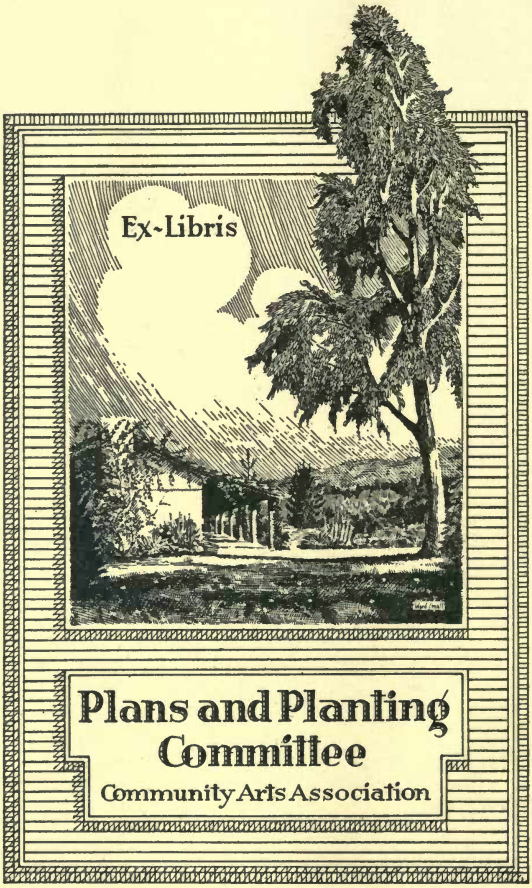
PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE
OF
AMERICAN CITIES
1935

AMERICAN SOCIETY
OF PLANNING OFFICIALS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PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE OF AMERICAN CITIES

Proceedings of

THE JOINT CONFERENCE ON CITY, REGIONAL, STATE AND NATIONAL PLANNING

May 20, 21 and 22, 1935

Cincinnati, Ohio

American City Planning Institute
American Civic Association
American Society of Planning Officials
National Conference on City Planning

AMERICAN SOCIETY OF PLANNING OFFICIALS
850 East Fifty-Eighth Street Chicago, Illinois

PREFACE

The first joint conference of all organizations interested in the planning of our Cities, States, Regions, and the Nation was held in the City of Cincinnati during May of 1935. Participating were the American City Planning Institute, the American Society of Planning Officials, the American Civic Association, and the National Conference on City Planning. As a result of action taken at the Conference, the last two organizations have since merged.

The desire and intent of the organizers of the American Society of Planning Officials to cooperate with other planning organizations in the interest of better planning were written into the records of the organization meeting in the following words: "It was the consensus of the meeting that the planning officials present recognized the importance to the planning movement of citizen support for, and public education concerning planning; and that the activities of the organization of officials should be directed so as not to impede the work of groups such as the National Conference on City Planning, and the American Civic Association. It was suggested that the organization of officials might well hold its annual meeting jointly with these other groups."

The National Conference on City Planning has published the proceedings of the annual planning conferences since 1911. These publications provide a record of planning thought in this country during the past twenty-five years, and trace the advances in planning techniques during that period. Requests have come from many of our members that we continue the record of proceedings. Our book is uniform in size and similar in format to preceding issues of the Conference proceedings.

A number of the outstanding papers of this Conference were distributed to its members in mimeographed form by the American Society of Planning Officials the week following the Conference. These published proceedings are therefore being issued to continue the permanent "record."

Due to the lateness of this form of publication, the Editing Committee has not returned the comments of the speakers for revision. The Committee hopes that any errors will be overlooked and merely offers as a possible explanation the fact that the record was notable for its omissions.

WALTER H. BLUCHER

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MUST AMERICAN CITIES DECAY?

CHAIRMAN'S INTRODUCTION

MR. ALFRED BETTMAN, Cincinnati, Ohio, Chairman of the Conference: Planning for the urban area has, until recently, been neglected due to the emphasis laid upon state and national planning activities. It has been through our state, regional, and national planning however, that we have come to the realization that the problem of the urban area is not a separate problem from that of the non-urban area of whatever size or character. For this reason the central topic of this Conference is: the urban area—with its allied aspects of decline, protection, rehabilitation, population distribution, and State and Federal cooperation in its planning.

One of the most important factors in the consideration of the possible decay of the American city is the present trend in industry and population and its effect upon our social and economic policies. Mr. Segoe, who was for many years engineer for the City Planning Commission of Cincinnati and who is now consultant to the Ohio State Planning Board and the Tennessee Valley Authority, will open the discussion on urban decline.

POPULATION AND INDUSTRIAL TRENDS

L. SEGOE, Planning Consultant, Cincinnati, Ohio

In a series of discussions of "The Future American Cities," if this be lifted out of the realm of pure speculation, the factors which will likely exert major influence on the future of our cities must first be recognized and any probable changes in these factors appraised. This accomplished one might cautiously proceed to evaluate the probable effects of anticipated changes in such basic factors on the future of our cities and, from them, to the formulation of policies and processes best suited to prepare them for the effects of such changes.

Population and its distribution, both in quantitative and qualitative aspects, and the relationship between population and national resources, on the one hand, and the physical environmental pattern, on the other hand, are ultimate factors determining national and community life. City, regional, state and national planning to be discussed during this Conference have the common basic objective of furthering and achieving better balance and adjustment between these determining factors—the population and the environmental pattern—as a means to greater and more enduring social welfare.

Therefore, population trends, and, in our highly developed industrial society, the related trends in the growth and distribution of manufacturing industries, are factors of controlling importance in planning for the future of our cities and Nation.

This paper is limited to the discussion of these factors and to the first two or three suggested phases of the inquiry, namely, the tracing of the trends in these factors and the sketching of some of the probable effects of such trends on our cities, leaving to the other speakers the discussion of ways in which planning can contribute to the solution of the present day problems and to the shaping of a better future for our communities.

Population Trends

(A) Population Growth and Distribution

The most competent authorities on population problems generally agree that there is to be a very pronounced slowing up in the growth of the population of the United States; that the maximum is likely to be reached within the next 30 to 40 years; and that this maximum will probably fall between 140 and 145 millions. Such growth would represent at the most an increase of 17 per cent in the next 30 years, in contrast with 61.5 per cent between 1900 and 1930.

The urban population, of principal interest in this discussion, showed phenomenal increase during the last few decades. From a little over 30 millions in 1900 it increased by 1930 to over 68 millions. The increase during the last census decade in the urban population amounted to 14,600,000 in contrast with an increase of only 2,400,000 in the rural population. It has been estimated that the urban population may reach 75 millions by about 1960 and may decline thereafter to about 67 millions by 1980, less by about a million than in 1930. The significant implications of these prognostications are that in contrast with an increase of 108.5 per cent in urban population during the past 30 years, only an 8.4 per cent increase is expected in the next 30 years; and that a greater decline is indicated for the 20 years following 1960 than the expected increase during the preceding 30 years.

The generally unfamiliar sound of declining urban population may be made more credible, although perhaps no less surprising or unpleasant to some people, by noting that during the last census decade one-eighth of all cities between 10,000 and 250,000 and one-fifth of those smaller than 10,000 (a total of 532 cities) have actually lost population; that in many of our cities the birth rate is inadequate to maintain the present population; that the flow of population from farm to city, whether temporary or not, has been reversed probably already in 1930, so that in contrast with an average annual gain for the cities from the farm-city inter-change of nearly two million between 1920 and 1930, in 1931 the cities lost about 200,000 and in 1932 about 500,000 population to the farms.

The relative growth of communities of various sizes and types reflects rather closely the general dynamics of urban growth in recent decades; from rural to urban areas and, within urban regions, from central cities to suburban areas and satellite communities. Taken as a group, the population of the latter type of cities increased between 1920 and 1930 by 36.2 per cent, while that of the non-satellite cities only by 19.4 per cent.

It is of interest to note that there appears to exist a fairly close inverse relation between the size of the satellite cities and their rates of growth—the smaller the city the higher the rate of increase. For non-satellite cities, on the other hand, size and growth tend to be in direct relation up to 25,000; after this size the relation is inverse.

Considering size alone, cities under 100,000 have maintained since 1880, with the exception of the 1890 to 1900 decade, a consistently higher rate of increase than the cities over 100,000. Except for the group of cities of one million population or over, which between

1890 and 1930 increased its proportion of the total urban population by 6.5 per cent (from 5.8 per cent to 12.3 per cent), the 25,000 to 100,000 group increased its proportion the most, during this period, by 3.7 per cent (from 6.8 per cent to 10.5 per cent). Furthermore the gain of the one million and over group would have been much lower had it not been for Los Angeles and Detroit entering this group during this period. However, it is the group of cities between 25,000 and 50,000 that showed the largest consistent rate of increase since 1910, indicating that communities of medium size contained in this group benefited relatively most in point of growth by the industrial expansion during and since the War. The second largest rate of consistent gain during the past two census decades was for cities of 15,000 and under which, even more so than the first group, contain a very large number of satellite communities, obviously another manifestation of the decentralization of population and manufactures in metropolitan regions.

The cities under 100,000 are expected to continue to increase at a somewhat faster rate than the larger cities. The rate of increase of the former group has been estimated at 9.2 per cent in the next 30 years as against 5.3 per cent in the group over 100,000 population.

It is the remarkable growth of the satellite communities and suburban areas rather than that of the large cities themselves that is the most striking phenomenon in the growth of urban communities during the past census decade. Of the metropolitan districts of one million population or over, the suburban areas within the Metropolitan District of Detroit increased in population twice as fast as in Detroit; similarly in the San Francisco-Oakland District; three times as fast in the Chicago and Pittsburgh District and in the New York-N. E. New Jersey District; six times as fast in the Philadelphia District; more than ten times as fast around St. Louis; and nearly eleven times as fast in the Cleveland District. All metropolitan districts of 300,000 population or more, with the exception of Louisville, showed a larger rate of increase in the suburban areas than in the central city. In all 85 Metropolitan Districts under one million population, as a class, the rate of increase in the suburban areas was almost exactly twice that of the central cities.

