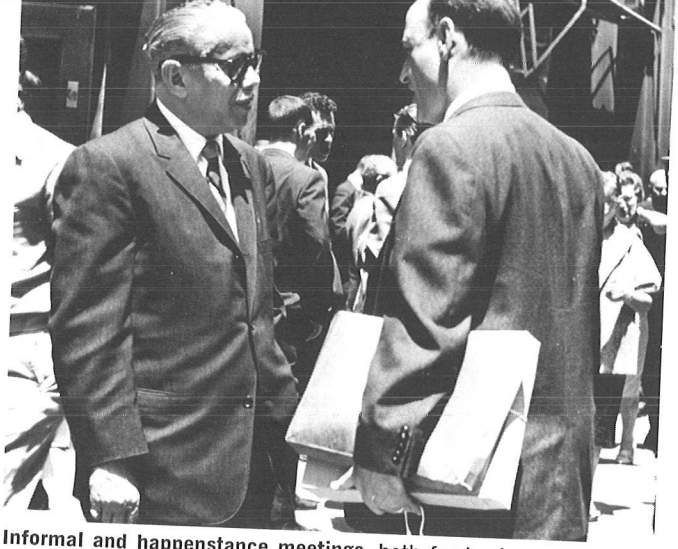
First, planned centers are likely to improve the appearance of the Region. Urban designers argue that commercial buildings can be organized much more attractively in a planned center than along a highway, a typical present-day location of stores and even some offices. A store in a planned center is designed to attract the pedestrian. It need not shout its wares at the passerby, as a highwayside store does to appeal to motorists travelling at 50 miles per hour. Furthermore, a group of buildings planned together is more likely to be satisfying than buildings designed individually, each within eye-shot of the other but not otherwise related. Finally, compact centers make covered parking feasible, reducing the vast fields of asphalt and autos that blot suburbia.

Perhaps more important, planned centers would draw stores away from expressway exits and highway shoulders, draw office and university campuses from estate areas soon to become residential neighborhoods, and draw apartments from one-family-house areas—leaving more of the Region uncluttered and open, making it easier to retain natural open space and the residential character of neighborhoods.

Second, there is the element of happenstance in a center which is almost entirely missing from the auto-oriented world. Where all trips are by car, one decides to go to a particular place—and does. In a downtown, the unexpected is more likely to happen. One sees something window-shopping, meets an acquaintance, notices an art exhibit or a play poster. In business, there is a tremendous difference between making a firm appointment with someone and chancing upon him at a club or restaurant where you know he is likely to be.

Related to this is the sense of excitement that seems to be generated where large numbers of people come together, and a sense of participation even though one remains a spectator. If the world consisted of scattered and unrelated factories, shopping centers and offices, accessible only by car, where would parades be held, where would happenings happen, where would people find each other?

Finally, planned centers might make a difference in the political life of the area. The large-scale community created by the center's magnetism offers the opportunity to create genuine constituencies for such offices as congressmen and state senators. It would encourage political awareness and participation by including in a constituency a majority who both live and work there and identify with it. Present congressional districts are seldom more than a piece of real estate. Furthermore, few congressmen in the Region have access to television for cam-



Informal and happenstance meetings, both for business and pleasure, are not at all the same as confrontations by appointment. Busy centers of many kinds of activities offer opportunities for half-planned or chance meetings.

paigning, some don't have a good newspaper with wide readership or a radio station with wide coverage. A planned center focusing the communications and activities of a large-scale community can possibly create a more effective relationship between elected and electors above the local level.

6. Planned centers offer two transportation advantages:

a. All the activities will be central to a given population and therefore will be at the shortest distance from that population, on the average.

b. Clustering of activities makes public transportation feasible. Efficient bus service requires a cluster of at least 25,000 jobs; rail transit or commuter railroad service requires a cluster of at least 200,000 jobs (with modifications if the cluster is on a rail line already heavily used). This assumes housing densities similar to those in newly-built suburban areas.

But do people want public transportation?

The evidence indicates that in travelling to work, the choice of how to get there is secondary to the job and its location. If it is necessary—or faster or significantly cheaper—to travel by public transportation, people will. About two-thirds of the work force in the United States goes to work by car, but only 43 percent of the work force in the Study Area.

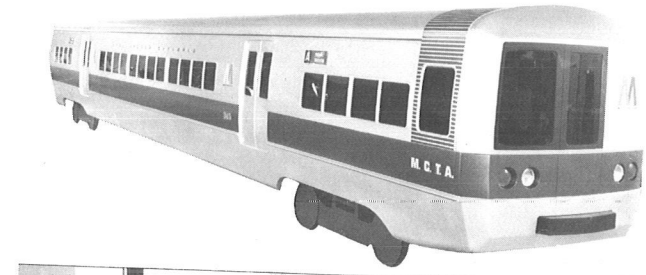
Even those who can afford to drive do not always choose to do so. In fact, analysis of 1960 census data indicates that in this Region, use of commuter railroads rises with income—the higher the income, the larger the percentage of the work force using a railroad to get to work. And the number of cars owned by a family does not affect the percentage using railroads. Subway and bus use does relate to income and the number of cars owned, however, suggesting that they are used more by captive riders without alternatives.

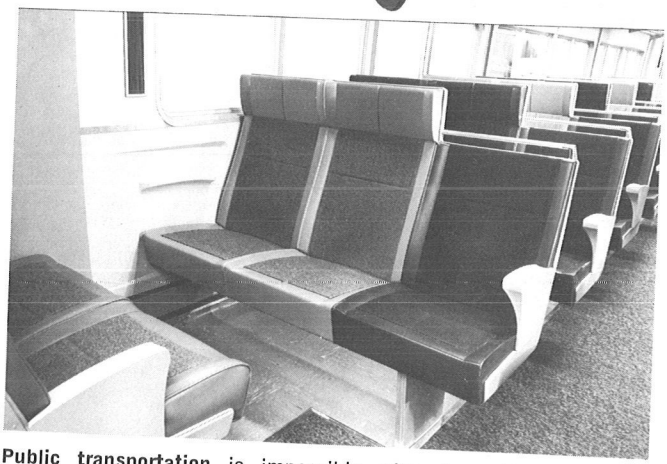
On the whole, speed is the most important criterion for choosing among modes of transportation, and where door-to-door travel time by public transportation is equal or better than by automobile, it will compete with the automobile very well. Where rail service is infrequent or slow or requires a long walk at either end, it will not.

Technological advancements in prospect for the next thirty-five years are much more likely to increase the speed of public transportation than of automobiles. Within three years, for example, travel time on the Long Island Rail Road (now State owned) will be cut in half from many points, with an average running speed up to 60 miles per hour. So the option of public transportation can be expected to appeal to an increasing number—if places people want to go are organized to take advantage of the higher speeds and improved service.

There are also benefits in having public transportation available for those who cannot drive, who prefer not to, or who cannot afford to. While this seems to be a minority of adults, it is probably a large enough minority in this Region to be significant. About 38 percent of the Region's households did not own cars in 1960. Poor people going to jobs or higher education need public transportation, and others too young or too old to drive safely would be liberated by more ubiquitous, frequent, fast and comfortable bus and rail service. Motorists would benefit both from less crowded highways and from stricter control of those with bad driving records, which would be possible if a transportation alternative were available.

A center large enough to serve a half-million persons and compact enough to be served efficiently by public transportation would require the use of public transportation by about half of the employees arriving and leaving





Metropolitan Transportation Authority

Public transportation is impossible without centers. Increased commuter rail speeds are in the offing. On the Long Island Rail Road, for example, speeds will be doubled in the next few years and comfort sharply increased with the new cars shown above. On the other hand, automobile speeds are not likely to be raised beyond what is already possible on expressways.

N.Y. Daily News Photo

Highway safety is a problem of spread city. Almost total dependence on the car for all trips means more car-miles driven, and car-miles relate to traffic fatalities. Without an alternative to automobile travel, more poor drivers have to be on the road, also.

during peak periods. There would not be room for more employee cars, either parked during the day or on access roads during peak hours. Of the half not driving to work, many would live within walking distance in apartments built as an integral part of the centers, so substantially fewer than half the employees would have to ride a bus or train to work.

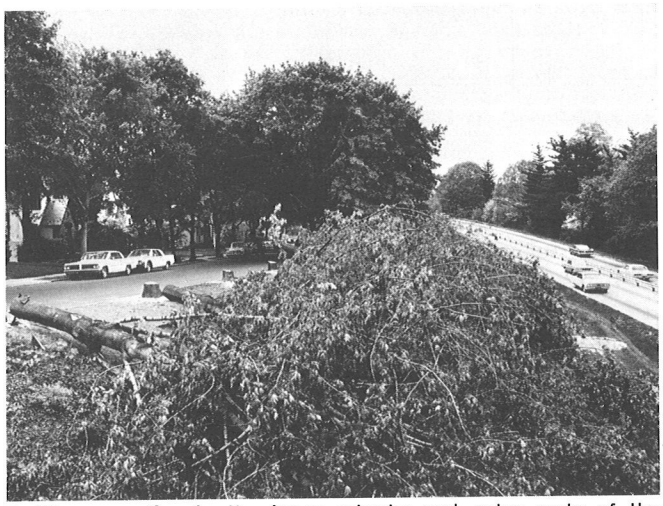
Looking at the behavior of persons travelling to work in the Region, particularly the fact that only about 5 percent get to jobs in the Manhattan central business district by car and only about 30 percent get to Newark central business district jobs by car, it does not seem unreasonable to expect that half of the employees in a planned center of the kind proposed here would get to work without bringing a car to the center.

The larger the center, the smaller the percentage of employees who could come by car during peak periods, so that in a center serving 2 million people, probably about 40 percent of the employees could come to work by automobile during peak hours.

Sufficient parking space for off-peak trips is included in these calculations. It is assumed that about 70 percent of off-peak trips to the central business district would be made in cars, and these visitors could park with no problem. Again, this does not fly in the face of present travel choices.

Proposals to solve traffic problems. The unplanned spread city pattern requires almost total use of automobiles but does not guarantee congestion-free travel because places to which large numbers of people want to go are located haphazardly. As urbanization spreads, highways closer to the center are becoming overloaded and new lanes must be added. Right now, a number of suburban groups are protesting the widening and straightening of parkways, the paving over of highway landscaping, or the introduction of new highways into tightly built-up suburban communities. Furthermore, jobs are projected to increase by 70 percent in the Study Area between 1965 and 2000, and trips to work are the measure of the transportation capacity needed.

Two opposing solutions have been proposed. One is to assume that everyone will get to work by car and to arrange peak-hour travel on highways so there is an equal flow in both directions. Then all lanes instead of only half of them carry the peak loads. This would be achieved by distributing the jobs in small clusters around many highway interchanges. The other way is to rely on public transportation to carry the extra passengers during peak periods.



Traffic congestion in the inner suburbs and outer parts of the Core has forced the widening and straightening of a number of parkways and highways, often with the loss of landscaping. Increased use of public transportation is the best way to limit the need for added highway lanes in these built-up areas, Regional Plan feels.

Theoretically, the two transportation patterns would carry about the same peak loads for about the same cost, but Regional Plan would argue that the all-highway proposal is no solution. First, it leaves a significant minority with no form of transportation at all. Second, it doesn't carry people to where they would be best served—in large centers, not small clusters. So large planned centers capable of supporting good public transportation offer the best combination of transportation solutions and land-use advantages.

There is one final need for public transportation related to office jobs. Many of the office establishments seeking sites outside Manhattan will retain frequent, perhaps daily links to Manhattan. Since driving into Manhattan even in the middle of the day is neither efficient nor pleasant, the planned centers should, wherever possible, have rail connections to Manhattan.

Some concepts of planned centers. What would a planned center be like?

Movement to and within the center set the main "givens" of the design. The idea of the center is built around pedestrian movement, but the distance a person

Courtesy Downtown Progress, Washington, D.C.

New types of conveyances for central business districts may be able to extend the range of contacts easily reached without using as much space as the automobile. An Otis moving sidewalk is being tested in London, and minibuses—easy to enter and relatively small—are successful in Washington, D.C. (above) and are programmed for the new city of Columbia, Maryland.

is able to walk can be stretched over short periods by mechanical devices that have the advantages of walking, i.e., that take little space, are available frequently (e.g., a minibus as used in Washington, D.C.) or at all times (like a moving sidewalk), and allow people to go almost anywhere in the center from almost any other place in the center.

Elevators, of course, play a large part in the internal transportation system, also, and should relate to the horizontal transportation. For example, rail stations—whether subway or commuter rail—often can be connected directly to elevators serving major office buildings.

The limits to how compact a center can be are (1) the practical height of buildings (about to be pushed to 110 stories in the World Trade Center as a result of new technology and elevator arrangements), (2) the practical storage space available for automobiles, and (3) a design that does not overwhelm the pedestrian for whom it is being built.

A center which included 60,000 office jobs (about as many as in Newark), a university campus for 10,000-12,000 students, an 800-bed hospital, a medical school and related medical activities, retailing space about four times the size of Garden State Plaza, a museum, concert hall and theater, a major library and some hotels, and apartments for 60,000 people, along with the subsidiary services all these people and institutions need, could be attractively designed on one to two square miles. Everything would be within walking distance of everything else if cars were stored above ground level only on the periphery of the center.

The limits of extensiveness, i.e., how spread out a center can be and still work well, cannot be known until pedestrian-type transit is more thoroughly tested. Many parts do not require frequent interchange and can be set apart somewhat, e.g., hospitals traditionally have been on the edges of downtowns, and universities often want playing fields and more openness than office buildings. On the whole, an arbitrary standard might be set of ten minutes between places of frequent interaction (about a half mile on foot, or, say, 1¾ miles by pedestrian-type transit) and perhaps fifteen minutes between places of less-frequent interaction (¾ of a mile on foot or about 2¾ miles by short-distance transit).

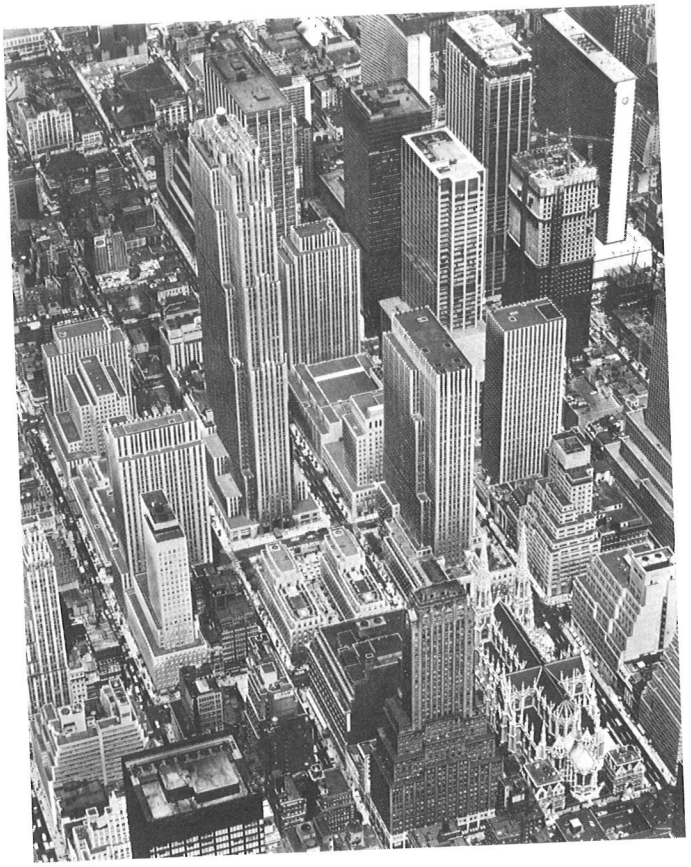
The suburban aesthetic is now almost entirely low and even. Will this frankly urban center be acceptable? Asked a different way, do suburbanites really like the flat plain they have been surrounded by or has this been a mistaken analogy drawn from their clear preference for one-family houses in their residential neighborhoods? Isn't it possible that suburbanites would strongly favor the contrast of the compact center, particularly since it would leave most of the remaining suburban area open for one-family houses and open space, uncluttered by office and university campuses, roadside commercial strips and high apartments? Regional Plan feels the answer is yes.

Rockefeller Center is still the best example of what a center might look like on the ground—high buildings integrated with open space, pedestrianways at several levels, direct connections from subways to elevators, a mixture of retailing and offices, of restaurants and recreation. But of course each center should have its own design and personality; some will be more extensive, some larger or smaller than the hypothetical one discussed here, some will include other types of activities, some will not have all those listed.

Many of the centers must fit into an existing urban fabric. The heart of Nassau County, for example, already has most of the elements of a center on the ground, and they are spread over a greater area than most planned centers would be: the whole four-square-mile area stretching from Hempstead and Garden City downtowns to Roosevelt Field and Mitchel Field. The main additions

On Long Island (above) and in parts of New Jersey, only the water towers rise above a flat plain. Urban centers with some high office buildings and apartments would provide a visual focus as well as a community focus.

Rockefeller Center, Inc.



Rockefeller Center is one example of how a new planned center might look—low buildings and open space in a planned relationship to high buildings, with transportation arteries, pedestrianways and shopping at several levels, and with direct connection between vertical and horizontal transportation.

Rockefeller Center, Inc.

needed to make a real downtown for the large-scale community of Nassau County are a great many office jobs and apartments, new transportation arteries directly connected to the most intensely used area (expressway links and probably a Long Island Rail Road stop—perhaps even a new spur), some internal transit devices, and underground or multi-story parking to eliminate the seas of asphalt which now separate establishments that should be close together. The Nassau County Planning Commission has a plan for a center of this kind.

Where should centers be located? Four kinds of sites probably will be needed for large planned centers:

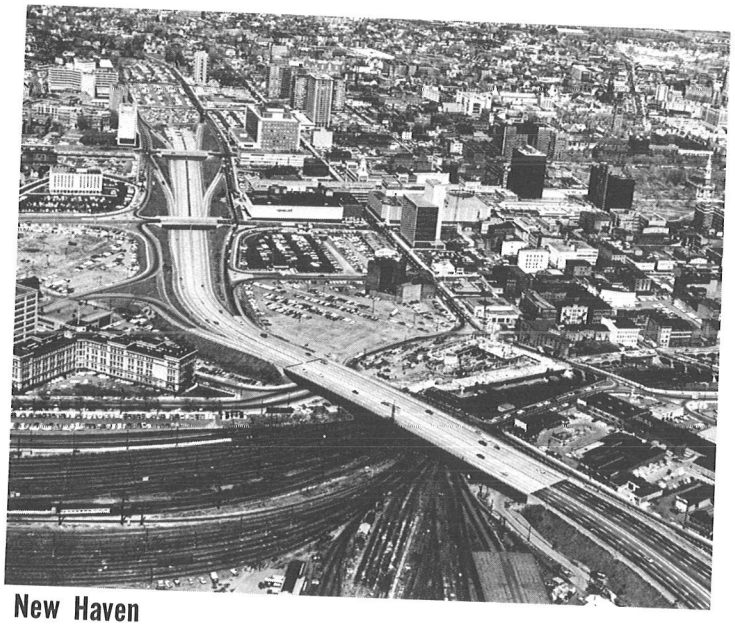
1. Older close-in downtowns whose renewal and enlargement would better serve existing residential areas. Places particularly suited for these centers are Jamaica, downtown Brooklyn and downtown Newark.
2. Older downtowns in outlying areas which, if renewed and enlarged, would serve both existing residential areas and areas yet to be built. Places that appear to be suited for these centers are White Plains, Stamford, Bridgeport, New Haven, New Brunswick, Trenton and Poughkeepsie.
3. Suburban shopping areas surrounded by urbanization but with some population increase likely in the market area—as in central Nassau County, where Mitchel Field offers space to enlarge office jobs and other activities, and in the Bergen-Passaic Counties area, where Paterson, Paramus or Hackensack might be a suitable location.
4. Vacant sites or very small towns where the planned center would be built almost from scratch and would serve an area with substantial vacant land expected to be developed soon. Suffolk and Monmouth Counties will need at least one and probably two planned centers each to serve their fast-growing population, and the Walkill Valley in Orange County probably will need one, but Regional Plan has not yet identified specific sites.

Manhattan is a special case. The cost of adding to the transportation capacity of Manhattan will be very great, and the advantage probably will be much less than the extra investment is worth for routine office activities which could satisfactorily go to smaller planned centers. However, for top-level business, civic and government personnel, the importance of being in the number one center appears to justify the extra transportation costs.

The reason additional transportation capacity would be needed for a continuation in Manhattan's office job growth is that blue-collar jobs, which have been declining to match the white-collar rise, cannot be expected to drop as much as white-collar jobs could grow in the future. A hard core of Manhattan-oriented blue-collar jobs may soon be reached, according to Regional Plan analysis.

Existing downtowns shown here seem appropriate to enlarge into major planned centers, each with upwards of 60,000 office jobs and apartments for 60,000, with specialized health facilities, a university campus, museums and professional performing arts, a central library, hotels and more shopping space than exists now at any one place in the Region outside Manhattan. In addition, large planned centers probably should be built on what is now mainly vacant land in Suffolk County (N.Y.), in the Monmouth-Ocean Counties (N.J.) area, and in the Walkill Valley of Orange County (N.Y.).

Bridgeport



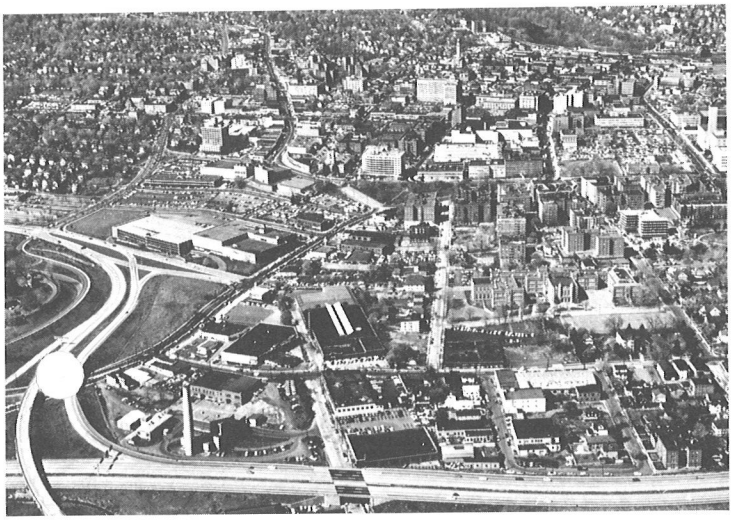
New Haven

Trenton

Litton Industries—Aero Service Div.

Stamford

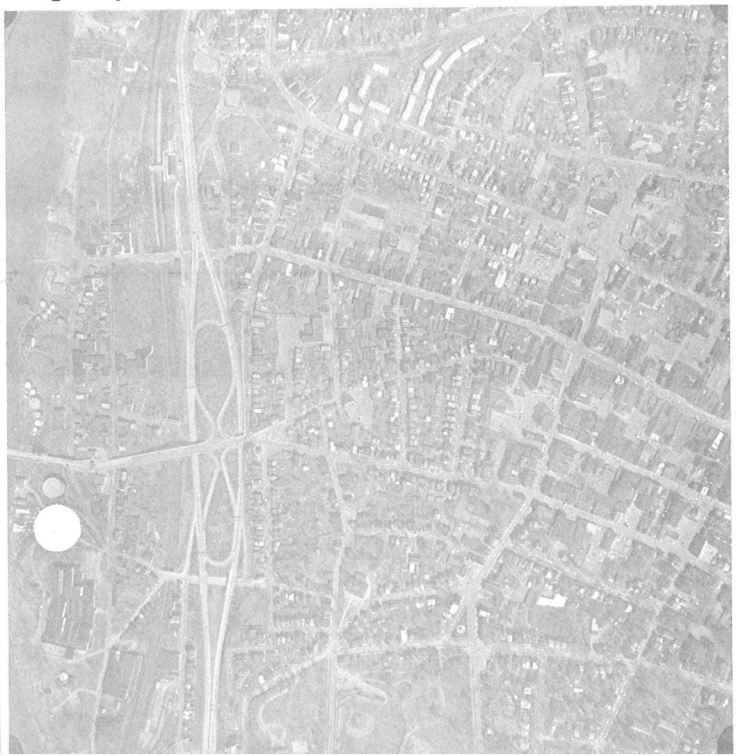
New Brunswick



White Plains

Mitchel Field

Poughkeepsie



Hudson River Valley Commission

Added transportation capacity will be needed if Manhattan is to get the number of jobs likely to want to locate there.

It is the high-level decision-making jobs that are most appropriately located in Manhattan. Regional Plan projections anticipate another 575,000 top-level office jobs in the Second Regional Plan Study Area between 1965 and 2000. The great majority probably will try to locate in Manhattan along with perhaps 250,000 other office jobs.

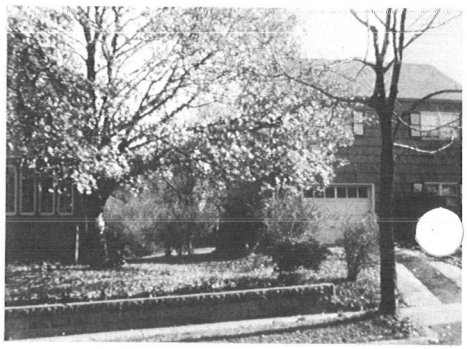
Altogether, Regional Plan projects an increase by 2000 of about 575,000 top-level office jobs in the Study Area, many of which can benefit from a Manhattan location. Even assuming that Manhattan accommodates three-fourths of these, plus some 250,000 other office jobs likely to go there, office employment would double elsewhere in the Region, according to Regional Plan projections.

What effect will planned centers have on residential densities? The concept of planned centers is divorced from questions of residential density except that it assumes high-density apartments built in conjunction with the centers. They would be mainly for families without children. Our transportation projections based on present behavior indicate that planned centers can work even if one-family houses on half-acre lots predominate in the residential areas all around them.

However, if artificial constraints on the housing market are minimized, planned centers can be expected to act as giant magnets, drawing housing toward them. In this magnetic field, houses would act like iron filings—close together near the magnet, increasingly spread at greater distances from the magnet. This is the expected behavior in a fairly free housing market because people are constantly trading off between accessibility (i.e., convenience to places they want to go to frequently) and space in and around their housing. The more jobs and other attractions there are in a particular place, the more demand to be near it and the more likelihood that many people will be willing to trade space for accessibility. This does not mean that public policy would be forcing people to live on lots smaller than they want. It means they would have more incentive to accept smaller lots, and current behavior indicates that many would choose them.

However, unless school financing is changed or absolute zoning powers are taken away from municipalities (which hardly would be fair without tax compensations), the housing market will not be free to react very much to the magnetism of centers. In that case, probably apartments will increase the densities close to the centers but one-family house lot sizes will not vary much throughout the newly-developing parts of the Region. However, land prices may vary considerably, rising steeply the closer one gets to a large center and to good transportation points leading to it.