Today the metropolitan district is drawing its population not only from the rural areas but also from other cities, as evidenced by the increasing number of cities losing population: 532 in 1930 compared with 393 during the preceding decade. Within the metropolitan district decentralization is proceeding at a phenomenal rate and, thus

far at least, there are few evidences of the slackening or reversal of this trend.

Briefly then: "In the nation at large it is the urban trend; in the urban population itself it is a metropolitan district trend; in the metropolitan district it is the suburban trend. Perhaps then instead of characterizing our national tendency as *urban* we should say *suburban*." [1]

(B) Age Composition

Equally significant are the expected changes in the age composition of the population. The anticipated radical slowing up of the growth of the total population being due in the most part to the alarmingly rapid decline in the birth rate (13 per cent between 1900 and 1920, and 23 per cent during the last census decade) and to immigration restrictions, the latter having a double effect on population growth because of its influence on the birth rate, it is only natural that with fewer children born and with the continuous increase of life expectancy, the population should be rapidly growing older. It has been estimated, for example, that the number of persons under 20 years of age may be 13 per cent less 50 years hence than it was in 1930, and, on the other hand, that persons 45 years old or older will probably constitute nearly 38 per cent of the total population in 1980, as against 23 per cent in 1930.

Granting that all population prognostications are no more than careful calculations based on specific assumptions concerning trends in the birth rate, immigration and life expectancy and certain secondary factors, and subject to revision with any changes in such trends, nevertheless the best evidence available appears to support such and even more conservative population prognostications as were used, largely for the sake of illustration, in this discussion. There is no reason to believe that the birth rate will suddenly cease to decline after it has been doing so since 1800, by almost one-third since 1900, and already in the last four years more than assumed for the next 50 years by the more optimistic prognosticators; nor is there any reason to believe that the doors will again be thrown open to unrestricted immigration or even that the present immigration regulations are likely to be substantially liberalized.

Therefore, whatever margin of error population prognostications are subject to, it is certain that, in comparison with the unprecedented growth of the past 30 years, in the next 30 years the Nation

[1] W. Russel Tylor, in the "Journal of Land and Public Utility Economics" February, 1933.

as a whole and the cities also will appear to be standing still in point of growth. A stationary or even a declining population within the next 30 to 50 years does not appear to be improbable, and the rapid change in the age composition of population towards the dominance of the older age groups is almost sure to occur.

An appraisal of the probable effects on our cities of these changes in the trends of population growth, distribution and age composition, which should influence our policies with regard to the planning for their physical and social future, will now be attempted.

(1) The basic reason for the great rise in real estate values in our cities during the last few decades has been the very rapid increase of their population. A substantially slower city growth, not to mention a stationary or declining population, may be expected to have pronounced effects on these values. Whatever the modifying influence of purchasing power on real estate values in different communities of approximately the same population, on the whole and especially for certain types of properties, real estate values unquestionably are a function of population.

The effects of slower growth are likely to be less pronounced on residential properties, firstly, because the values of such properties are relatively stable, and, secondly, because the number of families will probably increase faster than population and may continue to increase even in a stationary population due to the dwindling size of families (4.7 persons per family in 1900 and 4.1 persons in 1930). Industrial properties, the value of which tend to increase in direct proportion with the population, should for this and other reasons be more seriously affected. Business properties, particularly properties in the central business districts, are the ones, however, that will probably feel most severely the effects of the declining rate of urban growth.

In an increasing population, land values, especially of business and industrial properties, are rising as a result of both population growth and increased purchasing power. In a stationary population, the rise of land values in general will be dependent on the increase of living standards and purchasing power.

As a result of these probable effects on real estate values the following changes may be anticipated:

(a) A new attitude towards real estate as a long-time investment or an acquisition for immediate use, instead of an article of speculation.

(b) A system of real estate taxation based on income rather than assessed valuation, and the increased dependence of the community on sources of taxation other than real estate.

(c) Slowing up or stoppage of vertical expansion in central business districts.

(d) Improvement in the standard of new developments, as quality will become increasingly more important for attracting purchasing power.

(e) Possibilities of a permanent open belt around the city devoted to uses of extremely open type in public or private ownership.

(f) An intelligent attack on the rehabilitation of blighted areas may become possible with the liquidation of inflated values through a rapidly diminishing demand and increasingly severe competition. Rehabilitation based on functional fitness may supplant the prevailing confusion with respect to slum clearance and low-cost housing.

(g) Higher standards of living (reasonable to anticipate in a slow-growing or stationary population) should increase the demand for higher quality of land and neighborhood. Over-crowded, badly laid out, unattractive sections will depreciate; spacious, well-planned developments with attractive outlook and natural beauty will be increasingly in demand and should appreciate in value.

(2) Much of the land held for commercial and industrial expansion will not be needed for these purposes. Because of the concentration of population, as a result of the increasing number of older people and smaller families, to a lesser extent the same may be expected in residential areas. The problem now faced in the blighted districts will thus arise in other parts of the community—namely, what is the best and most appropriate use to be made of such districts.

(3) The demand for detached single family homes is likely to decrease and that for apartments increase, due to changes in age composition and to smaller families.

(4) Greater physical and social stability of neighborhoods may result from the lack of replacements at the bottom and through increasing public control.

(5) On the whole, the demand for extending public facilities and consequently the expenditures therefor, may be expected to decrease. Fewer new school buildings, fewer institutions for the care of children may be needed, there should be less demand for additions to the water-works and utility main extensions; on the other hand, more institutions for old people, and of the cultural-recreational type, more parks, libraries, museums, art galleries will be required.

(6) In a more compact and more stable community the cost of public services ought to be lower.

(7) The declining number of births should allow better provision for maternity and infant welfare.

(8) Opportunity for extended education and vocational guidance should increase.

(9) Old age pensions will likely be provided with more pressing need due to fewer children to depend upon, and with older people in control of social and economic policies.

(10) The present tendency in industry to reduce continually the age limit of workers it employs will have to be modified. Unfortunately, this cannot be expected to relieve the problem of the industrial unemployables because of the rapidly aging population.

(11) Contingent on increasing economic security through social insurance, greater expenditures for consumption goods and personal services, especially of the cultural-recreational type, appear to be likely, due to the change in the age composition, a higher standard of living and lower expenditures for capital equipment.

(12) Growing conservatism in political and social policies would appear natural with the aging of the population.

(13) Increased interest in cultural and civic affairs is probable in a society of more mature people, as well as the focusing of attention on the quality of life in the community instead of opportunities for material gain or mere size.

Industrial Trends[2]

Trends in the growth and distribution of manufacturing industries are, of course, intimately inter-related with population trends. Each exerts a potent influence on the other, although in recent years the influence of manufactures grew progressively stronger. This is reflected by the increasing similarity between the population pattern and the distribution of manufactures. The manufacturing industries followed the migration of population westward from the Atlantic coast states at an accelerated rate, as they freed themselves of the limitations of factors controlling industrial location.

Measured by the movement of the "center of gravity" of manufactures, in 70 years, from 1849 to 1919, manufactures worked westward about 330 miles along the fortieth parallel of latitude, deviating but slightly north and south. The center of population during the same period moved in the same direction but 290 miles. In 1849 the population center was situated about 203 miles to the west and 118 miles to the south of the center of manufactures; by 1919 the center of population was only 163 miles to the west and only 90 miles to the south. The increasing rate at which the center of manufactures is approaching the center of population, due to the rapid industrial development of the western and southern states, is shown by the shift of 72 miles westward during the first 20 years of the century of the former compared with only about 49 miles of the latter. The center of manufactures for 1929, when computed, will undoubtedly show a still more rapid approach. In brief, while the population center has held consistently at a considerable distance west and south of the center of manufactures, the distance between the two is rapidly decreasing—a perfectly natural occurrence with 61 per cent of all persons gainfully employed in production reported by the manufacturing and mechanical industries.

[2] Reference is made to "Location of Manufactures, 1899-1929" by U. S. Bureau of the Census, which was used freely in developing this phase of the inquiry.

With respect to the distribution of manufactures and its trend, in spite of the growth of industry in the South and West, only the East North Central Division has been able to challenge seriously the industrial supremacy of the manufacturing East, composed of the New England and Middle Atlantic states. These three divisions reported 75 per cent of all factory wage jobs at the beginning of the century and over 70 per cent 30 years later. Within these divisions, as elsewhere, manufacturing is concentrated in the relatively small number of industrial regions.

The ten industrial regions containing the ten largest cities, with one-quarter of the Nation's population, accounted in 1929 for more than one-third of all wage jobs in the manufacturing industry.

The 93 cities of 100,000 population or more, including the counties in which these cities are located, plus 47 other counties belonging in what the Bureau of Census defines as "industrial areas," reported in 1929 nearly 65 per cent of all manufacturing wage jobs. The remainder of the country contained only a little over 35 per cent of such wage jobs.

A recent study by the Bureau of the Census analyzes in some detail the trends of industrial distribution in the industrial regions containing the ten most populous cities. These ten cities fell far short during the 30 years, from 1899 to 1929, of keeping step with the increase of manufactures in the country as a whole (68.4 per cent as against 87.5 per cent), although their population increased far more rapidly (118.4 per cent as compared with 61.6 per cent). The percentage of the total wage jobs located within these ten cities remained practically stationary (62.2 in 1899 and 62.3 in 1929), while their proportions of population increased from 22 per cent to 30 per cent. The proportion of wage jobs in the group of ten smaller cities, of 100,000 and over, located within the areas dominated by the ten most populous cities, declined severely (from 9.2 to 7.7 per cent). The regions within the ten industrial areas outside of these 20 cities, on the other hand, increased their proportion of industrial development (from 28.6 per cent to 30 per cent), although at a much slower rate than the growth of manufactures in the country at large (77 per cent against 87.5 per cent).