A busy planned center can be expected to act as a giant magnet, drawing housing to it—if zoning allows. Great Neck is an example: apartments cluster close to the railroad station and shopping, then houses on small lots, gradually spreading out to houses on lots of one and two acres about two miles from the center. Assuming appropriate zoning, a much more varied housing pattern is likely with centers than without.

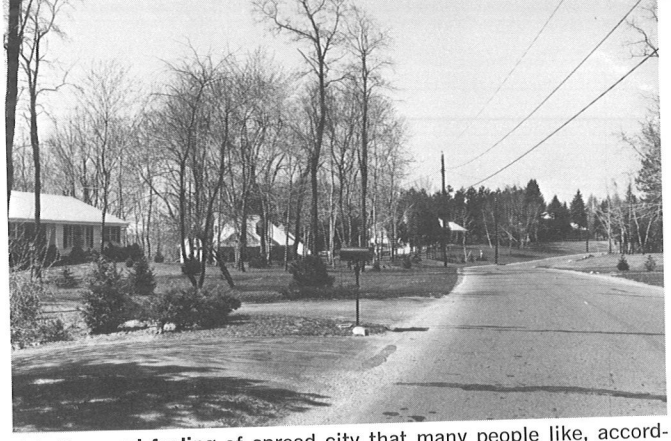


Great Neck is a classic example (among many in the Region) of the magnet effect on housing, where zoning controls were not uniform. The Great Neck Long Island Rail Road station, thirty-five minutes from Pennsylvania Station, was the magnet. Local shopping facilities are an added magnet. High-rise apartments surround the station. Density gradually tapers down to garden apartments, then one-family houses on lots that start small and become larger farther from the station—to two-acre lots about two miles away. There is no reason to believe that roughly the same pattern at a larger scale would not obtain in relation to planned centers if the local tax system were adjusted to free the real estate market.

The argument against planned centers is essentially that people do not want a large-scale community—or anything else at large scale. Fundamentally, this argument goes, Americans are rural people who accept the urban life only because that is where the jobs are. But most people in an urban area are constantly trying to move as far from other people as their job and the transportation system let them. Now, the argument continues, transportation and communication technology, coupled with household sewer and water systems, do allow each person to live in a semi-rural environment while working at urban jobs. They can have country roads to drive on and everything at small scale—small buildings, small municipal governments, small school districts, a small group of neighbors.

Furthermore, spread city reduces interdependence to a minimum in the modern world. The complex interactions required in a city, easily disrupted by strike, accident or simple carelessness, are not as omnipresent in spread city. There is, too, almost a guarantee that ugliness will not reach a level in spread city which it has reached in the worst parts of many old cities—that light, air and greenness will moderate the impact of aesthetic indifference even if spread city's appearance does not rise above the mediocre.

Can our Region make real urbanness look better and work better than the older cities did? The ardent spread-city advocate would argue that new downtowns are unlikely to be improvements over the old and that the risk of trying isn't worth it—few people care about all the advantages, anyhow.



It is the rural feeling of spread city that many people like, according to one argument against the urbanness of planned centers.

But there is growing evidence that many people do care and are willing to invest the extra energy and attention and in many cases extra capital costs to achieve them.

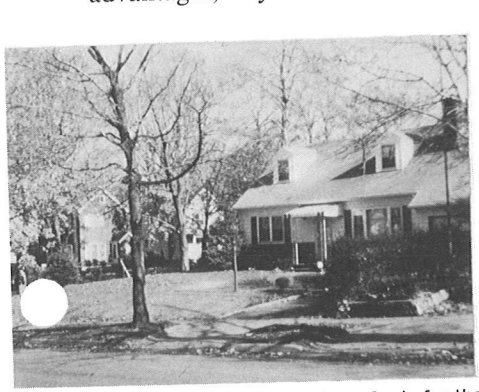
In Paris, London and Stockholm, planners have convinced responsible officials to build large outlying centers along with a strong central city and to rely heavily on public transportation.

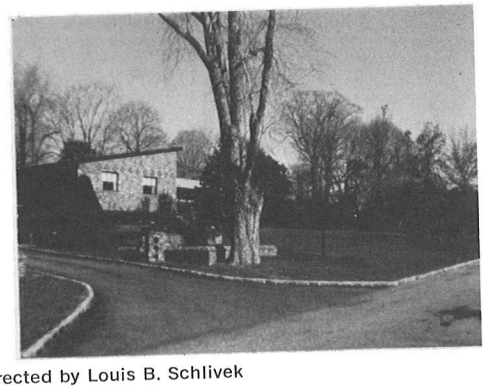
In the United States, Rochester, Hartford, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Boston and New Haven are examples of cities which have convinced government officials and business entrepreneurs that downtowns are the wave of the future rather than a throwback to the past. Even Los Angeles, the epitome of urban homogenization, is putting more activity downtown. Almost all of the largest metropolitan central cities in North America are planning, building or extending transit systems in anticipation of more activity in their central business districts.

In this Region, the office growth in Manhattan and Newark and the rapid attraction to White Plains' downtown of diverse and specialized activities are other examples.

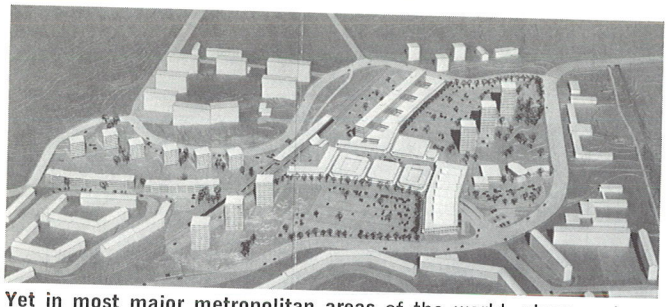
Nevertheless, it will take positive planning and a different approach to public policy-making to provide the Region with adequate central services.

What it will take to get planned centers. The difference between an agglomeration of urban activities such as has grown up in central Nassau County and in Paramus, New Jersey, and the planned centers proposed here is that the parts to the agglomerations were planned separately and each provided its own separate environment. The only common framework in the agglomeration is the highway





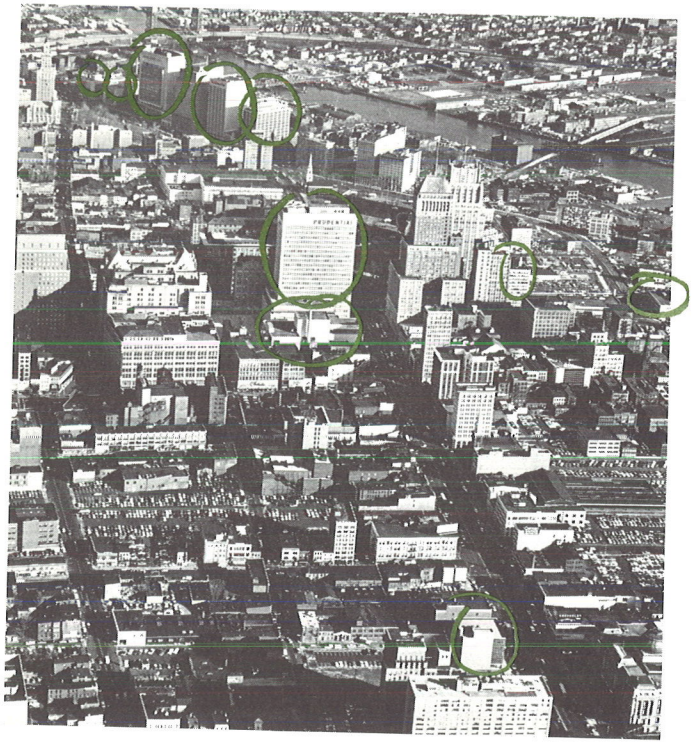
from Goals for the Region Television Series produced by Telic, Inc. and directed by Louis B. Schlivek



Yet in most major metropolitan areas of the world, planners have proposed and officials have accepted the idea that a metropolis should provide real urban qualities and real open country rather than a blended spread. Stockholm, for example, is building a series of suburban communities which are connected by rail transit to central Stockholm. Above, the plan for Farsta center (now completed) and surrounding streets.

Aerial Photos of New England

In this country, too, most existing large urban centers have been renewed and enlarged. Hartford (above) is one example; Philadelphia, Rochester, Baltimore, Boston, and New Haven are other examples in the East. Both Newark and Manhattan also have had office booms in recent years. Below, the new office towers built in downtown Newark since the war are circled.



network. To relate these activities so they work together and allow people to walk from one to another or use some new short-distance transit, it would be necessary to provide a common framework and a plan that allows the various parts to plug into the framework. For example, the shopping center provides its own internal links, but it surrounds itself with a vast field of parking which effectively separates it from any other set of activities. Bergen Mall and Garden State Plaza are close enough together to become elements in a single large downtown for Bergen County, but their design—lacking a common internal street, sidewalk and transit system, which they could have had were Paramus planned as a center—effectively separates them.

To build a planned center, whether through renewal and enlargement of older centers or construction on relatively vacant land, it seems necessary for a public agency to provide the plan and the public framework—including the highway system that attaches the center to the residential community, the rail station that attaches it to Manhattan, the internal movement system, and the open space.

Since the public action in providing the plan, the transportation and the organization would result in a substantial increase in the value of the property on which the center is built, it seems reasonable for the public to harvest the gains in real estate value resulting from government initiative. One proposal, then, is to establish a public development agency representing or responsible to the whole population to be served (or to the municipalities in the area). It would purchase the land, plan the center, and lease or sell sites to private entrepreneurs who would be required to build within the guidelines of the plan. The profit to the public agency could be in-

The Garden State Plaza (at the center of the photo) and Bergen Mall (at the top), with their across-the-highway neighbors, make up a shopping "downtown" for Bergen County, New Jersey. But they aren't connected by a common internal street, sidewalk and transit system that would allow them to work together for convenient comparison shopping and as a focus for many more activities than shopping.

vested in the center or in transportation improvements directly benefitting the entrepreneurs, employees or customers of the center, and some could be distributed in lieu of taxes to the local governments served by the center. In this way, the single municipality and school district in which the center is built would not get all the gravy.

But will the entrepreneurs be attracted to the center—not simply offices and department stores, but universities, hospitals, government agencies, hotels and conference centers, cultural activities? Some of the public and private officials responsible for locating these facilities believe in the spread-city arguments. Above all, they want to be sure that there are plenty of parking spaces and automobile access. They would just as soon not go through the approvals and coordination that seem almost inevitable where establishments are related closely. Particularly, the difference in red tape between buying a large tract of vacant land beyond the urbanized portion of the Region and buying a small site in a city to be cleared under urban renewal is enough to send an office developer or a university president to the vacant site.

There is no doubt that each individual entrepreneur, public or private, would find it easier to develop his own site unrelated to other development, so that some compensation may be needed for the agencies locating there. For example, a university president with a limited budget and hordes of young people waiting for places could well choose the easier, cheaper vacant site because of the important short-term needs of his program, even if he recognized that the long-term interests of the university and the general public would be better served were the new campus located in a center. It is the short deadlines and annual budget imperatives of individual agencies that the development procedure must satisfy.

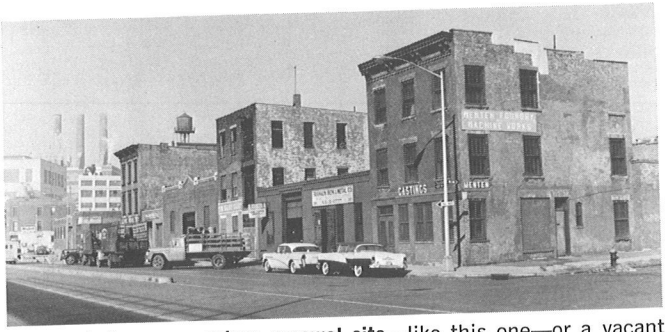
In most cases, however, the benefits for the entrepreneur probably would outweigh the difficulties of coming to a planned center—when it is clear that related activities are really going there and that there will be good transportation and adequate parking as well. Each element in the center must have the assurance that the other elements will be there, too, and that the whole will have glamor, a reputation as the place where things happen.

Tri-State Transportation Commission

The three states, New York, New Jersey and Connecticut, probably will have the most influence on whether large planned centers are built or not in that they directly determine where transportation and state colleges will go and they influence the location of many other facilities. In addition, the three states have formed the Tri-State Transportation Commission (shown meeting), which is the official planning agency for the Region.

Since the states have the most to say about locations of the main elements of the center—direct decisions on transportation and state university campuses, and influence on hospital locations, some public and middle-income housing, major libraries and cultural institutions —the three state governments must be convinced that planned centers are the appropriate pattern of regional development for the metropolitan area. Then, the states' planning coordination arms must be able to influence the location decisions of the several state agencies which have location responsibility. New York State with its new Office of Planning Coordination, New Jersey with its Department of Community Affairs, and Connecticut with its state planning operation are available to do this.

The state controls enough location decisions to give confidence to other entrepreneurs—mainly office builders and retailers but also hospital directors, cultural center promoters and private universities—that the center will grow up there. Furthermore, the three states work through Tri-State Transportation Commission to make the long-range plans on which federal granting agencies rely to decide whether to make grants or not. So state agreement to the idea of centers and to specific sites for them, coupled with an energetic local development corporation sensitive to design seem likely to provide the governmental basis for efficient and attractive planned centers. However, no state action can be expected where there has been no local initiative to build the center.