Taking all 93 cities of 100,000 or over, these approximately held their own, having lost but slightly in their share of manufactures during the 30 years (from 44.6 to 43.8 per cent). However, the 73 of this group of cities not within the industrial regions dominated by the ten largest cities substantially increased their proportionate share (from 15.8 to 19.4 per cent), and show a relative increase in wage

jobs much greater than the country as a whole (118 per cent compared with 87.5 per cent).

Briefly, there appears to be a definable trend toward manufacturing dispersion of which the surroundings of the largest industrial centers and medium size communities located away from such centers are the main beneficiaries. Similar to population, the trend here appears to be more suburban than urban.

From the standpoint of this discussion both the national trends and the distribution within industrial regions are significant. These are likely to be influenced by the same factors that controlled industrial location in the past: raw materials, labor, fuel and power, markets, capital and transportation. All of these factors are tending to have a progressively lessening influence, although markets and materials are yielding more slowly and transportation is almost as potent as before the ending of the hegemony of the railroads.

It is commonly known that the railroad freight-rate structure, unduly favorable to the eastern seaboard cities, has perhaps more than any other factor, made it possible for these cities to dominate the industrial pattern up to the present. Only the special advantages with respect to the other factors controlling industrial location enabled the western and southern cities to overcome the artificial handicap imposed by this rate structure. There is every reason to believe that this obstacle to the wider distribution of manufacturing industries is soon to be removed. We are on the threshold of a general reorganization of our transport system: the consolidation of like transportation agencies and the coordination of the several types, rail, water, highway, air, etc., including a complete revision of rates (probably on the basis of cost of service). Should this materialize, most significant changes may follow in the location of manufacturing industries in regard to national distribution as well as in the industrial regions.

The westward movement of manufactures is likely to become greatly accelerated, for proximity to materials and especially to markets would then become the controlling economic factor. Decentralization within industrial regions would likely be encouraged also. Both of these results would tend to produce better balance in the distribution of population and in community development with beneficial effect on public services and facilities.

With greater freedom in the selection of locations to be gained by industry through the reorganization of transportation and the wider distribution of power, social considerations should have greater influence than heretofore on locating industrial plants. The type and

size of community in which the workers are to live should play a more important part in making the selection.

The rehousing on a desirable standard of that part of the industrial population now concentrated in the congested central areas of our large cities, in our notorious slums, should be facilitated by the wider distribution of manufacturing industries and their decentralization within industrial regions.

Lessening of congestion of bulk freight movements in the central areas would ensue directly from such decentralization. The removal of the multitude of freight depots handling merchandise freight and other railroad facilities from the congested central areas to outlying freight concentration terminals would be encouraged and in turn encouraging to such decentralization. Directly and indirectly these changes may be assumed to bring substantial relief to congestion of both rail and street facilities caused by the present methods of freight handling in terminal areas. A better balanced and therefore more effective use of passenger transit facilities and streets should also result from a better balanced distribution of manufactures in the community or region.

Thus the decentralization of manufactures and the corollary rearticulation of traffic holds out the promise of reducing the enormous expenditures for street improvements which, during the past decade or so, consumed the major share of the financial resources of our larger communities.

The removal of manufacturing establishments, freight depots and other railroad facilities from congested districts, should offer opportunities to the communities for providing public open spaces in these districts (for recreation, for adequate setting of public buildings and for improving their generally uninspiring appearance), for which most communities neglected to make provision during the stress and strain of early developments.

In view of the probability of such trends in the distribution of manufactures there is obviously need for careful industrial planning if we are to make the most of an opportunity for obtaining in our cities a balanced and properly articulated industrial development. The already manifest trend in the largest industrial regions to move from the central city to outlying areas, directs attention to the need for more effective control than practiced heretofore of industrial locations in such districts, from the standpoint of physical and social development, as well as tax revenues and economy of public administration.

Concluding this exploration, it is well to remember that, because of the many uncertainties and the wide amplitude of deviations from the general trend in recent years, it is very hazardous to make prognostications just now. Nevertheless, the broad general trends are clear enough—at least for the next two or three decades. After that, entrance upon a new economic epoch may alter the outlook entirely as did the Industrial Revolution a century or so ago. It is clear enough also that, whatever gains may have ensued from the unprecedented rapid rate of our population growth, due to our failure to direct this growth towards *social objectives,* there was no lack of direction to other ends; a severely unbalanced distribution developed, probably one of the principal causes in land planning, as in other fields, of our problems.

Many of our cities have grown beyond their ability to assure decent living conditions to their populations, because of the great concentration of people on too small an area, with the attendant many forms of congestion and the waste of material and human values resulting therefrom. In many rural areas, on the other hand, the population is too widely scattered to provide for itself a satisfactory standard of public services and to make possible desirable social existence.

In the cities great population concentrations in the center are in sharp contrast with the often unduly scattered settlements in the outskirts; huge masses of buildings on a few properties of enormous value with large deteriorating areas nearby for which nobody seems to find use. Even in the slums the bad distribution of open spaces, rather than the aggregate amount, is one of the principal causes of undesirable living conditions.

If the city were a biological organism or if it were governed by as yet largely unexplained integrating forces such as direct the architecture of and community life in the beehive or in the nests of ants or termites, there would be no need for community planning. There is no reason to be concerned about the over-development of the child's lungs crowding out his heart, or that the beehive may become so congested as not to leave adequate room for the proper raising of the young. Unfortunately the urban community is a synthetic, heterogeneous organism in which the forces of differentiation are rampant, where the interests of individuals and groups predominate, and where the integrating influences must be applied artificially. Thence the need for community planning.

Yet planning alone will not be sufficient. Referring again to the insect societies, puzzled as we are by the mysterious operation of the

forces that control them, one common characteristic seems to stand out which one cannot help associating with their remarkable success: the subordination of individual and group interests to the welfare of the hive or the swarm. Aside from the perfection of the art itself, the success or failure of planning, it is believed, will depend largely on how far we are willing to emulate these other societies in substituting in place of the immediate individual and group gain the sustained welfare of the community and Nation, on which in the long run, the well-being of all of us and that of future generations depends.

DISCUSSION

MR. ROBERT WHITTEN, New York: I heartily agree with most of the statements that Mr. Segoe has made. Of course, at first I was somewhat impressed with the thought that he was proposing that we were coming to a rather stabilized situation in which it would be comparatively easy to plan everything because we would know how many people we were to provide for and how many of each age and so forth; and then as Mr. Segoe got into his subject he showed very clearly that we were not coming into a stabilized condition, but into a really more dynamic condition in which changes may be even more radical than they have been in the past.

We have been going along having these accretions of population and thinking about how big the population is going to be in ten years, and now it seems that we must go very carefully about the redistribution of this population, the readjustments that are being made and are going to be made increasingly in the future.

I did perhaps doubt a little the estimate that while there would be an increase of some 17 per cent in the population of the United States as a whole, there would be an increase of only eight per cent in the urban population. That may be if we include in the rural population all the population that will be outside of the urban communities of specified size, say 2,500; but if we are thinking not of the urban population, or the population that is within the boundaries of urban communities, but rather of the non-farm population, the population that gains its livelihood really from urban occupations, I think that estimate is probably false because from the long-term trend of things the very nature of the industrial process itself requires fewer and fewer people to do the productive labor of the country. This applies to farm as well as to industrial occupations, and if that is true it is almost inevitable that there will be a continuing drift of man power away from the farms.

A good deal of this population will be located outside of urban areas along the good roads within 10 or 15 miles of the city, but it will not be strictly a farming population. There will be, and I think it is going to add a lot of problems to the development of our communities, this stringing out of population along the main roads between the farms and residences. That at present will probably be all right, but in the future will undoubtedly bring us problems of scattered development and of shoestring areas without much cohesion.

In New York State only 5½ per cent of the population of the state in 1930 lived on farms and during the period 1900 to 1930 all but one-half of one per cent of the increase in the population of the state could be accounted for by the increase in the population of the seven metropolitan areas.

I agree with Mr. Segoe that the trend is suburban, that there is an increase in the suburban or metropolitan areas and that the trend seems likely to continue. There probably will be declines in the population of the smaller cities that are out of the boundaries of suburban areas, of metropolitan areas or future metropolitan areas.

Mr. Segoe referred to the fact that an increased standard of living, increased purchasing power, will have very vital effects upon the structure of the city, upon land values in the city and upon other factors. With the higher standard of living we will require a more specific development, and that higher standard of living will in itself produce many changes in our city structure, and will require readjustments, reorganizations all along the line.

I am not so sure about the statement that we may expect less emphasis on vertical experiments in the submarginal business districts. With a higher standard of living there will be the necessity, even with the same population, I think, to produce more goods to support the population. There will be, as there has been in the past few years especially, an increase in the service populations and clerical populations, in the population that is more or less housed in the central business districts, and this may very well continue the urge for vertical experiments.

The number of persons employed in the manufacturing industries is tending to decline or limit strangely, and even in the period from 1900 to 1930 the growth in cities from, say 30,000, as Mr. Segoe said, to 68,000, was caused not by the increase in the number of persons employed in manufacturing industries, but by the increase in other occupations, the service trends, clerical occupations and so forth.

FAULTY URBAN LAND POLICIES

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The results of faulty urban land policies are all about us: municipal and private defaults on bonded debt; underdevelopment alongside overdevelopment and premature development. The explanations offered are numerous. The curative and preventive remedies proposed are legion. This paper attempts an analysis of what might be called the abc's of city growth in the hope of finding the basic causes which underly these faulty policies.

What is a City?