The City of N.Y. Housing & Redevelopment Board

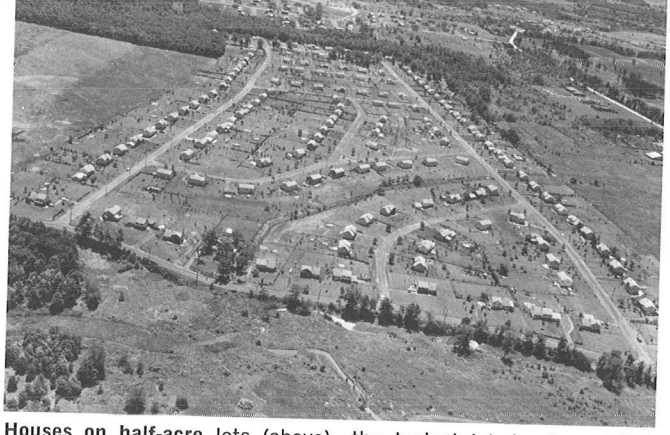
Choice between an urban renewal site—like this one—or a vacant site in the suburbs frequently confronts a college president pressed for classroom space or a builder with immediate demand for office space. Understandably, the vacant site is attractive for ease of development, but frequently it is not in the long-run best interests of the organization itself or of the Region.

3. How compact should development be?

If residential development continues to follow the pattern of recent years and the pattern called for by current zoning ordinances, the urbanized area around the Port of New York will increase by more than 60 percent between 1960 and 1985 while the population increases by only 40 percent.

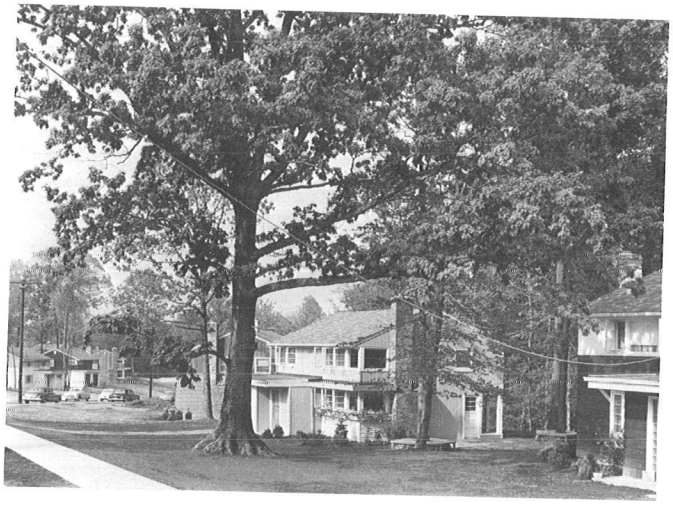
As incomes go up, more people are buying more land in and around their houses—the main use of urban space.

At the same time, there is a growing concern about bulldozing natural areas and a beginning of public discussion on ecological problems caused by extensive



Somerset County Planning Board

Houses on half-acre lots (above)—the typical lot-size in subdivisions of the early '60's—cut a wide swath in the countryside compared to earlier, more compact development, and they cannot readily be served by public transportation. Yet two-thirds of the vacant land surrounding the built-up portion of the Region is zoned for one-family houses on lots at least this large. Conservationists are concerned at the loss of trees and natural open space over the wide area that would have to be urbanized if housing at this low density is used for the added 11 million people expected in the 31-county area around the Port of New York by the year 2000. **Neighborhoods of small lots** can be attractive if the builder takes the trouble. The houses below (in Waldwick, New Jersey) are on 60x100 foot lots, a seventh of an acre.



urbanization, e.g., excessive run-off of rain that otherwise would soak into the ground and diminishing areas for wildlife.

There is also growing concern about the highway network required in low-density communities where all trips must be made—or at least must begin—by car, and concern about other disadvantages of total dependence on the automobile, particularly among suburbanite chauffeur-mothers.

It is probable that part of the urge for more space in residential neighborhoods is a reaction to the aesthetic atrocities of development housing right after the war. Any program for building more compactly should certainly begin with assurances of excellent design of both houses and neighborhoods.

Many people, however, seem to want spaciousness for its own sake. How many do and how much space they want and will be able to afford and whether they would choose more private space even if it threatened such public goods as natural open space and public transportation are the questions we are trying to answer.

Therefore, the course that seems best is:

1. Eliminate all of the reasons why households are living in more space than they might want:
   a. Conditions driving those who like city living to the lower-density suburbs and
   b. Zoning ordinances covering vacant land that require large lots for each house, when the ordinances are passed mainly as protection against fiscal demands on the locality rather than as a considered land-use preference.
2. Provide attractive alternatives to low-density neighborhoods: neighborhood design that offers at least some of the amenities of low-density neighborhoods but on less land.
3. Provide the incentive to live at higher densities: large urban centers that induce some families to trade space for easy accessibility to jobs and other activities.
4. Publicize the social consequences of increased urban spread so people can make more rational choices between private taste and public problems.

Population in the older cities—a special issue of compactness. The total land used for urbanization will be greatly affected by what happens to the population in the older cities—the densest residential areas of the Region.

Between 1950 and 1960, 1½ million persons moved from the Core to an outlying area of the Region.* On the whole, those leaving the older cities were middle- and upper-income families with children (Table 3). That process seems to be continuing.

Table 3.

HOUSEHOLDS WITH 3-4 PERSONS AND 5 OR MORE PERSONS BY INCOME GROUP: PERCENTAGE OF REGION IN NEW YORK CITY AND NEWARK

City	Total	Under $5,000 Income	$5,000-$9,999 Income	$10,000-$14,999 Income	Over $15,000 Income
Percent of Region's Households with 3-4 Persons					
New York City	44.8%	59.6%	39.7%	43.6%	37.6%
Newark	2.2	3.7	1.9	1.6	0.8
Percent of Region's Households with 5 or more Persons					
New York City	38.1%	60.3%	34.1%	29.7%	30.3%
Newark	2.4	4.8	2.1	1.5	1.2

Source: U.S. Census of Housing, 1960, computed by Regional Plan Association

Note that these two categories of larger households, mainly made up of families with children, apparently leave the cities when their incomes rise.

As family incomes rise throughout the Region, will so many people pour out of the older cities that city populations decline? Or will enough middle- and upper-income families stay in the cities if the avoidable negatives are eliminated?

Some people advocate gradual abandonment of the cities on the grounds that they are obsolete, that no one

*Statistically speaking. They may have moved from the Region and been replaced by persons who settled outside the Core.

really wants to live at that density. On the other hand, there is evidence that city living will always find favor with enough people to maintain present city population if services are brought to a high level and the special problems of poverty and race are handled. But no one knows, and the risks in a wrong choice are substantial. If we act on the hypothesis that many people will want to live in the older cities when they are more pleasant—better designed, more convenient and freed of social frictions, and we find later that people don't want to, a tremendous public investment will be wasted. If, on the other hand, we start by assuming that the city is an archaic form, that few people will voluntarily live in them, and we bulldoze away our heritage, we not only shall have lost something irrevocable, but we shall pay a high price in land and public facilities to serve families in spread city who would have been happy in the higher-density city. And along the way, we shall have broken into communities and destroyed them.

Second Regional Plan proposals would call for the cut-and-try approach, beginning with public investment that would not be wasted whatever the public taste about city living.

The first step would be heavy investment in assisting the underclass in the city to break out of the poverty trap, via education, housing and other public services. The poor in the city probably are the main reason others are moving out. And, of course, the investment would not be wasted even if it does not turn out to be the main reason.

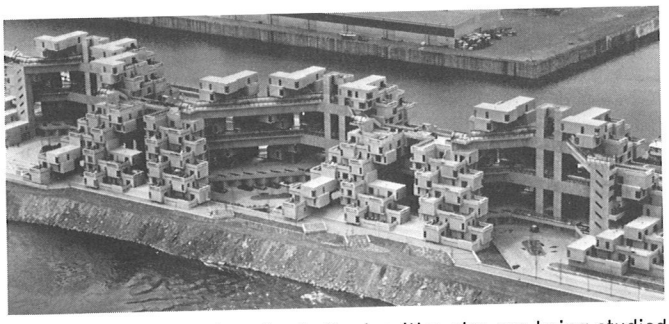
A second investment needed for the next decade or two, even if population continues to decline in the old cities, is much better public transportation. While some of this expenditure might be misplaced if the exodus from the cities were to continue at a rising rate, it is a *sine qua non* of a good modern city. Without fast, frequent, convenient and comfortable transit, people inevitably will choose enough spread to use their cars for all purposes and gradually destroy the essence of the city, compactness.

A third investment that would not be wasted whatever the long-run residential choice of the Region's families is improved central business districts.

A fourth investment, more parks and smaller open spaces, are a regional resource whatever the new pattern of the city turns out to be. Breezy Point Beach, Coney Island, Orchard Beach, Van Cortlandt Park, Central Park —all these will be filled whatever New York City's population. Sitting parks in the central business district will benefit those who work there regardless of residential population changes in the older cities. And any opening up of residential neighborhoods would not be wasted because that is in the direction of the only alternative to improving the city at present densities—rebuilding it with more spaciousness.

Note that this program would provide a somewhat different emphasis from the current programs to help the older cities, which aim mainly at making the older cities more attractive to the middle class by offering a middle-income housing bargain to induce families to put up with the many liabilities of the city. Our proposal is aimed primarily at eliminating the liabilities, benefitting all present and future residents and other users of the city.

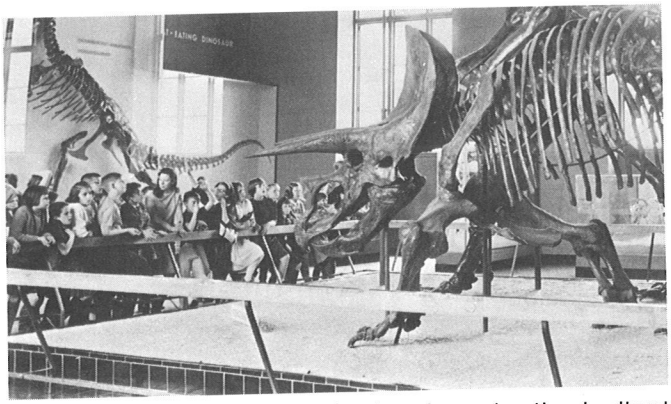
However, there is no question that housing is an important part of the equation both to the poor and to those who could choose either city or suburbs. More attention should be put on designing city density housing and neighborhoods for families with children (experiments such as Habitat at Expo 67) and on the economics of housing in cities.



Expo 67

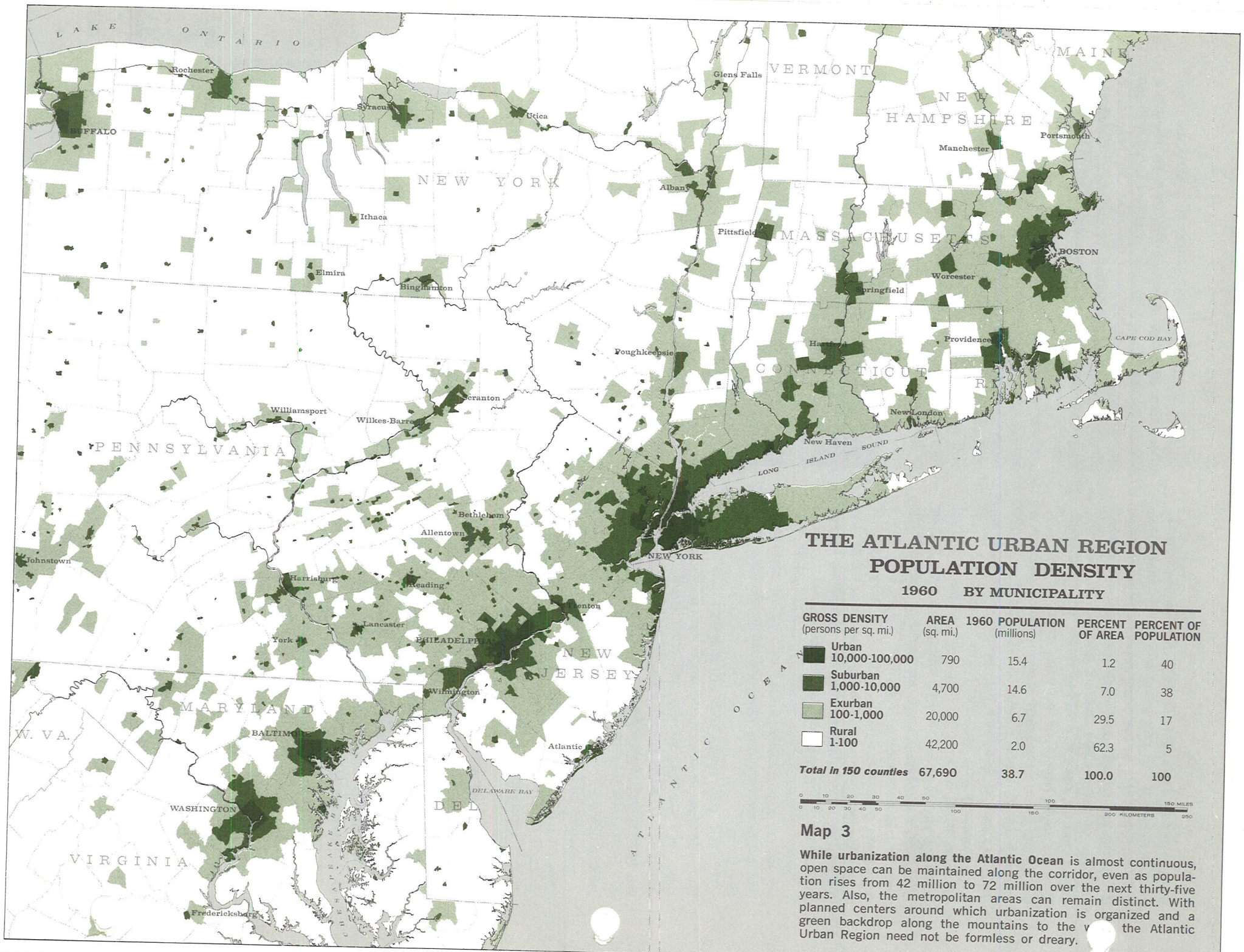
New designs for apartments at city densities also are being studied by architects—like Habitat, displayed at Expo 67 in Montreal this year. Each housing unit is stacked on others so that the roof of one is the front yard of another, and there are open walkways rather than closed apartment corridors.