A city is the focal point of certain specialized human activities which are essential to the highest development of the economic and social life of a people. Physically, it consists of three things: the land on which it stands, the man-made improvements on that land, and the people who live in it. The land itself must inevitably be divided into two broad classes of use: lands used in common, and lands used by separate individuals, families or other groups. From the standpoint of responsibility for construction and maintenance, the man-made attachments to land fall into two categories which parallel the land classes. The exact location of the lines of demarcation between the two classes of land, and of the improvements thereon, varies from time to time, and from place to place, as economic conditions, the state of the arts, standards of living, and human concepts change. No matter how extreme the variations in these factors, the line itself persists. It has not been wholly obliterated either in Soviet Russia or in any citadel of the most extreme individualism.

Land More Than a Function

What function does land itself serve in a city? The most obvious is to provide foundations for the works of man. But on Manhattan Island, both solid rock and quicksands have been found to serve that purpose adequately. New Orleans is built on swamp muck hundreds of feet deep. Considerable parts of New York City, Chicago, Boston, and San Francisco stand on sites which were formerly under water. It would appear that almost any part of the more than three million square miles included within the boundaries of the continental United States will serve that purpose.

Does that mean that a city may be built anywhere? Apparently not. The existing central cities in our 96 metropolitan districts, as

defined by the Bureau of the Census, cover only about 15 acres out of every ten thousand in our total area. Even if we include the sprawling satellites which surround these central cities, some with average densities of less than one inhabitant for every four acres, we find that our metropolitan districts, which house 44.6 per cent of our population, cover only about 120 acres out of every ten thousand. Is this concentration of population the result of chance, or was it determined by the existence of characteristics which inhere in urban sites?

Urban Sites Limited

A classification by location of the 96 metropolitan districts shows that 23, with almost one-half the metropolitan population, are located on seaports; 13 grew up along the route of the Erie Canal and on the Great Lakes; 13 are distributed along the Mississippi River and its navigable tributaries. The locations of this group of 49, with more than three-fourths of the country's metropolitan population, and more than one-third of its total population, were predetermined by the topography of the continent, in combination with climate and the distribution of natural resources. These factors, all beyond the control of man, determined not only the natural trade routes along which commerce would flow, but also the sites along these routes where cities would develop. With few exceptions, those sites were used as permanent or occasional trading posts one, two, or three centuries ago. Since the flow of commerce through them began, sailing vessels and canoes have been replaced by steamships; ox-carts, pack animals, and stage coaches gave way first to horsedrawn canal boats, and then to railways, motor vehicles, and airplanes; the stream of commodities which consisted at first largely of furs in exchange for trinkets, now includes all the varied products of farm, forest, mine, and factory, drawn from all the continents. These changes have not affected the unique advantages in the sites except to intensify them.

We have an important group of metropolitan districts, 18 of which are located on or near minerals; for example coal, iron, petroleum, copper, gold, silver, and clay deposits. Some of these, such as in Pittsburgh, have a history which antedates the development of large-scale extractive industries on the continent. They had an earlier existence as centers of commerce along established trade routes running from the Atlantic seaboard to the great interior valley. The topographic features of this group of routes made it second in importance only to the Erie Canal-Great Lakes route. When the mineral deposits were developed near the trading posts along it, the

enormous increase in tonnage offset the topographic handicaps under which it labored, and converted its major and minor variants into effective rivals of the dominant route.

These, and other factors, helped to create a network of trade routes extending from the Atlantic ports between Boston and Norfolk to the ports on the Great Lakes, and on the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers. Where the lines in this network crossed one another, or, where, as in the case of some of the inland metropoli in New England, available water power early became a factor, other cities grew up. Eighteen metropolitan districts of this type exist in the interiors of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, and Illinois. Chance played as small a part in the selection of their sites as it did in the case of the groups we have discussed earlier.

We have now accounted for 85 of the 96 metropolitan districts, and for more than 96 per cent of the metropolitan population. Of the remaining 11 districts, Atlantic City is located on tidewater but has no port. It exists solely as a resort city, and its livelihood depends on the fact that its beaches are easily accessible to the millions of people living in the great cities near it. The others are inland trade centers located at the intersections of two or more rail lines, or where river and rail lines meet. Three—Atlanta, Nashville, and Roanoke—are in the southern states. The remaining seven are concentrated in four of the 22 states west of the Mississippi River.

Records are not available for an adequate analysis of the thousands of ambitious plans for the founding of metropoli throughout the nation which have come to naught. Portland, Maine; Portsmouth, N. H.; Charleston, S. C.; Mobile; Galveston; Eureka, Cal.; Astoria, Oregon; and other projected centers had excellent harbors, but nature had interposed obstacles which prevented the development of trade routes to the interior. In the interior itself, a succession of promoters during the past century and a half pinned their hopes on thousands of sites, but topographic, geologic, or climatic conditions were such that some exist today merely as names on old maps, others as local centers of trade and manufacture on minor tributaries of the great national and international streams of commerce.

Relative Values of Urban and Rural Lands

Without pursuing the matter further, we are justified, I think, in assuming that urban sites have been endowed by nature with certain economic potentialities which far outweigh those which inhere in other land areas. Can the relationship be stated quantitatively?

Facts suitable for the purpose are incomplete and far from precise. We have, for example, the assessed valuations of real estate for 1930, for the 48 states and the District of Columbia. We have also the assessed valuations of real estate in the same year for the 197 municipalities with populations of 30,000 and over, which are reported in *Financial Statistics of Cities,* and which are included within the limits of the 96 metropolitan districts we have been discussing. That leaves unaccounted for, however, the satellites included in metropolitan districts, which have less than 30,000 population each, but which have an aggregate population of twelve and a half million. If we impute to these minor satellite areas an assessed valuation of $1,000 per capita—a figure somewhat less than the average for the country as a whole—we have a rough basis for a quantitative comparison between the values of real estate in metropolitan districts and in areas outside. Real estate in the metropolitan districts is assessed at 79 billion dollars as compared with slightly less than 50 billions of dollars in all the rest of the country. An average square mile in the metropolitan districts is the economic equivalent of more than 125 square miles in the remainder of the country.

Startling as this comparison of average values is, it does not begin to express the capacity for variation in value between different types of urban land, or between urban and rural lands. A tract of land located at the southeast corner of Broadway and Wall Streets in New York City is reported to have changed hands twice at a price approximating $640 per square foot. This is a bare land price, and the fact that a considerable period elapsed between the two transactions warrants the conclusion that it represents a stabilized capitalization of its net annual rental. The assessed valuation of the small corner parcel involved, before it was merged with a larger adjoining tract, was not far from that figure. In the borough of Queens, there are lands which the department of taxes and assessments values at one and a half cents per square foot. We find here a variation of almost 43,000 to one in the values assigned to a given area of land. One single square foot of the most valuable parcel in New York City is the equivalent in value of more than two and a half acres of bare land in the best general farming area in the State of Iowa—a spread of more than 100,000 to one. The same square foot is also the equivalent in value of an entire square mile of grazing land in our semi-arid west, or of the same area of denuded forest land in some of the sections of the country which are not adaptable for general farming. In these cases, the ratio between the high and low values for equal areas of land mounts to almost 28 millions to one.

In these ratios between the economic capacities of equal areas of

lands at various levels of use to produce net annual incomes in excess of the costs of capital and labor expended in production, we find the basic causes of the pressures which disrupt the best-laid plans for the orderly development of lands. But even these figures, which have been based as nearly as available statistics will permit on land *value*—that is, on the capitalized value of the net economic rent of bare land—do not illustrate fully either the extent or the nature of the disruptive forces with which we are dealing. In a nation such as ours, characterized by a steady and long-continued growth in population, by a progressive development of natural resources, by constant shifts in the location of the center of population, and by the attendant changes in the relative importance of primary trade routes, speculation in future increases in land rents comes into play. Land *prices,* rather than land *values,* become the dominant factors in the thinking and the activities of men with respect to land. As I have endeavored to show elsewhere,[1] these prices consist of two elements: the capitalized value of current land rents, plus the present discounted value of anticipated future increases in land rents. For long periods and over large areas, the value of the first of these elements in a land price may stand at or near zero, with the result that the price may consist wholly or in large part of the speculative second element.

Shifts in Land Prices from Time to Time

There is available, so far as I know, only one study which measures the shifts in the prices of a given area of land over a period of time: Homer Hoyt's study of land prices in Chicago.[2] A table in that book indicates that in 1833, when the completion of the Erie Canal had made the development of Chicago possible, the entire area of 211 square miles now included within the limits of the City of Chicago might have been bought for $168,000. Three years later, when the State of Illinois had embarked on its ambitious project to open a waterway between Chicago and the Mississippi River, the same land had a price of $10,500,000. In 1842—only six years later—when the State of Illinois found itself unable to pay the interest on its canal debt, and work on the proposed canal had ceased, the price dropped to $1,400,000. Fourteen years later, in 1856, when the railway had replaced the canal in popular imagination as the best means for stimulating increases in land prices, and when counties and townships were issuing railway aid bonds in large volume, the price increased to

[1] See Journal of Land and Public Utility Economics, August, 1934; *Land Prices in a Commodity Price System,* by Philip H. Cornick.

[2] *One Hundred Years of Land Values in Chicago,* by Homer Hoyt; University of Chicago Press, 1933.

$125,000,000. The following year, the structure of public and private debt, erected largely on the unstable base of speculative land prices, crumbled. The City of Chicago was forced into default. By 1861, the land prices had shrunk to less than one-half of what they had been five years earlier.

After a succession of similar rises and falls during the booms and depressions which followed the Civil War, the land prices for the same 211 square miles stood at an estimated one billion in 1897. Thereafter the price mounted steadily until, in 1926, it reached the sum of five billions. Public and private credit mounted similarly, and provided a reservoir sufficient to finance between 1922 and 1928, not only the erection of new buildings along 580 miles of street frontage, but also all the public improvements needed to serve those buildings and the large vacant areas lying in new subdivisions. By 1933, 60 per cent of the land prices of 1926 had evaporated; some of the overlapping municipal governments were again in default; payments had been suspended on mortgage bonds and certificates; and 163 banks had closed their doors.