We cannot write off the older city residential areas with the ultimate intention of bulldozing them into something like spread city without severe short-run problems as the cities gradually deteriorate and depopulate. Social and economic classes would be further separated, and communities would be seriously disrupted, particularly communities of lower-income families who are most reliant on the immediate geographical community to sustain them. Efforts to keep the cities good places to live over the next generation would be advisable, then, even if the basic form of the old cities were to be abandoned ultimately, though we do not expect that it will be.



Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History

If advantages of city living are offered, such as educational-cultural activities children can reach on their own, and if special problems of older cities can be mitigated, demand for high-density housing probably will be maintained.



THE ATLANTIC URBAN REGION
POPULATION DENSITY
1960 BY MUNICIPALITY

GROSS DENSITY (persons per sq. mi.)	AREA (sq. mi.)	1960 POPULATION (millions)	PERCENT OF AREA	PERCENT OF POPULATION
Urban 10,000-100,000	790	15.4	1.2	40
Suburban 1,000-10,000	4,700	14.6	7.0	38
Exurban 100-1,000	20,000	6.7	29.5	17
Rural 1-100	42,200	2.0	62.3	5
Total in 150 counties	**67,690**	**38.7**	**100.0**	**100**

0 10 20 30 40 50 100 150 MILES
0 10 20 30 40 50 100 150 200 KILOMETERS 250

Map 3

While urbanization along the Atlantic Ocean is almost continuous, open space can be maintained along the corridor, even as population rises from 42 million to 72 million over the next thirty-five years. Also, the metropolitan areas can remain distinct. With planned centers around which urbanization is organized and a green backdrop along the mountains to the w[illegible] the Atlantic Urban Region need not be formless or dreary.

The whole Region has a stake in maintaining attractive residential areas in the older cities for families of all ages and incomes: to keep the Region from spreading unnecessarily and to keep stable government in these economically and socially important parts of the Region. This implies that if some extra costs are needed to maintain good living conditions in the older cities, the cities should be able to get help from other levels of government.

An important element in maintaining a large and varied residential population in the larger older cities will be the magnetism of planned centers described earlier. All but one of the sites so far identified by Regional Plan for planned centers are in older cities of the Region.

4. Should population growth in the Region be discouraged?

Arguments for limiting the Region's population stem from six different objections to its growth.

Two are based on a misconception. One opposes greater population *density* in the Region and associates increased population with crowding. Since the Region is not a walled-in geographical area and can extend as it increases in population, there is no necessary connection between the Region's total population and its crowdedness. Indeed, the net density of the urbanized portion of the Region is now declining as urbanization extends outward. The second misconception is that we are running out of land in the East. More land between Boston and Washington has been abandoned by farmers to revert to woodland in recent decades than has been taken for housing, highways and the things of the city. If the Boston-to-Washington urban seaboard extends in the fashion of today's low-density suburbanization, the population projected for it by 2000—72 million people compared to a 1965 population of 42 million—would still cover only about a fifth of the 150 counties that make up an urbanizing corridor along the Atlantic Ocean.

The other four arguments deserve serious consideration.

The first relates to open space. It aims at assuring easy access to open countryside for all urban residents and reasonable access to special outdoor recreation facilities that are fixed and cannot be expanded to meet increased demand.

Access to open country can be satisfied easily. If our urban area grows in narrow channels, everyone can be near the countryside even if the urban area grows indefinitely.

But getting everyone "out in the country" easily does not satisfy all outdoor recreation demand. Not every hill can be skied. Not every outcropping of sand is an oceanfront. Far out bays could echo with the engines of weekend navies. Even protected wilderness areas could soon resound with the footsteps of weekend armies seeking to escape each other. As affluence and leisure continue to grow along with population, will the special outdoor places of the East become insufferably overcrowded even though we are successful in protecting general open space along the urban corridor?

Of course accessible outdoor recreation areas will increase along with population for a time, because increased demand can be expected to result in increased investment in beaches, ski slopes and public access to wilderness areas. Also, people will adjust to changing conditions. They will have more opportunity to slip away on weekdays to beaches and ski slopes, to avoid the weekend crowds. They will have better recreation close to home, e.g., swimming pools. But even so, it surely would be easier to get away from it all if population in the Atlantic urban area did not rise. However, this advantage is only a small part of the equation.

A second argument relates to waste disposal. As man pours more waste into air, water and earth even while becoming more pained at the result, some people are asking whether urbanized areas will have to limit their growth to handle waste disposal and provide fresh water efficiently.

The answer is that nowhere has rational waste management been attempted, that it is long overdue, and that without it, large metropolitan areas certainly could be in trouble. But with rational waste management, there is no known ceiling on urbanization.

The third serious objection to allowing further regional growth is that continuous urbanization is making human relationships too complex and unmanageable. "Megalopolis" has become a dirty word applied to the continuousness of urbanization in the Atlantic corridor, though the book which popularized the word was not unfavorable to what was happening.

In fact, the Eastern Seaboard is not becoming a complete blur of urbanization. Metropolitan areas remain distinct. (For example, the number of trips made within each metropolitan area is overwhelmingly greater than the number made from that metropolis to all other places.) Nevertheless, relationships among the small and large communities within giant metropolitan areas and among adjacent urban regions do become meshed in ways that complicate the individual's control over his environment.

For example, when citizens came to protest the widening of the Cross County or Bronx River Parkways in Westchester or the construction of an expressway along the banks of the Hudson River, they were told that these changes were necessitated by developments made far to their north or east.

Another example: many municipalities provide their own water supply. But of course their supply depends on the demands on the total watershed and on the conservation practices of many other municipalities.

To add to the complexity, the appropriate area for making water supply decisions is different from the area suited to transportation policies. There are, for instance, four massive planning studies going on now, two covering water supply, two covering transportation for the Philadelphia and the New York Regions. The transportation

studies overlap in Mercer County, New Jersey, one looking northeast, the other southwest. One water supply study covers the Delaware River Basin, which provides a great deal of water for the New York Region as well as for Philadelphia, one covers the Hudson River Basin, which also supplies water to the New York Region.

In short, the larger the metropolitan area, the farther flung the events that affect people living in it and the more complex the relationships that have to be governed if the people affected are to have some control of them.

Theoretically, at least, the systems could be more controllable and less oppressive-seeming if we simply cut off the metropolitan area and kept it from expanding.

The fourth argument for limiting New York's growth takes a national view and suggests that the advantages of urbanization should not be hoarded by a handful of great metropolises but should be spread more evenly by encouraging the growth of smaller urban areas. To the large metropolises, the advantages of added growth are minimal in any case and may well be overbalanced by the disadvantages.

It may be that some public stimulation of even faster growth in smaller urban areas would be justified, though these smaller areas may find it difficult to absorb population any faster than they are: medium-sized metropolitan areas, 500,000-1 million population, already are growing faster than larger ones.

Disadvantages of limiting growth. The size of the largest world cities has been rising steadily with increased world population, wealth and information. The more information that is available, the more tasks leading to a common goal must be subdivided and then reassembled to take fullest possible advantage of it. The city is a system for relating organizations with other organizations, so it seems to grow naturally to keep up with the subdividing and specializing that goes along with the information explosion. At the same time, the added wealth of the Western countries allows their economies to support costly urban infrastructures.

Organizations voluntarily seeking to locate in this metropolitan area presumably feel it is the best place for them, so any effort to discourage them from locating here presumably entails an extra cost for them and for the economy as a whole.

Furthermore, the New York Region has a unique personality and function in the country, which cannot be overlooked in considering its optimum size. It is first in size because it remains first in economic and cultural activities. London, Paris, Tokyo, Moscow all have the same force for growth: to business or cultural organizations, there is no substitute for being where the first teams are. In fact, primacy seems to be of increasing rather than diminishing importance, even though other metropolitan areas are large enough to provide most of the same types of services New York does.

Probably some activities could be unwound from New York-based organizations, leaving the top decision structure here while still allowing growth of jobs to take place elsewhere. Regional Plan's population projections assume continued peeling off of routine activities from more creative ones, but so far the advantages have not been worth the trouble to most of the office organizations that have chosen this Region.

There is also a question of whether national policy should encourage similarity in urban areas to the extent that similar size would gradually result in similar living conditions. In regional planning, we have placed choice and variety high on the list of values. Perhaps there should be wide choice and variety *among* metropolitan areas as well as *within* them. Perhaps New York should consciously retain its own personality, born of giant size and even some crowding, accepting their burdens with their advantages. Those who are depressed by the burdens or not stimulated by the spirit can move to Minneapolis.

At the same time, the controls needed to limit growth may be annoying or worse. They would have to be national controls based on national planning.

Three methods have been tried in countries outside the United States: a green belt—blocking the spread of development; government inducements to locate jobs outside a metropolis, coupled with regulations discouraging location in the metropolis; and systematically decanting jobs and their holders from a metropolis to new towns built for the purpose and separated from the metropolis sufficiently to stand on their own.

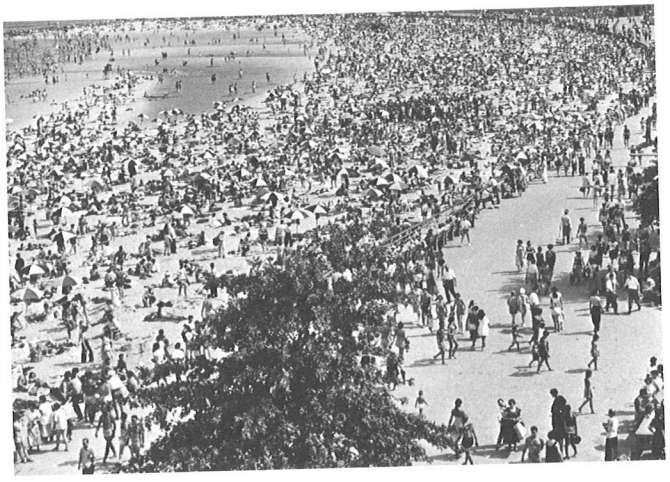
None has reached its objectives, and planning for the great world capitals seems gradually to be shifting toward shaping metropolitan growth (with outlying centers) rather than stopping it, though some continuing efforts are made to slow the population rise, too.

In all, the Regional Plan staff feels that it is advisable for the New York Region to accept the growth through the period studied for the Second Regional Plan—to 2000. We have chosen to concentrate our policy recommendations on where the additional homes, jobs and facilities locate and how people can move among them and to open countryside easily, to make the most of the advantages of large numbers of people and smooth away the friction as much as possible. In addition, we will be examining the ways in which public policies affecting residents of a huge metropolis can be better controlled by the Region's citizens, recognizing this as a difficult problem but feeling it is not insurmountable.

5. Open space

Open space has value for (1) outdoor recreation, (2) to maintain nature in the metropolis for psychological, ecological and educational purposes, (3) to admit light and air into tight neighborhoods and—at a larger scale—to dissipate air pollution, (4) to shape urbanization, and (5) for aesthetics. In size, it can be a vest-pocket park or wide avenue in Manhattan or a 10,000-square-mile chain of parks in the Appalachians, as Regional Plan has suggested.

The Appalachian Mountain chain, shown above in the Ramapo Mountains of New York State, should be brought into the public domain in a 10,000-square-mile park system bordering the Atlantic Urban Seaboard, Regional Plan has proposed. The Appalachian Highlands Association has been organized to work for acquisition of key parcels in New York and New Jersey. Other parks needed between Boston and Washington include 160 more miles of public oceanfront as well as more beaches and parks along the major bays of the Region, like Orchard Beach in the Bronx (below).



River valleys should provide a green framework interlacing the mountains and the sea. Even in urban areas, like New Brunswick (above), rivers can be important natural features, and development should be designed to make the most of them.

Between 1959 and 1965, 70 square miles of public parks were added in the Region (the old Regional Plan Region), a 26 percent increase while population rose by only about 7 percent. This burst of park acquisition came after a decade and a half of furious home construction following the great housing lag of the depression and World War II. In that period, park acquisition just kept pace with population growth. There was no improvement in the Region's very low standards of public open space parallel to the rising standards in other aspects of American life.

With improved highways, the New York Region has begun to share all-day and weekend outdoor recreation places with the rest of the Boston-Washington chain of metropolitan areas. New York area residents will use the Delaware Water Gap National Recreation Area at Tocks Island about equally with Philadelphia area residents and others further west. The Jersey shore is equally the province of Philadelphia and New York metropolitan area residents. The Poconos have become an important second house location for both metropolitan areas. So the pressures for outdoor recreation must be looked at along the whole Atlantic Urban Seaboard, not simply in the Study Area. There are now about 3,700 square miles of large public parks for 42 million people. A 70 percent population increase is expected by 2000.