I am indebted for all of these facts to the admirable work by Mr. Hoyt to which I have already referred. They seem to me to constitute an outstanding contribution to the body of facts on which our future concepts of economic history and of economic theory must rest. Of the long series of booms which took place during the century subjected to scrutiny by Mr. Hoyt, two followed immediately on the heels of credit inflations incident to the conduct of great wars. I find nothing in Mr. Hoyt's exhaustive and orderly compilation of pertinent material which runs counter to the hypothesis that all of the remaining booms in the series generated the bases for their own progressive inflations of credit by widespread increases in the speculative prices of land. I find nothing to indicate that many of the disastrous effects of the inevitable deflations following all of the booms, including those which came as the aftermath of wars, are not traceable directly and indirectly to the mountainous debts incurred for unwise or premature construction of man-made attachments to public and private lands while the credit inflations lasted; debts which, when they were created, seemed conservative alike to borrowers and lenders, to statesmen and demagogues, to wise men and fools.

Until Mr. Hoyt, or other patient and discerning delvers into the foundations of our economic life, shall produce facts to the contrary, we seem justified in advancing the hypothesis that land prices, under our existing system of tenure, have constituted a basic cause of the violently disruptive series of inflations and deflations which have characterized our history. If that hypothesis proves to be tenable, it goes

to the heart of the problems confronting the city planners. Cities exist because of and along the great streams of national and international commerce. It is only through the agency of these streams that our cities can discharge their proper and beneficent functions in the life of the world. How can intelligent planning proceed on any level when those streams are now torrents, which tax the capacity of our man-made attachments to public and private lands, and now trickles which leave those facilities wholly or partly idle and the men who operate them unemployed?

Ineffective Plans for Control

We have developed and applied three instruments designed to correct our faulty urban land policies: the comprehensive master plan, the zoning ordinance, and subdivision control. Can any planner here, out of his own experience, point out instances where they have been more than partially successful?

Our master plans, where they have become official, consist in general of compromises between what the planner, after intensive and detached study, felt was best for the city as a whole, and what the individual land owners felt was best for their own interests. The promulgation of the compromise plan itself has all too frequently raised obstacles in the way of its effectuation by stimulating speculative increases in the prices of the lands necessary for carrying it out.

Our zoning ordinances have had a similar history. Starting out as compromises, satisfactory neither to the experts who drafted them, nor to some of the land owners who had to operate under them, they became, during the boom in some of our cities, new sources of turmoil and log-rolling in the city councils. Amendment followed amendment, almost invariably increasing the already excessive areas set aside for the more intensive uses in the compromise draft originally enacted.

Actual results in subdivision control have been even more disappointing. In the great majority of the places where such control has been exercised, it has been effective chiefly in eliminating obvious errors in the width and alignment of streets and in the shapes and sizes of blocks and lots. It had little or no retarding effect on the rate at which unneeded building lots were created during the boom, nor on the abandon with which new public indebtedness was incurred for street improvements which have turned out to be worse than useless. Cincinnati is almost the sole exception to this statement. Partly because of an unusually wise, tactful and courageous administration in the planning field, partly also perhaps because a rela-

tively low rate of increase in population had weakened the intense speculative urge which prevailed elsewhere, subdivision control here succeeded in holding surplus lots and wasted public improvements to a minimum.

Summary and Conclusions

What is the bearing of this series of facts—of these abc's of city growth—on the problem of faulty urban land policies?

We have seen that the sites on which cities can grow are limited by nature. We have developed, if not precise data, then at least rough approximations, which indicate that equal areas of physically similar but economically dissimilar lands vary widely at a given time in their capacities to produce net rents. We have seen that the economic rent of a given piece of land may vary widely from time to time. We have seen that these variations from one period to another lead men to capitalize anticipated future increases in land rents into present prices, and that the desire of men to realize on these prices places obstacles in the way of utilizing successfully those instruments which have been devised for the formulation and control of land policies. We have observed facts which support the hypothesis that shifts in the speculative prices of lands lead to alternate expansions and contractions of the basis of public and private credit; and that the consequent series of booms and depressions disrupt the orderly operations of those essential economic processes which alone justify the existence of cities, and which provide their sole legitimate means of livelihood. In this series of facts, it would seem, therefore, that we have found the basic causes which underlie our faulty policies with respect not only to urban land but to all land.

In 1879, at the close of the last great depression comparable to that from which we now seem to be emerging, Henry George published a volume under the title *Progress and Poverty*. Long before the art of city planning had been elevated in this country to the status of an organized profession, that book presented a searching inquiry into the problems discussed in this paper. No unprejudiced mind can approach that work without being impressed by its freshness and its direct applicability to the problems of today. The statistics on which I have drawn, none of them available when he wrote, as well as other series of economic facts which have been produced since his death, buttress the foundation which he built up laboriously from isolated facts collected by personal observation and by reading, and substantiate the basic conclusions which he erected on that foundation.

He argued passionately that land is a common heritage of the races; that our system of land tenure made speculation in future in-

creases in rent inevitable; that that speculation paved the way for industrial depressions. He came to the conclusion that private initiative among individuals under conditions of economic equality was essential to the orderly progress of civilization, and that the private use of land was therefore an essential element in the factors underlying progress. He proposed to absorb in taxation the net economic rent of land for the purpose of restoring the rights of men in their common heritage, but to preserve the benefits of private initiative by leaving lands in private possession. He contended that only by this device could industrial booms and depressions be avoided, and an orderly plan of land-use developed and maintained. Stated in terms which have come into general use only since he wrote, he contended further that his proposal offered the only escape from a communist dictatorship on the one hand or a fascist dictatorship on the other.

As an humble witness, whose testimony may or may not carry weight, I can only say that I can see no major flaws in his logic, and that the chief obstacles which now stand in the way of attaining the objective to which the members of this Conference are devoting their lives can be removed most easily if we adopt the proposals made by Henry George more than fifty years ago.

DISCUSSION

MR. TRACY B. AUGUR, Tennessee Valley Authority: You are spared a prepared discussion because, in travelling around, the paper to be discussed and I did not come together until last evening, and even then I was prevented from giving it mature consideration by the excellent tenor singing of the chairman! At any rate, I wasn't able to give thorough attention to the paper and prepare a commentary on it. I think it and the preceding paper are an excellent start on this Conference. They both have given us very meaty, interesting discussions and I find myself in great agreement with Mr. Cornick: that of all the many faults in urban land policies the one which is the root of them all is the speculative interest in land and all the ills that it creates.

I am inclined to disagree slightly, however, that the forces which have created this condition are going to continue in the future as they have in the past. He mentions major trends in the great metropolitan areas which rest on two conditions: the first and largest being distribution; the second being the location of the resources of industry, mineral resources. While those forces will undoubtedly continue for many years to have much the same weight that they now have I believe we are on the eve of a distribution of resources which will change the currents or trend which we know today.

It is significant that the continental airplane routes ignore fairly high mountain ranges by going to great heights, and by so doing geography is perfectly controlled. The earlier flights of planes, because of technically limited factors, avoided the high altitudes and followed less direct trade routes. We also know that motor truck and motor traffic have developed new fields which the railroads never have developed and that the process is continuing.

On the question of industrial resources, we perhaps are entering an era when we will be less dependent on the deposit of minerals and more dependent on the manufactured products that come from agricultural and timber resources, so that great areas and farm lands may be just as important or more important than deposits of coal or iron.

Now, the net result is that the existing great centers, the centers that have been built up by the past importance of the location of resources, no longer hold the monopoly which they have held up to the present time. Although we may be looking 50 years or 100 or 200 years ahead, I think we can look to the time when the monopolistic position of the present great urban sites will be completely broken, which means that many new areas which are not now available for urban location will come into the market. That fact in itself will break down the high values which city lands in existing centers now have, and will tend to dissipate values and to give opportunity for new developments.

I look upon this as rather a hopeful thing and it may help us to overcome the conditions we now have arising out of the high speculative land values in cities because, if the demand for the present sites is lessened, then the price values of those present sites also will be lessened and it will be less necessary to take measures to combat them.

I agree with Mr. Cornick that it is necessary to combat the speculative interest in land and that device is one of the most fertile means of making the combat. There are perhaps other means which are worth trying. I was always interested in the device in effect in the City of Radburn, Tennessee, to do away with the speculative interest in land and still retain private ownership. The device there was to sell residential land so highly restricted that there was very little value in it and to control the commercial land within the community with a business corporation representing the community. We have the English scheme of having a community corporation control the entire site.

It has been intensely interesting to me in the past year and a half to be working in the Tennessee Valley where we have built a small community where the land is held on the same plan. The town of Norris, as you know, was built as a construction camp community at the Norris dam, being designed to become a permanent small community by leasing. The land was later bought and is owned by the United States Government and under the present leases it is impossible to sell that land to individuals.

As I have talked to many people in the community I have been delighted to find that the prevailing wish there is to maintain that condition regardless of any changes in the local situation; that they are interested in maintaining the security accorded in one central ownership and in merely leasing the sites for residences and industry and commerce to individuals, so that the increase in land value in that town, if the present situation is maintained, will go to the community and not to individuals. I put that forward as another means of accomplishing the same result that Mr. Cornick advocates through new systems of taxation.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL FACTORS IN CITY PLANNING

WILLIAM HABER, Michigan Relief Administrator

Those advocates of planning who have recognized the full scope of their problem, have always recognized that the economic factor must be given attention along with the engineering and the social factor. The sociologist, the economist, as well as the public administrator have contributed to the city planning movement, but, quite naturally, the most concrete and visible aspects of engineering have usually received most attention.

The layman's idea of planning is probably centered rather narrowly on those aspects which make it possible for the community, state, region, or nation to control the developments on its land, the specific uses to which it is put, its location in relation to the rest of the community both structurally and functionally.