For all five values of open space, Regional Plan proposes the following open-space program:

Atlantic Urban Seaboard park system. The metropolitan areas between Boston and Washington have grown primarily along the Seaboard. Development has formed a corridor between the Appalachians on the west and the Ocean on the east. Threading from the mountains to the sea are a series of rivers. This is the framework Regional Plan proposes for large-scale open space. (See Map 2.)

Specifically, the Appalachian mountain chain should all come into public ownership, some 10,000 square miles. Even if it were entirely taken by the federal government—which is unlikely and unnecessary—it would put no more than 20 percent of national park holdings along the Atlantic Seaboard, where 20 percent of the nation's population lives.

Just about all of the oceanfront is used for recreation, but only about 215 of the 800 oceanfront miles between Boston and Washington are open to the general public. Regional Plan has suggested that 160 more miles of oceanfront be opened to the general public.

The major river valleys—the Connecticut, Housatonic, Hudson, Delaware, Susquehanna and Potomac—and tidal bays—Long Island Sound, Cape Cod Bay, Buzzards Bay, Narragansett Bay, Gardiners Bay, Great South Bay, Delaware Bay and Chesapeake Bay—should be bordered with parks and carefully controlled urbanized uses which preserve their open-space qualities. (See Regional Plan's *The Lower Hudson,* 1966.)

For shorter outdoor recreation excursions, counties should expand their parks. Standards proposed for county parks in *The Race for Open Space* report by Regional Plan (1960) have nowhere been attained, though Westchester, Morris and Somerset counties have plans to achieve the standard by the target date, 1985.*

Local open space can be obtained by cluster zoning as well as local purchase. Cluster zoning allows a home builder to integrate public open space with the housing, leaving suitable land open. Usual subdivision controls require dividing the tract into even sized lots, which often means cutting more trees, levelling hillsides and filling streambeds as well as eliminating any natural spaces. Under some cluster zoning ordinances, the open space is jointly owned by the residents of the subdivision, under some by the municipality. In either case, iron-clad legal restrictions on its use can be worked out.

Cooperation should be worked out among developers and adjacent municipalities to leave continuous open space, for example, along a stream where feasible. Some standards for municipal parks were suggested by Regional Plan in 1960. A comparison of the standard with the amount of parkland then owned by the Region's municipalities appears in *The Race for Open Space.**

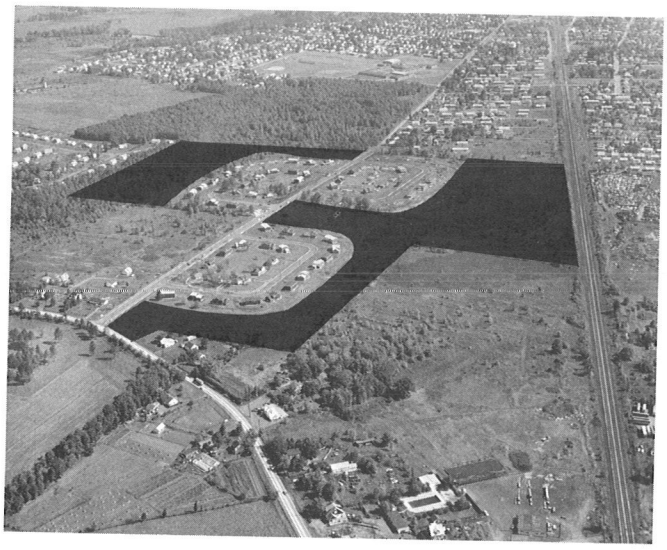
How much open space? There is no criterion by which an objective standard of open space can be established, but clearly people in this Region are in favor of retaining a great deal. New York State voted for two bond issues totalling $100 million for open space in 1960 and 1962 and for another $200 million program for park development in 1966. New Jersey voted a $60 million bond issue for its "Green Acres" program in 1961. Bond issue proposals for other purposes were defeated throughout this period. Connecticut also issued $10 million bonds for park purchases in 1961, but no referendum was required.

The simultaneous rise of leisure time, per capita incomes and automobile ownership seems likely to result in doubling the use of local recreation areas in the New York Region between 1956 and 1985 (if the parks are available) and five to eight times the 1956 use of all-day areas in or near the Region, according to the 1960 Regional Plan study.

The best arrangement of urban and open uses in the Region rather than the cost of keeping land open should determine where and how much land is kept for outdoor recreation and other open uses, Regional Plan suggests.

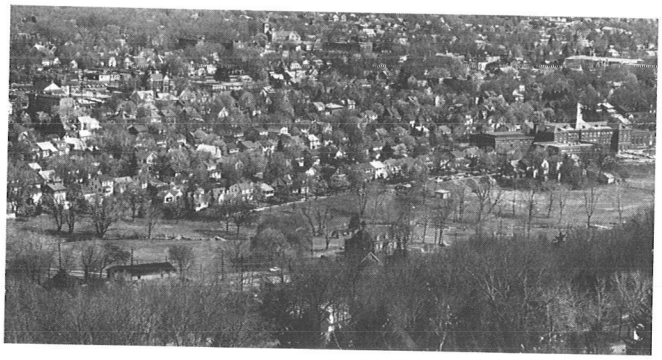
This seems a valid assumption over the long run. With financing techniques which can postpone full payment over a long period, it would also seem feasible in the short run for one governmental level or another to purchase land planned for open space in time to keep it from being urbanized. Such a financing system implies continuing federal involvement, whether with loans or grants.

*The Race is out of print, but it may be found in many public libraries and in the Regional Plan Association library.



Somerset County Planning Board

Local open space can be integrated with housing under cluster zoning or planned unit development ordinances which allow the builder flexibility in placing homes in relation to hills, trees and stream valleys. Above, one of the first cluster subdivisions in the Region, in Hillsborough, New Jersey, where the builder was allowed to leave open the area shaded in green—woods on the left and playing fields on the right—while building the same number of housing units that would have been placed on the whole site under usual zoning ordinances. Continuous open space, particularly along a stream bed, as below, in Hawthorne, New Jersey, is better for wildlife and natural processes. This usually requires the cooperation of adjacent municipalities and developers.



Following this view—that a long-range plan of optimum land use rather than year-to-year budget pressures should determine the spaces to be left open, there would be no conflict between purchase of parks close to large population centers and parks farther away—both are needed for different purposes.

Parks close to urban centers should have priority however—not because they are better than larger parks farther away but because they must be purchased more quickly or they will disappear and because they are more pressingly needed close in. This assumption—that the American economy can afford to keep open all land necessary to achieve satisfactory urban development—underlay Regional Plan's support for Breezy Point in Queens. The key question, the Association argued, was

"What is the best use of this magnificent strip of open oceanfront?" The answer, clearly, was a public beach-park. Eventually, New York City accepted this recommendation and is purchasing the park, using federal and state grants in aid that would not have been available for other purposes.

6. What is the optimum highway program for the Region?

Highway engineers have been setting standards for highways without giving people a chance to decide consciously whether they really want to give up additional dollars and open space for the privilege of travelling somewhat faster.

Since there is no objective measure of how much highway capacity is needed for a given number of persons and activities—added highway capacity inevitably induces added movement—some subjective judgment must be made between how much and how fast we want to travel and how much we want to pay, in money and space, for the privilege.

In preparing a highway plan for a region, the following questions must be answered—with little objective guidance:

Should almost all places within the region be equally accessible to an expressway, or should certain areas be bypassed to discourage development there (as in the Washington D.C. *Year 2000 Plan,* which advocated corridors of good transportation, where development would be attracted, and poorly served areas between, where little development would be expected).

Should the highway network be the maximum feasible —about 1½ miles between expressways—or the minimum possible, e.g., lagging behind projected car-mile demand to discourage the rapid expansion of automobile travel in the Region and save natural open space? If so, how should existing highway capacity be rationed—by patience in traffic jams, by tolls (adjusted, perhaps, by location and time of day), or by some other means? Should buses be given priority? Should truck use of highways be regulated, perhaps barring them at certain times of day?

Should a fixed highway network be planned and not exceeded, whatever the demand, on the assumption that wherever the highways could not handle the traffic, there would be enough demand in that corridor for public transportation?

How much of our scenic areas should be invaded by highways, even skillfully designed—remembering, however, that only a small minority would enjoy these areas if highways did not penetrate?

Or is maximum freedom of movement one of the highest values, justifying highways to serve every likely demand?

Bureau of Public Roads

Highways are programmed after comparing their cost with the value of the time the new highways would save motorists (measured by the amount of money motorists usually are willing to pay to save time). If the benefits exceed the cost, the highway is put on the agenda to be built. However, the public seldom has a chance to look at the total highway impact and consciously choose whether they want more or fewer lanes. Highways like this not only dramatically change the area through which they are cut but also change the economic location of jobs and the availability of public transportation.

". . .Official attitudes toward highway construction have profoundly, but almost silently changed. "Half the people in this building," an Assistant Secretary of Transportation remarked recently, "will die happy if we never again build a foot of urban highway." The construction of urban highways will continue, but the era when government viewed them as an unquestionable good is over.

What happened was that people changed their minds about the automobile. Or rather the people who have the power to direct such matters in America did so. The scientist Michael Polanyi has called attention to how much more common this process is than is generally recognized. One day a society appears to be operating within a well-established and untroubled system of belief, the next day it turns out to have abandoned its old convictions in favor of entirely new ones . . . .

The point is that the private automobile, as authors Alan K. Campbell and Jesse Burkhead say, "is undoubtedly the greatest generator of externalities that civilization has ever known." Its only possible rival, they add, would appear to be warfare among nations. One day the country woke up and found it had decided many of those externalities simply did not have to be tolerated indefinitely."

Daniel P. Moynihan,
"Next: A New Auto Insurance Policy,"
The New York Times Magazine,
August 27, 1967

"... The most conspicuous cause of the "metropolitan explosion" is the spontaneous quest by more and more urban families, as net incomes rise, for the family house standing in its own yard. The outward movement of the well-off is nothing new; what is new is the spread of wealth to far more numerous classes who can afford what Susannah's husband provided for her in Babylon and great senators took for themselves in ancient Rome—a suburban home in a garden. . . . Such environments reflect a universal natural desire that man indulges wherever and whenever he becomes prosperous and free.

Admittedly, there are some genuine addicts of high urban culture to whom space and green surroundings make little appeal—types who like to live in city centres with their rich assemblies of theatres, concert halls, art galleries, restaurants, night clubs, snack bars, and hamburger stands—and are reassured by the bustle of crowds, traffic noises, flashing signs, and the insistent impact on their senses of commercial vitality. I do not deplore the existence of these types, though I suspect that their contribution to our culture is over valued. But they are a tiny minority. . . ."

Frederic J. Osborn,
"The Conqueror City,"
Town and Country Planning, XXIX
(April 1961)

"This process of spread, to be sure, might not have gone on forever if the jobs of our metropolitan areas had not evidenced a similar tendency to spread outward. The reasons for this spread of jobs are not hard to find. Of every twenty jobs in urban areas, about four are in the consumer trade lines and another five or six in local governments, local utilities, local business or professional services, and local construction; these jobs, making up about half the urban labor force, more or less automatically follow the drift of the population as it spreads outward from the old city.

The other half of the job market is subject to a more complicated calculus of location. In a word, however, most of the labor force employed in manufacturing—the lighter manufacturing plants as well as the abattoirs and chemical plants—have joined the outward move. The kind of site required for the modern space-hungry plant simply cannot be found in the older portions of an urban area. The time-cost and money-cost involved in assembling an industrial site in some ossified district already encumbered by structures are extremely high—so high as to make that kind of operation simply out of the question, at least without summary public powers and extensive public subsidy.

. . . With the ubiquitous use of the automobile, the labor force of the city no longer offers a unique attraction to the factory employer. Power, water, and sewage can now be had over much wider areas, a by-product of the spread of the homes. So industry has followed the trek to the suburbs, gobbling up land at the rate of about ten employees to the acre.

In fact only one major cluster of employment has resisted the outward move. This is the complex of frenetic economic activities . . . whose elite are overwhelmed with uncertainties, demanding face-to-face communication, and dependent for their effective operation upon swift access to various other enterprises. Most of these activities are in offices, some are in showrooms, and some are in manufacturing lofts. All told, they account for perhaps one-fifth of the urban areas' labor force and represent the critical nub of employment in the central business districts of most major cities.

Even in these activities, however, one can see a certain loosening of ties to the old city center. After all, the needs for swift and easy access and face-to-face communication do not apply to more than a tiny fraction of the office workers in the downtown area.

The trend to suburban locations for the billing clerks, if not the bosses, has been accelerated by two factors. One has been the appearance of the first generation of young women who drive cars more naturally than they walk; to recruit a workforce of young women office workers it is no longer necessary to sit astride a public transportation facility. The second factor has been the growing remoteness of the daughters of the middle class from the old city centers. In weighing the attractiveness of alternative job opportunities, a significant fraction of these young women have preferred a job in the suburbs near home to one in the more remote, albeit more ebullient, city centers."

Raymond Vernon,
The Myth and Reality of Our Urban Problems
(Cambridge: Joint Center for Urban Studies of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Harvard University, 1962)

"... The basic purpose of a city is the facilitation of interchange—the interchange of goods through trade and merchandising, of labor and services in industrial and service enterprises, of messages and ideas in financial and political and cultural activities. When the means of interchange are drastically altered, the nature of the city must also be drastically altered.

In the large cities of a century ago, population was tightly concentrated. Concentration was necessary in order for people to get from home to work and school and shop and engage in the other complex exchanges of a city. When each individual and most of the goods move from place to place within the urban environment in a vehicle weighing more than a ton and capable of moving economically at the rate of a mile a minute, the old patterns of settlement are technologically obsolete and will inevitably be changed."