Many problems of planning involve the control of space relationships which can be plotted on a map or master plan. Ultimately, however, the effectiveness of a plan is measured not in terms of structures and material services alone, but in terms of the general well-being, the health, security, and welfare which are promoted by sound use and other factors which can be subjected to constructive direction. Here and there, we are beginning to deal positively with economic and human factors which in the long run determine the effectiveness of any adjustments of past relationships and material services. Among these factors, for example, are questions of income, education, occupational adjustment, industrial change and unemployment. The best of plans must fail if any large group in the population is subject to inadequate and unstable income, or if industrial changes create an unforeseen turn in the direction of population growth.

The development of the metropolitan community, with its influences extending far beyond its borders, has created a new way of living for the majority of the people in the United States. And for most of the residents of the great cities that have grown up, this way of living has been an unsatisfactory one. Built haphazardly and chaotically, the city has been primarily a mechanism for commerce. Poverty, ugliness and squalor, disease and inconvenience, were inevitable concomitants of blind growth. There is no technical reason why our cities should be scarred with slums and blighted areas. There is every reason, from the social point of view, why we should begin the strenuous task of creating a new type of city.

Many technical changes have, of course, been responsible for the difficult problems which cities are facing. The progressive concentration of population in cities has been accompanied by an increasing ease and efficiency of travel. The city's influence has been extended to rural areas; metropolitan or regional factors, trade areas, zones of influence, both commercial and cultural, are as important from the planning viewpoint as the city proper.

Motor transportation has, in enlarging the trade and community areas and in shifting population outward, created special and difficult problems for the city. The exodus of the upper economic classes, the lowering of land values, the leaving behind of blighted lands, are results too well known to most American communities.

Social and economic factors are more difficult to measure accurately, than factors of vocation and technical desirability. No adequate plan for a city region can be developed, however, without taking them into consideration. The city's problems cannot be solved in terms of the limited approach alone, as important as these are, but require for their practical treatment, a full consideration of the broader but closely related aspects such as unemployment, housing, income and standards of living. These are social and economic problems. All are difficult to solve, but all contribute in determining the character of the city. These problems often play havoc with the planner's blue-print. Technical changes and market shifts have created long-time labor surpluses in many large cities which have specialized in one or two basic industries. Detroit for automobiles, Grand Rapids for furniture, the copper country in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, the textile industry in New England—these are instances of the significant influence which broad economic changes have had on planning and the need for giving new weight to these issues.

Unquestionably the difficulties faced by many cities—difficulties which relief subsidies for the population and grants for construction and improvement of services with relief labor have for the time being minimized—can be traced to the changes and requirements of industry. Machine production, the sources of raw materials, the location of new trade areas, general economic depression—long-time factors all of them—have introduced causes of decay and impoverishment to many cities and chaotic growth to others.

It is not likely that these changes will decrease in significance in the years immediately ahead. The dynamic character of American industries will undoubtedly continue as it has in the past. We must be prepared, therefore, to contemplate long-time unemployment at

levels considerably higher than they were before 1929. Many cities will as a result of this unemployment and these industrial factors, have to undergo drastic revision in many of their technical plans, in zoning, in taxation, in the importance of recreational areas, and in their ideas concerning future growth.

Quite apart from industrial changes, population trends are also of vital importance in influencing the city plan. The optimistic booster has not always been the best guide to the city's growth in the past, and is likely not to be its best guide in the future. Evidences of changes in population trends have been emphasized in the past several years. Such changes, whether related to the sum total of population growth or its character as influenced by the changed immigration policy, are of vital importance to the kind of plan which is developed and a determining factor in the progress or decay of the city in the future.

Mistaken estimates of future growth are responsible for areas of under-use around the margins of our cities; anyone who has seen the vast areas of almost empty subdivisions around the margins of Detroit is inevitably impressed with the amount of wasted money and labor which was used to create pavements and sewers for a population which will never come. Mistaken estimates of commercial and industrial expansion are similarly responsible for blighted areas, where residential uses are prematurely abandoned for other uses which do not expand as has been expected.

The importance of other social and economic factors—notably *family income*—is especially evident in connection with problems of housing and slum clearance. The slum is not simply a case of unwise land-use—it is one of the visible effects of poverty and insecurity upon urban society. New construction of housing available for low-income groups, as we know, has been inadequate for many years, especially since the depression began. Residential building has declined more rapidly than non-residential, and the volume of general construction suffered an astounding decline from $3,805 million in 1925 to $1,049 million in 1931, and down to $274 million per year in 1933-34—less than 8 per cent of the 1925 peak.

In the final analysis, this collapse of residential building can be traced to an income structure which made a vast sector of our population, in the lower economic groups, dependent (even before 1929) on incomes so low that only a very small part could be devoted to shelter and home maintenance. Economists of the Brookings Institution, in their study of *America's Capacity to Consume*, have pointed out that low-income groups spend a large share of their

income for food and have little surplus to devote to shelter, attire, and general living (recreation, etc.). In higher income groups, the amount available for non-food expenses increases, so that families with incomes above $5,000 spend more for shelter and home than for food.

The amount of income which the low-income groups can devote to rental or purchase of homes is thus relatively small. The so-called "subsistence and poverty" group—families with incomes of less than $1,500 per year—accounted for only 17 per cent of the total expenditure for shelter and home maintenance in 1929. Half of the total expenditure for this purpose was made by the two upper tenths of the salary range. Construction has been primarily aimed at this upper class market, and private initiative has been unable or unwilling to provide decent homes for the poorer groups.

The unsanitary and unfit housing in a slum area is, from one point of view, less significant than the low and unstable incomes which make the slum-dweller unable to pay for better housing. The real purpose of slum clearance is not merely to eliminate slums from a few acres of ground, but to rehabilitate the slum family by wiping out some of the economic conditions from which crime and other social evils are derived. If the rentals on our new housing projects are not adjusted to fit the income of the poorer families, it will mean that we clear slums, but do not eliminate them—the slum dwellers, and with them the slum's problems, will merely move elsewhere.

The same relationship between income and housing conditions was clearly shown by data obtained in the *Financial Survey of Urban Housing* made under the Civil Works Administration. This survey covered a carefully stratified sample of 15 per cent of the families in 64 cities, and provided nearly half a million usable schedules. The results, as D. L. Wickens has pointed out, "suggest that there are practicable limits to the amount chargeable for rents." The ratio of rent delinquency is closely related to the ratio of rent to family income. Only 16 per cent of the families with rent-income ratios between 15 and 20 per cent were delinquent; when rental represented 35 to 40 per cent of income, 34 per cent were delinquent. Housing conditions are determined by a chain of factors, growing worse as income is lowered by low wages and unemployment.

It may be that, in order to provide adequate housing for the lower income groups, we must accept one of the following alternatives: subsidizing low-cost housing to make accommodations available at less than cost, or strenuous steps to raise the effective income of the lower groups. The first alternative would involve abandonment of

the idea that housing projects must be self-liquidating, and the use of taxation of the higher income groups to maintain the general level of health and decency in the community, as has been done effectively in Vienna. The second alternative involves the horizon of economic planning on a national scale.

Slum clearance, ultimately, depends on our success in achieving a minimum standard of income, education, and health for our whole population. Low incomes, in many cases, result from unemployment or low earning power which can be traced back to socially preventable causes—malnutrition and preventable illness in childhood, or early entrance into "blind alley" occupations because of economic pressure. The amount of slums which will exist 20 years from now may depend as much upon these "social causes" of poverty as upon present success in housing construction. Minimum standards of housing are one aspect of an achievable social goal: minimum standards of general welfare for all citizens.

Many students of our economic problems have been impressed by the characteristic dependence of urban workers upon industrial employment, and their lack of protection in periods of depression and industrial collapse. As an alternative to urban insecurity, they stress the possibilities of attaining security by decentralization of industry and the establishment of workers on the land, with the opportunity to augment their wage-income by small-scale farming for their own consumption. In addition to its service as a cushion against unemployment, other advantages are attributed to the subsistence homestead: a more varied diet, better conditions for the rearing of children, a closer association with nature, and a range of more wholesome leisure-time activities. To clinch the argument, it is alleged that "a vast decentralization of industry is already under way." Whether true or not—and many doubt if it is true—it promises to introduce additional problems for the city. Moving people to suburban areas will undoubtedly have immediate effect on trade areas, on taxation, income and related problems.

Decentralization, however, is by no means accepted unanimously as a cure for insecurity. Several students of population movement have vigorously questioned the basic arguments advanced in its favor. Carter Goodrich emphasizes the fact that the past three decades have brought a spreading, rather than a true decentralization of industry. The percentage of manufacturing done in major cities has declined, it is true, from 40 per cent in 1899 to 35 per cent in 1931, but these losses have gone almost entirely to suburban sections around the major cities and to "important industrial counties" of more moderate concentration. The 2,800 remaining counties, which contain

half the Nation's population and 90 per cent of its farmers, actually provided a smaller proportion of total manufacturing employment in 1931 than in 1899!

Such "back to the farm" movements as have occurred since 1930 may be temporary rather than permanent trends. It is significant, in this connection, that the estimates of net migration between farm and city, made by the U. S. Department of Agriculture, show a net movement of 227,000 persons from *country to city* in 1933, the first year of "recovery"—this in contrast to a net city-to-country movement of 214,000 persons in 1931, and 533,000 persons in 1932.

An even more serious question is this: Will decentralization really bring security to the worker? Part-time farming, without doubt, provides a useful cushion against joblessness, but at the same time it decreases the worker's mobility, his opportunity for solidarity with other workers, and his social contacts. If the situation is such as to make workers in a given community dependent on a single employer, the effect upon bargaining power may be a serious risk. As Goodrich says, "It does not take company-owned houses and deputy sheriffs to produce the dependence that is the essential feature of the company town." Except in the outskirts of metropolitan regions, where diversified employment opportunities exist, this loss of mobility is a risk to be reckoned with.