York Willbern
The Withering Away of the City
(University of Alabama Press, 1964)

"*Urbanization . . . is merely the process of creating close human settlements, buildings and roads—any kind of building, any kind of road—in an environment that thereby becomes increasingly unsuited to the pursuit of rural occupations like hunting, fishing, farming, gardening. You have only to contrast Princeton, which though small in size has many of the identifying marks of a city, with the vast amorphous urbanoid wasteland that stretches between Camden and Jersey City, to perceive the essential difference. Urbanization could go on coagulating indefinitely, . . . without once creating a city. . . . To apply the term city to such an unstructured mass is to increase the deplorable mental confusion we are now in. . . .*

. . . . One key characteristic of the city is variety: Variety of biological and cultural stocks, variety of wants, variety of opportunities, variety of institutions, variety of fulfillments. Where variety is absent, the city does not exist. Though it contains a million inhabitants it is still culturally and socially a village.

There is not in fact a single *so-called urban function that has not been practiced successfully outside the city, in villages, manors, and monasteries. Many seemingly characteristic urban institutions, in fact, began like the theater in a purely rural environment.* The unique office of the city, the one thing that cannot be delegated to any other institution, is precisely the assemblage of the single parts into a new kind of structure.

Togetherness, then, is the essence of the city's life: it concentrates, as no single other institution can do, the opportunities for human association and intercourse, multiplying challenges and encounters, widening the area of two-way communication and unspoken communion, making present and visible, in the transaction of daily affairs, the realities of human cooperation. . . .

By drawing different cultures, occupations, biological strains, and resources into a single center, the first cities performed a tremendous act of cultural hybridization, whose human consequences were comparable to the domestication of plants and animals. The unique, emergent function of the city, and increasingly now the main reason for its existence, is the continued enlargement, storage and transmission of an ever larger portion of the cultural heritage. Not merely the symbolic heritage of science and art, not merely what can be written or carved or painted or built, but likewise what must be transmitted directly, by word of mouth, from teacher to student, from craftsman to apprentice, from priest or prophet to disciple, or just from man to man.

The city is people, as the late Henry Churchill properly insisted: but people joined together in a special, intimate way: face-to-face in an environment that favors differences and stimulates a never-ending dialogue; people in what Martin Buber calls the I-and-Thou relationship: people who are no longer simply agents or servants or slaves, or specialists or experts, but who have become real persons, and who, to the extent that they are persons, can no longer be manipulated or controlled by purely external pressure or physical compulsions."

Lewis Mumford
"On Guard! The City Is in Danger!"
University, A Princeton Quarterly
(Spring 1965)

> *". . . To most Americans, the personal experience of urban living seems not one of personal retrogression but of continuous improvement. By moving out of the slag heaps of the worked-out city, they have improved their surroundings sufficient for a generation. The worries of a Riesman, the strivings of a Mumford, are inarticulate, scarce-comprehensible murmurings. Let the central city weep; let the sociologists fume; except for such intractable problems as death, war, and taxes, things are getting slightly better all the time."*
>
> Raymond Vernon,
> *The Myth and Reality of Our Urban Problems*
> (Cambridge: Joint Center for Urban Studies of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Harvard University, 1962)

7. What investment in quality?

Thus far, we have discussed what should be done where. This section deals with how well it should be done: both the quality of what man builds and the quality of air and water and the land left open.

Standards demanded by the public have risen sharply in the last few years. Just since 1964, public demand for a better environment has become politically potent—to stop polluting rivers and air, to protect the Hudson River Valley from encroachments on its beauty (resulting, for example, in creation of the Hudson River Valley Commission and in the redesign of a New York City sewage disposal plant by Philip Johnson and of the proposed Consolidated Edison Storm King plant to make them aesthetically more suited to their Hudson locations), to stop elevated expressways (as with the Embarcadero Freeway in San Francisco, the Schulykill Expressway in Philadelphia, and the Lower Manhattan Expressway), to save historic landmarks (as encouraged by the recent New York City ordinance), to open small parks and plazas in Manhattan's central business district (e.g., Paley Park).

On the whole, the issue of quality must be decided year-by-year as the public's desire for a higher quality environment and its ability to pay for it rise to the level of competing concerns. But a long-range plan can (1) make the public aware of what is possible—both what improvements should be considered and also what threats exist to present quality standards, (2) the possibility and cost of higher quality for individual projects and (3) policy machinery changes that would stimulate higher environmental quality.

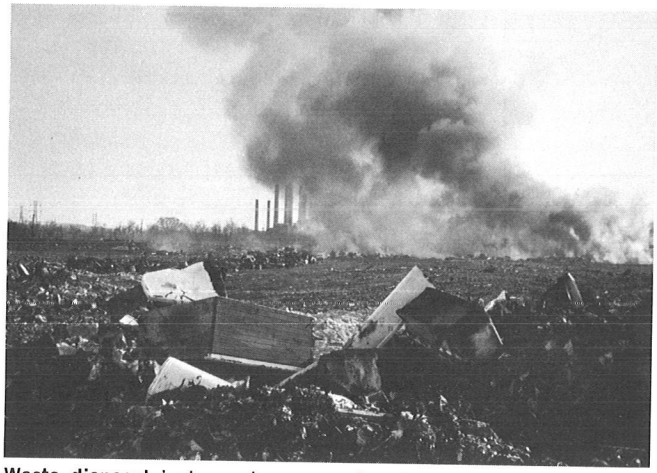
Waste disposal—the increasing burden on land, air and bodies of water. In a recent report to Regional Plan Association, a consultant team laid out several approaches to more rational waste management. Though the consultants warn of serious problems from accumulating wastes if there is no rational management of them, they reach the heartening conclusion that many avenues are available for rapid improvement in waste management (because so little has been done).

One general approach to improved waste management is to place the costs of handling waste on those producing it, e.g., charging enough for water to cover costs of purifying the effluent and charging the producer of packaging for the cost of disposing of it. One result that could be expected, the consultants suggest, is less waste produced. Another is more attention to making the product easy to dispose of.

The consultants emphasize that efficient policy-making and administration of wastes are difficult to achieve. For example, often the same waste could be disposed of as a solid (land-fill), as a liquid (ground up and poured into a sewer), or as a gas (incinerated). But, the most efficient areas for waste disposal are different for each of these methods, so coordination of administration and policies is complicated.

Complex or not, it seems fairly certain from this pioneering report to Regional Plan that to raise environmental standards in the face of rising population and per capita waste, there will have to be more coordination among those causing the problem and officials at all levels of government responsible for handling it.

Some suggestions for improvements in environmental quality. Everyone, probably, has his little list of uglinesses he would like to abolish from the Region. Here is our



Pix

Waste disposal is becoming a growing burden on the quality of our environment as it is emitted into the air, poured into rivers and bays or dumped into wetlands. Rational waste management can improve the quality of the air and water and fill appropriate land, but improved waste management will require much more coordination among those causing the problem and officials at all levels of government.

By eliminating "such costly items as fancy store fronts, trees, plantings, garden malls, etc., and concentrating on just space and parking, real savings can be passed on to the consumer," the developer of this shopping center in Oyster Bay Town, New York, announced last month. Ignoring the lack of amenity, one neighboring civic association leader commented, according to NEWSDAY, that the shopping center wouldn't send any children to school.

list for your consideration.
Air pollution.
Pollution of rivers and bays.
Drabness of many city neighborhoods—the need for more green, more open spaces.
Strip commercial development along many highways.
Poor maintenance of public places, including streets, parks, subway stations, buses and trains.
Disorganization and dreariness of most subway stations.
Large open parking fields in built-up areas.
The no-mans-land feeling about many places in the suburbs—along some expressways and at commercial corners.
Elevated expressways and rail lines in built-up areas.
Meaningless noise.
Mediocre design of new buildings, residential subdivisions and commercial areas.
Obliteration of architectural landmarks.
Bulldozing of places of special natural beauty.
Overhead power and telephone lines.

New processes to promote better appearance and amenity. In many cases, the quality of the environment is low because of a considered and careful judgment that higher quality is not worth the money to those who would be affected. But in other cases: 1) the people affected are not given the choice of paying more for better quality, 2) the extra cost cannot be assessed against those who would benefit, and those who would have to pay do not feel it would benefit them, and 3) the people making the decisions have inadequate knowledge to do better.

These obstacles should be overcome.

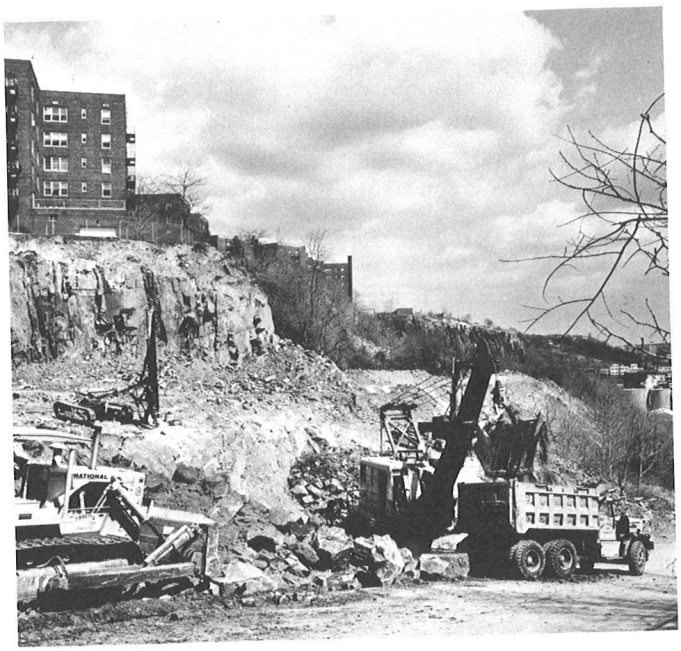
On the whole, however, those concerned about low environmental quality must convince a working majority to spend more money on improving it.

"The conversion of wetlands—vital to the survival of water-fowl and fish—into housing projects, marinas, airports and garbage dumps is continuing at a rate alarming to conservationists.

"It's done out of ignorance," said Joseph Spagnoli, a marine biologist for the State Department of Conservation."

The New York Times, September 24, 1967

Some builders are concerned about maintaining the Region's amenities; some are not. On the Palisades across the Hudson River from New York City, both types are operating. Horizon House apartments take full advantage of the River and Manhattan view without destroying the appearance of the cliffs from the opposite side. Further south, some builders have simply bulldozed the Palisades and obliterated their natural lines.



III. PUBLIC RESPONSE TO THE ISSUES

The issues facing the New York Metropolitan Region have been set out here both to raise them for conscious consideration by as many residents of the Region as possible and to receive public reaction to them as a guide in the final preparation of the Second Regional Plan.

Following are questions that should be widely discussed, on which informed public opinion should influence what is done.

I. Needs of lower-income families

A. Should the needs of unskilled people have priority in job location (e.g., inducement of unskilled jobs to locate where they are accessible to residential areas where the unskilled live though not necessarily in slum areas themselves)?

B. Should positive efforts be made to assure cheaper housing outside the older cities

1. So lower-middle-income families can have a wider choice of housing type and location and find homes nearer jobs that have left the older cities?
2. To lessen pressures on housing in the older cities and so ease relocation for renewal projects, ease overcrowding of apartments, and possibly open the way for middle-income housing in the cities to keep the range of population there varied?
3. To promote more varied population in the newer areas in order to eliminate the separation of poor and well-to-do, Negro and white, and particularly to bring about school integration?

C. Should efforts be made to hold middle-income white families in the older cities even though housing pressures in the cities might increase temporarily?

II. Planned centers

A. What advantages and disadvantages do you see in large planned centers (i.e., new or enlarged downtowns)? On the whole, do you favor them?

B. If planned centers were to be built, what policies would you prefer to get them built (whether you favor the centers themselves or not):

1. A public development corporation representing the local area, which would own the land and lease it or in some similar way directly control development plans and distribute profits fairly in the area served?
2. Provision by public agencies at several levels of government of the necessary transportation, plus agreement by public agencies to locate such public facilities as public universities and government offices in the center area; also arrangements for fair tax distribution among local governments served—but no public ownership of the land?
3. Power for county governments to make the necessary arrangements, including tax-sharing, appropriate zoning, and agreements with state and federal governments to locate transportation and other facilities—but no public ownership of the land?
4. Some other policy?

III. Varied housing patterns

A. Do you favor concentrating most of the apartments needed in a "large-scale community" (between 500,000 and 2 million population) in and around a planned center, assuming one is built?

B. If not, where in the Region would you locate the apartments which will be wanted?

C. Would you favor steps to eliminate the effects of local fiscal pressures on municipal zoning (i.e., the almost uniform local zoning requirement of a large lot for each new house)?

1. To do this, would you support a change in tax arrangements (e.g., much greater state aid to schools, a county real estate tax system redistributed to school districts, or some other system of local tax sharing) so that fiscal pressures would not be important enough to influence most zoning ordinances?
2. Would you support a review and limited veto of municipal zoning decisions by the county or a metropolitan planning agency responsible to the three states on those housing issues that have regional impact?
3. Some other system?

D. Would you personally like a Region in which present development was surrounded almost entirely by one-family houses on lots of at least half-an-acre—apart from your own housing and lot-size preference?