The same point is put even more strongly by Ware and Powell in their article "Planning for Permanent Poverty": "The homestead project offers the industrialist a population of selected home owners driven by the fear of unemployment and the certainty that the world outside is barren of jobs. Though personally free, the homesteader is actually bound—he cannot move."

Another problem, bearing directly on the future of present manufacturing areas, is the question of who is to get the decentralized employment. If decentralization means moving city workers to the country, it offers little to the rural population; if it means bringing supplementary income to impoverished or standard rural populations, it will not help urban workers. Obviously the solution of our economic problems lies in increased and stabilized production of goods. Mere movement of employment from one place to another may improve living conditions for some workers, but general welfare will require more complete utilization of our unused productive capacity and labor power. Technologically, decentralization has advantages only for a few industries and if, as might occur, it becomes a vehicle by which manufacturers escape from high urban wages and labor organization, it may actually decrease the aggregate purchasing power

of those classes whose present low purchasing power is responsible for our present failure to consume what we could produce. It is an important task of regional planners to see that decentralization leads to increased aggregate consumption; this it may accomplish, if carefully controlled, by bringing rural purchasing power more nearly in line with urban purchasing power.

For the great mass of our population, despite some industrial development in rural areas, the most desirable—and probably inevitable—way of life seems to be connected with the metropolitan community of the future. This metropolitan unit will not be co-terminous with the political city; it will represent a "super-community," built up by the absorption of numbers of local communities into a single economic and cultural unit. The greater possibility of specialization in its commercial, economic, and cultural activities makes this type of organization a logical outgrowth of the machine, rapid transit, and perfected communication. Within such communities, the space arrangement of industrial, residential, and recreational areas will probably be far different from what we have known in the past—with residence more evenly distributed, industry "decentralized" *within* the metropolitan area, and recreational facilities and park lands expanded to meet the needs of a full life for all citizens. In all these changes, the need for technical, social, and economic planning will be enormous.

In brief, the city must be viewed as an integral part of the economy. The development of the city must be related to the social resources of the community. The hope of the city lies in the broadest concept of planning. Without regional or national planning, without a deliberate determination of objectives which have in mind institutional control over unemployment, low incomes, and low standards of living, poor housing—these and related factors—city planning will of necessity be limited to the field which the individual community alone can control. This field is full of opportunity, however; most of the plans are subject to the terrific insecurity of becoming obsolete due to the social and economic factors broader than the city and calling for the best ideas of the region and the Nation.

City planning in the future, in addition to its conventional problems, will have to integrate its plans with the regional and national program. It will have to deal with unemployment and the care of the unemployed, with the growth of social service, with the development of new industries, with a vocational re-training of its unadaptable idle labor power, with the development of recreational activity necessitated by the growth of leisure, with the re-organization

of its labor market facilities. In brief, with factors economic and social rather than engineering and technical.

DISCUSSION

DR. YNGVE LARSSON, Stockholm, Sweden: In Europe, and especially in Sweden, these same trends in population development are very formidable and have been recognized a longer time, perhaps, than in this country. We also have, at home, this falling off of the birth rate. There it has gone much farther than in this country, especially in the bigger towns and in the areas which you call the metropolitan areas. We are expecting this same development which you are looking forward to in the next decades.

I would like to stress some results of this development which we have been compelled to regard in planning our housing and town planning policies. Population is increasing very slowly due to the falling off of the birth rate. In Stockholm we reckon that from 1945 the population will be stabilized to a certain level. The population is getting older and its productive ages are increasing in relation to the whole population. The result has been that the demand for new houses is increasing at a more rapid rate than that of the whole population.

Our experience after the War was that the demand for new houses and the production of new houses has been greater than an uncritical examination of the population increase would indicate.

I think you must reckon with these tendencies in the planning of your residential areas. We feel compelled in Stockholm in our municipal policy and in our town planning policy to reckon with this tendency and accordingly, though the population is increasing at a rather slow rate, to provide for a rapid development of the residential areas. At home we plan our city with outlying districts such as you saw described last month in the *New York Times*. There the houses are designed along lines resembling the subsistence homestead principle.

Our town planning policy is founded upon municipal land ownership. The municipality of Stockholm itself owns practically the whole land surrounding the city and it is our policy to lease this land. It is perhaps impossible to control and guide the housing conditions in a city without being in a dominant position with regard to land values and with regard to development of new land. It is a town planning scheme for leasing out properties in the extensions of the city. The city will always have these lands, will always be holding them; but in most cases it is a rather poor compromise between the often conflicting private land-owning interests and those of public interests. Accordingly, in Stockholm, we have for 30 years been acquiring the outlying districts around the municipality which are needed for the development of the city, and we have followed this policy not only in those outlying districts but also in the center of the municipality, because in an old city like Stockholm—I think in new cities, too—you have always the necessity for clearance for new thoroughfares, etc., in residential as well as slum areas. Although we have rather effective town planning legislation, we feel, and I think it is a general feeling everywhere without regard to parties, that town planning must complement a very active land policy.

MR. EDWARD M. BASSETT, New York City: A year and a half ago I attempted to look into the subject of housing, especially the housing of poorer

classes of people throughout the Scandinavian cities. I had the great privilege of spending quite a bit of time in Stockholm where I went about with the city topographer who is a friend of this Conference, and inquired especially whether every building made some contribution either by taxation or otherwise to the expenses of the city.

I couldn't find that any residential building was entirely free from a contribution either by taxation or in some way and I think it is a great opportunity to have here Mr. Larsson, who is so well informed on this subject, and I wish that he would say a word about the subject of tax exemption in Stockholm.

DR. YNGVE LARSSON, Stockholm, Sweden: Every property in Stockholm pays its municipal taxes as a matter of course. Perhaps I don't quite understand the question, but it has not occurred to us that there are any reasons for exemptions of special properties from the municipal tax.

We are paying on what is rated as the rentable value. This is supposed to be the income from that property or what ought to be the income from that property. According to that supposition a certain ratable value is fixed on the property and every property pays its taxes.

In addition to that, when we are expanding a road or widening a street, the adjoining properties are compelled to pay their share of the cost. It is about the same principle as I think you will find everywhere in this country, too.

MR. JOHN IHLDER, Washington, D. C.: There are two points that were made in the papers this morning that I think should be very definitely emphasized or commented upon. The first Mr. Larsson brought up, but I should like to add to his comments. We should, in my belief, use every opportunity to secure for the public land which becomes available through tax delinquencies or in any other way, in order that we may be in a position in our cities to deal effectively with housing needs without being handicapped by speculative land values.

The other point that I think should be commented upon pertains to exemptions. I was surprised to find an economist advocating that we should subsidize our houses. Great evils are going to appear if we follow that easy suggestion. One of my social worker friends said to me not long ago that from one-half to three-quarters of his time is spent in undoing the mistakes made years before—mistakes made with the best intentions in the world, but without a careful consideration of the problems.

We are going to do that same thing today. We are under an urge to do things a little differently than in the past and we are making heavy exemptions. One way to deal with the housing problem and with the social problem is to subsidize the houses, but in my belief if we do that we are not entering upon a bright era. We are going to have all kinds of trouble as a result. If we have got to subsidize, then let us subsidize the family; do it through relief, but have the housing stand on its own feet economically.

MR. HERBERT U. NELSON, Chicago, Illinois: I was very much interested in Mr. Cornick's suggestion that taxation be used as a means of controlling speculation in the use of land. For some years we have been searching for ways and means by which we could more adequately control land use, and of course we considered this question of taxation very seriously.

Those who advocate the system of taxation of Henry George probably don't realize that for a good many years we have had it. The Department of Com-

merce in 1930 quoted some very interesting figures on the income of real property throughout the United States. Their calculations check with our own which are, in effect, that the income of all of the real estate in the United States, including the computed rental value of all the farms that are owned and the computed rental value of all the homes that are occupied by their owners, is something under five billion dollars per year—actually about four billion, eight hundred million.

The tax burden on real property for local government in this country is something in excess of five billion dollars per year, so that taxation today does, as a matter of fact, take all of the income of real property if you consider the real estate plant of the nation as a whole. Now it is true, of course, that some properties are profitable and sometimes will show a net income, but that is always offset by losses elsewhere. This applies to income on land as well as to income on the improvements.

Some eight years ago Dr. Richard T. Ely, economist, whom you probably know about, went to Vienna to attend a conference on taxation at which there was a large group in favor of the single tax. When he got through describing what we have in the United States they said, "Well, all we want is what you have."

Dr. Herbert Simpson of Northwestern University made a study some time ago of agricultural lands in Cook County. If you own a farm there you can't continue to farm it. You have to do something with it; so you try to subdivide it, and land ownership—profitable land ownership—becomes a race between the carrying charges and attempts to unload on someone else. Thus land is forced into unwise use. We feel that a successful system of controlling the use of land certainly does not lie in the direction of increasing the tax load on land. We must find other and more intelligent methods.

MR. NEWELL L. NUSSBAUMER, Buffalo, New York: I want to ask Mr. Cornick a question, if I may, on the matter of taxation. I am interested at the present time in finding some relief for properties of a commercial and business nature whose use has depreciated to something lower than their highest use. In the past few years their assessed values have remained about the same; consequently the present tenants, or the tenants of a few years back, move out and go to other quarters. The question of revenue seems to be one of the vital points because, if the taxes and assessed values in these particular cases could be reduced, the person would be able to rent the properties to tenants with smaller paying ability and still maintain the properties in a usable condition, self-sustaining and useful to the community.

Perhaps Mr. Cornick can suggest a way by which the reduction in assessed values or taxes on this particular property might be spread over the rest of the city. I realize, of course, that difficulties would arise through the reaction against spreading the load on the part of the voters.