E. What is your own housing preference, both for when—or if—you have school-age children in the household and for when you do not have school-age children in the household? What type of housing and what lot size if you prefer a one-family house? (Some examples of lot sizes in the Region: One-family house sections of older cities, e.g., outer areas of the Bronx and Queens, are on lots of about a tenth of an acre; immediate postwar "Levittown"-type subdivisions have lots of about a seventh of an acre; most subdivisions of the early 'fifties in Bergen and Westchester Counties

were on third-acre lots and in the late 'fifties on half-acre lots or larger; on Long Island, lots have remained between a quarter and a third of an acre, on the average.)

F. If the wage-earner in your family worked in a planned center, which also offered good shopping and other activities as described above, in which direction would your housing preference tend—both with and without children in the household: House on a large lot about 25 minutes by car from the center, with 35-minute rush-hour bus service to the center; house on a smaller lot 10-15 minutes by car from the center with 15-20 minute bus service throughout the day and evening; apartment within walking distance (or frequent minibus) of most center activities?

G. Would the existence of an attractive planned center in your area change the housing choice you might make—type of housing or lot size—compared to your choice if there were no planned center? For example, if the job of your family's wage-earner were in a renewed and enlarged planned center in Jamaica or downtown Brooklyn, would the location of the job and the existence of a vital shopping-university-cultural center there make you inclined to live in Queens or Brooklyn when you otherwise might not?

H. Do you agree that efforts should be made to keep the spread of urbanization at a minimum
   1. so long as people's real preference for housing space is satisfied?
   2. even at the expense of personal taste for space?

IV. Transportation

A. How important is it to provide an alternative to driving
   1. to work?
   2. to other activities?

B. Under what conditions, if any, would you use public transportation for trips that you now make by car
   1. to work?
   2. to shopping?
   3. to weekend outdoor recreation?
   4. other?

C. Should all parts of the Region be equally served by limited access highways, resulting in an even grid of expressways, or should some areas be deliberately by-passed and left at lower densities, i.e., green wedges between corridors of more intensive development?

D. Should highway travel be discouraged—a great deal, a little, or not at all or should it be encouraged? If discouraged, by what means—lagging highway construction, increased charges for highway use, tighter regulation of trucks, priority for buses, government promotion of good public transportation service generally?

V. Design

In general, do you like concentrations of activities to be in high buildings, along with some high-rise apartments, leaving most of the residential areas low, or do you prefer everything low—say, under five stories, or do you prefer more high buildings than just those in the proposed planned centers?

VI. Population growth

A. Would you like to slow or stop population growth in the New York Region?

B. If so, what really bothers you about the prospective growth?

C. What method would you support to limit growth if that goal were agreed upon by a majority of the nation?

VII. Open space

A. Do you agree with the assumption that the public can afford to purchase as much open space as might be required for satisfactory urban development so that the relationship of open space to urban activities in a metropolitan area, e.g., how far apart related activities should be pushed, is the only important criterion of park acquisition?

B. Does the general proposition that large-scale open space in the East should follow the Appalachians, the oceanfront and the major river valleys seem sensible? If not, what alternative do you propose?

VIII. Environmental quality

A. What is your list of priority items for improvement of environmental quality?

B. What suggestions do you have, besides simply investing more money in better facilities and conditions, for stimulating better design and maintenance of places outside of the home, e.g., how much greater government participation—more regulation or incentives—would you feel is justified?

IX. General comment

A. What is missing from this over-view of the Second Regional Plan? What should Regional Plan Association be working on that is not included in this discussion?

B. What other criticisms do you have of this material and the general policy approach of the Association?

BERGEN RECORD
May 18, 1967

Love Letter To A City

From a bard that goes by the unlikely name of the Regional Plan Association a startled world heard yesterday a song in praise of the city.

That's news. For too many years the word "city" has functioned mainly to serve notice that the word "congestion" or "slum" will be along immediately — involved is the same conditioned reflex that makes the word "juvenile" a mere prefix of the word "delinquent".

The R. P. A. remembers that the city not only is grim and great and gallant, a magic whose elements are golden towers and struggle and shining people but is the marketplace, the laboratory, the counting house, the teacher, the haven, the trading post — the city is co-operative Man, and if we didn't have it we should be compelled to invent it tomorrow.

The greatness of cities and the inevitability of their growth are the gist of the interim R. P. A. report just made public. It is titled "The Region's Growth", it is a highly digestible analysis of the economic and population projections for the New York metropolitan area between now and the end of the century, and it with a shelfful of companion studies will constitute the substructure of the R. P. A.'s second regional plan for the 31-county area.

The R. P. A. does not deceive itself; it is aware that as of today "city" means "problem":

> The fact that metropolitan areas continue to grow all over the world, in many countries defying strong governmental measures aimed at limiting their growth, testifies to the universal magnetism of large urban areas. . . . In any case, most of the problems of the largest urban areas of the world — congestion, dehumanization, poverty, crowding, long work trips — are not inherent in size and can be mitigated without limiting growth.

But, problem or no problem, the great city is one condition of Man's fulfillment in the world as is. This is the R. P. A.'s premise.

Perhaps the Regional Plan Association underestimates the doggedness of powerful forces' determination to leave problems unsolved. But again perhaps it is justified in its faith that the questions which seem to us now so massive — questions of inequality, illiteracy, cyclical poverty, prejudice based on irrelevancies of race and religion — can be contained and reduced.

Its specific recommendations will affect the thinking of planners in the whole of the loosely so-called megalopolis ranging from Boston to Washington.

It proposes an Appalachian park system twice the size of Yellowstone Park, a system whose 10,000 square miles from the Shenandoahs to the Green Mountains would be within reach of one fifth of the nation's people. It proposes 160 more miles of ocean front be made public parkland. It proposes a network of green space structured on the great bays and rivers. It proposes drastic speedup in ground transportation. It proposes planned development of new downtowns, new commercial plexuses — new cities.

The city is not a dirty 4-letter word. It is the shape of the future, and the R. P. A. is right in summoning us to go out to meet it with a cry of recognition and gratitude.

NEW YORK TIMES
May 22, 1967

The Metropolitan Region

The New York Metropolitan Region, the world's largest urban agglomeration, is heading into a period of rapid growth. Whether this will promote the well-being of its millions of residents or accentuate the social ills from which it now suffers depends in large measure on the wisdom and foresight of its planners.

The Regional Plan Association has just published a massive study, "The Region's Growth," which will be of inestimable value to public officials and planners throughout the tristate area for years to come. It points up afresh the need for more and better regional machinery to bridge conflicting jurisdictions and solve problems rationally rather than haphazardly.

The region, which in 1965 had seventeen million residents in 22 counties, is expected to grow by the year 2000 to thirty million people in 31 counties, covering an area of 13,000 square miles around the Port of New York.

The basic reason for expansion of metropolitan areas is the broader range of opportunities they offer. Organizations come to a metropolitan center because it is easier for them to communicate with other organizations; individuals do so because they have a wider choice of jobs.

The New York Metropolitan Region will remain the central link in a 460-mile urban chain extending from Maine to Virginia. The population of this Atlantic urban region is expected to rise from the present 42 million to about 72 million by 2000, but it will remain a chain of cities rather than become a single supercity.

To meet the needs of the fifth of the nation's population that will be residing in the area, recreational facilities will have to be tremendously expanded. The study urges acquisition of an Appalachian system of about 10,000 square miles of large public parks, from the Shenandoahs to the Green Mountains; the conversion of 160 miles of ocean front into public parks and development of the major inland waterways as continuous green spaces.

High-speed railroad transportation, which is scheduled to begin on an experimental basis this summer, should be improved until the running time between New York and Boston or Washington is reduced to two hours, and there should be intensive research into even higher-speed methods of ground transportation.

But unless serious and rational planning is undertaken, the inevitable growth of the metropolitan region could be painful and chaotic. The Regional Plan Association's study contains valuable suggestions for guiding short-term and long-term growth. It does not have all the answers, but it does make plain the urgent need for comprehensive planning of New York's growth.

NEW YORK TIMES
October 3, 1967

The Cross-Town Highway

A practical design for the much-needed Lower Manhattan Expressway has at last been worked out by the city and tentatively approved by the Federal and state agencies that will pay the bulk of its cost. It should provide great relief to the terrible traffic congestion in the lower part of the city by taking thousands of trucks off congested streets; and it avoids the disastrous elevated structure originally proposed.

Ever since the Holland Tunnel was completed forty years ago the need for a high-speed vehicular connection between it and the East River bridges has been apparent. The first regional plan, drawn up in the 1920's, envisaged one; the Lower Manhattan Expressway has been part of the city's master plan ever since the City Planning Commission approved it in 1940.

Robert Moses, as the city's coordinator of arterial highways, insisted for many years on the concept of an elevated structure, which he contended was the only economically feasible solution to the problem. But it was strongly opposed by many individuals and civic organizations on the sound ground that such structures are obsolete and divisive. The Regional Plan Association pointed the way to the present solution by suggesting that the express roadway, instead of being elevated, might be put in a depressed cut, which could be covered over at suitable spots and used for vest pocket parks, playgrounds, city buildings and other useful purposes.

The plan now proposed by the Lindsay administration and tentatively approved by the Federal and state authorities is an ingenious engineering refinement and adaptation of the plan first worked out for the Regional Plan Asssociation by Walter D. Binger. In some sections there would be space for parking or industrial development on an intermediate level above the roadway, while the street level was devoted to a park. By the use of Kenmare and Broome Streets as service roads and by constructing one part of the roadway as a tunnel under the Sara Delano Roosevelt playground, the new expressway will minimize the dislocations of residents and businesses.

Traffic studies show that about 150,000 vehicles daily struggle through the narrow, congested streets on their way across the lower part of Manhattan Island. With suitable entrances and exits for traffic not bound for New Jersey or Long Island, the new road is expected to take four-fifths of these cars and trucks off the surface streets. Approval of the Board of Estimate is the next step before this much-needed improvement can at last be realized.

SELECTED FURTHER READINGS

Where should priority be given to improving conditions for the poor and minority groups in regional development decisions?

Institute of Public Administration. *Let There Be Commitment; A Housing, Planning, and Development Program for New York City*. September 1966.

Lyford, Joseph P. *The Airtight Cage*. New York: Harper & Row, 1966.

Should the current homogenized pattern of urbanization be continued or should it be modified to provide large and more varied clusters of activity?

Jamaica Chamber of Commerce. *General Prospectus; Revitalization and Development Program for a Greater Jamaica*, by David L. Lutin, 1967.

Nassau County Planning Commission. *Nassau Center*. 1966.

Row, Arthur T. *A Consultant's Report to the Tri-State Transportation Committee on a Reconnaissance of the Tri-State Region and Some Ideas for a Development Plan*. 1965.

How compact a settlement will people accept?

Beck, R. J. and Okamoto, Rai Y. "Human Response to Patterns of Urban Density." New York: Regional Plan Association. September 1967.

Hall, E. T. *The Hidden Dimension*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1966.

Olsson, Gunnar. *Distance and Human Interaction: A Review and Bibliography*, Philadelphia: Regional Science Research Institute, 1965.

Stea, D. "Space, Territory and Human Movements," *Landscape*, Vol. 15 (Autumn 1965), pp. 13-16.

Should public policies discourage further population growth in the Region?

Gottman, Jean. *Megalopolis*. New York: The Twentieth Century Fund, 1961.

Meier, Richard L. *A Communications Theory of Urban Growth*. Cambridge: M. I. T. Press, 1962.

Regional Plan Association. *The Region's Growth; A Report of the Second Regional Plan* (Bulletin No. 105). May 1967.

What process should be used to decide how much open space should be set aside and where?

Regional Plan Association. *The Race for Open Space; Final Report of the Park, Recreation and Open Space Project* (Bulletin No. 96) 1960.

U.S. Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission. *Outdoor Recreation for America: A Report to the President and to the Congress*. 1962.

..... *Outdoor Recreation and the Megalopolis: A Study of Present and Future Needs of the People Living in the New York-New Jersey-Philadelphia Urban Region*. 1961.

How much money and space should be invested in highways?

Kuhn, Tillo E. *Public Enterprise Economics and Transport Problems*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962.

Meyer, J. R., Kain, J. F., and Wohl, M. *The Urban Transportation Problem*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965.

Netzer, Dick. "Money and Resources for Highways: The Basic Issues," *Proceedings of the Forty-Eighth Annual Conference on Taxation Sponsored by the National Tax Foundation*. 1955. pp. 39-50.

How much effort and investment should be put into improving the quality of the environment, such as air and water purity and the design and maintenance of public places, and what qualities should have priority?

Lynch, Kevin, "The City As Environment," *Scientific American*, Vol. 203, September 1960. pp. 209-219 .

New York, City of. Mayor's Task Force on Air Pollution. *Freedom to Breathe*. June 20, 1966.

..... Mayor's Task Force on the Design of the City of New York. *The Threatened City*. February 1967.

Wolman, Abel, "The Metabolism of Cities," *Scientific American*, Vol. 203, September 1960. pp. 178-190.

Janice Stewart

Regional Plan Association

230 West 41st Street New York, N.Y. 10036 565-1714

A citizens organization dedicated to the development of an efficient, attractive and varied three state metropolitan region surrounding the Port of New York.

Membership in Regional Plan Association is open to individuals, corporations, and public and nonprofit organizations. For information, write the membership secretary. Members receive all research bulletins and periodicals of the Association, including Regional Plan News, and may register without charge at the annual Regional Plan Conference.

editor: William B. Shore
design: Caroline Jewett
photos: Louis B. Schlivek, except as indicated
printing: DeTroy Bergen Division
Einson Freeman and DeTroy Corp.

REGIONAL PLAN NEWS

Report on the development of the New York Metropolitan Region

NO. 86 OCTOBER 1967

Regional Plan Association
230 West 41st Street
New York, N.Y. 10036