MR. PHILIP H. CORNICK, New York City: In the situations that have been described here the high tax burden is doing to a very large extent what fixed charges are doing to the debt burden we incurred for improvements on publicly owned lands. The taxes were levied to support the debt incurred for those public improvements and is not being met for the reason that we have an extensive tax delinquency everywhere. It is the fact that taxes have not been paid that has forced the City of Chicago into default. Chicago incurred too much in the way of future obligations for those improvements which were made at the request of individual land owners.

It is a very difficult matter to readjust taxes today to support all the things that real estate itself has refused to support and can't support—and that our industries can't support either. Everything is dropped into the lap of the municipality, and it is expected to pay all the bills out of one tax rate.

MR. HARLAND BARTHOLOMEW, St. Louis, Missouri: I think we can consider the general topic, *Must American Cities Decay?* from the standpoint of the large American city in particular, for the process of decay about which we have spoken is applicable only to the very largest cities. All of the papers this morning turned about the changing processes in the large cities. We don't have many of these problems in the smaller cities. One of the reasons why these things have become so acute is because population has reacted against living conditions in the large city, with a resultant decentralizing to the suburban areas.

In the last few years we have heard much about decentralization and a return to the smaller communities. The population does not particularly desire this; nor does industry, which is dependent upon large populations and markets. These changes are occurring, however, because we have failed to establish the policies which make it satisfactory for industry and population to stay within the large city.

Every time we get into a discussion of this sort it seems that we spend an amazing amount of time considering what has happened. When we get to the problem of what should be done we go off into such large questions as are bound up in the single tax. In discussing these problems we should remember that while they are large and significant, there are many things we can do that we have failed to do, but should do in order to deal effectively with these problems. These are matters which have not been discussed to any extent here this morning and which I think are very vital. One is a revision of our zoning ordinances. The other is that we do not enforce sufficiently high standards in our building and sanitary codes.

THE PLANNING PROCESS AS A REMEDY

CHAIRMAN'S INTRODUCTION

MR. JACOB L. CRANE, JR., Chicago, Illinois: This morning you heard discussions of the various problems that have to do with the question *Must American Cities Decay?* It was brought out very clearly that in considering such a question the destiny of our cities, in relation to the great natural resources of the country, is an essential part of city planning. We must have some means by which we can estimate and to some degree guide the major movements and operations. As this involves to some extent the location and distribution of industry it means that regional, state, and national planning must lie behind our city planning.

In looking over this program it occurred to me that much of what is going on—much of what has received such great stimulus these days—got its first impetus before the New Deal. I am thinking particularly of the National Land Use Planning Committee which was organized under the auspices of the Department of Agriculture about five years ago and which, in its discussions and publications, laid the groundwork for a great amount of what is now going on with increased acceleration. In that early movement, as in the current movement, Provost Mann of Cornell University and Cornell University itself played a large part. The State of New York has forged the techniques and methods upon which judgments can be based and plans given formulation.

Starting with Dr. Mann we shall discuss, this afternoon, procedures beginning with the survey and ending with the actual implementation of plans. We shall view these procedures and planning techniques both from the standpoint of the country and the city.

THE URBAN AND RURAL LAND-USE SURVEY

A. R. MANN, New York State Planning Council

Long-time planning, whether in urban or rural areas, is much concerned with land-use, since the land is the underlying and fixed requirement for human abode and occupation. Among the data which are basic to the planning of any area are the trends in land prices, value and utilization, the present and prospective values and uses, and the factors which determine price, value and intensity of use to which the land is adapted. Land-use surveys are therefore widely employed by planning agencies.

The Urban Survey

In urban planning a first requirement is a real property inventory, which should be obtained and analyzed in much detail, preferably block by block. As an example of method and objective we may follow the procedure used by the Mayor's planning organization in the City of New York. The information to be obtained, all of which will reflect land values and uses and make possible the preparation of land-use maps, is here found to include such items as the following: the predominant existing use of the land, whether vacant block, residential block, or non-residential block; the predominant residential building in each block, as to type, age, condition, number of family quarters, number and per cent of vacancies, average rooms per quarters, population, rental cost, and the like; for non-residential buildings the predominant type, whether office, store, loft, warehouse, factory, etc., whether publicly or privately owned, condition, day population, and the like. With such data in hand it is possible to prepare city-wide maps showing for each block all of the more essential factors which establish land-use and affect the intrinsic values, such as the predominant type of building, the predominant age of buildings, the predominant condition, the percentage of vacancies, the population density, the predominant family rentals, the density of working population in each block, and the like. Data as to land values are usually based on the most recent assessments.

When such city-wide maps have been prepared they will set out clearly the boundaries of land-use areas of like characteristics. The essential purpose of the land-use maps is to project the picture of the area in order to focus and facilitate detailed studies and investigations of highly specialized problems within the areas of like characteristics and of changing characteristics. Locating and describing the

areas of homogeneous use reveal the problems of the several areas with a degree of accuracy and force which is impossible in the absence of the facts supplied by such surveys. When the facts are thus revealed the problems requiring attention are at least broadly indicated and defined and some of their common elements are known. They may then be taken up systematically and detailed solutions attempted.

The land-use surveys will, of course, be supplemented by other economic and social data necessary to complete the picture, including the location and condition of the streets, transportation systems, sewers, water mains, and other matters.

The Rural Survey

In planning an area such as a state or a natural topographic region, a knowledge of rural land uses is of paramount importance. It affects every other item in the program, and without such knowledge little of permanent value can be accomplished. The character of the rural land conditions what manner of life and of livelihood is possible. It vitally affects the social organization and the economic pattern and competence of the population. It creates problems of government and administration. It influences the culture of the people. The nature of the land and of its use is the dominating element in rural America. The rural land-use survey is therefore the first step in the rural planning process; and the nature of the agriculture and the rural life of an area affects powerfully the character of the urban life in that area.

The purpose of the rural land-use survey is to assemble the facts necessary to establish a sound classification and inventory of land resources according to their nearly permanent characteristics considered both with reference to present uses and to the probable if not the inevitable future uses. Lands differ widely in their chemical, physical, and biological character as well as in topography, elevation, and other characteristics. These natural physical differences determine the uses for which the lands by nature are best suited. Some lands are well adapted to agricultural production, some are not at all adapted to farming, and there are all manner of gradations between these extremes. The fact that many lands, especially in rough or very hilly country, were cleared of their forests and put into farms, is of itself no evidence that such areas are suited for farming under present conditions or any future conditions that can now be foreseen, or that they should remain in farms. A bit of historical perspective is needed in order properly to assess the changes that have taken

place and that are in progress which have caused or are causing such lands to be abandoned.

An Historical Perspective of Land-Use

By way of example we may cite conditions in the northeast. In the early settlement of this Nation the concentration of population was on the eastern seaboard. Before railroad transportation developed and the west was opened, there was relatively heavy pressure on the lands near at hand. In consequence, the incentive was to clear the forests and to bring all the land under the plow or into grazing areas in order to supply the nearby markets with food and raw materials. While the scant virgin fertility and the supplemental income from lumber enabled a modest living to be gleaned from the vast areas of rugged hill lands, the crop yields from those lands were never very good and over most of the area they steadily declined. As penetration of lands to the west went forward, and as railroad transportation developed and made possible competition with the more remote but more fertile lands, farming on many of these eastern hill lands became unprofitable and decadent. Settlement of such lands had scarcely been completed before abandonment began. The abandonment was due to soil characteristics, to topography, slope, elevation, difficulty of access, climate, and to changed economic conditions. Every advance in agricultural technique and practice accelerated the movement down from the steeper hill lands toward the level and more fertile valleys or to fresh lands to the west. The development of under-drainage of farm lands, of commercial fertilizers, of more rapid transportation to markets, and especially of the use of machinery for all manner of farm operations hastened the movement. It was an economically sound and socially desirable shift. But it left in its wake vast stretches of cut-over, waste, and often denuded lands which are today serving little or no economic or social purpose.

As settlement moved westward and population rapidly increased, the process was repeated in the regions to the west. Destructive lumbering added to the areas of waste and other conditions contributed. Now, when we approach maturity as a nation, throughout much of the United States there has been and continues to be a consistent decline in the acreage in farms, leaving large areas unused. Through the processes of soil erosion these lands have continued to deteriorate where they have not been protected by a vegetative cover.

Furthermore, as the lands were abandoned for commercial agriculture, there was a tendency for indigent families or families unfa-

miliar with the requirements of farming to move on to those cheap lands. Tragic human losses and suffering have been sustained on many such lands. Wherever people dwell, even though the population may be scanty and the economic resources negligible, the American policy and conscience is to maintain for them roads, schools, rural mail delivery and other public services which impose a heavy tax on the whole population. In a large proportion of the areas which are submarginal for farming, acute problems of local government arise. With a low density of population, low property valuation, low income, there are associated relatively high costs for roads, schools, and other public services, necessitating a high percentage of public or state aid. The returns from submarginal lands will not support the social services and institutions necessary for even the most modest requirements today, so that public subsidies are necessitated. Where the facilities are so provided the subsidies may run into large sums and are drawn heavily from urban population.

Land Classification and Its Uses

In order to study the adaptation of use to the character of the rural land, the land must first be classified. The basis of the rural land-use classification is the soil survey to determine the natural physical characteristics of the land. These natural characteristics largely determine what the land can produce and whether or not it is suited to agricultural production. The physical soil survey, which describes the physical characteristics, must be supplemented by an economic and social survey which assembles all pertinent economic and social facts, so as to reach a conclusion whether it is economically or socially profitable to farm the lands even though physically farming of a sort may be practicable. As a result of the surveys there is obtained both a physical and an economic classification and inventory of the lands, the combination of which helps to make clear the desirable use of the land. As rural land varies in the intensity of use to which it is adapted, it varies also in its ability to purchase, to use, and to benefit from modern services.

When the lands have been classified and mapped, the areas will be located and defined which are superior for agriculture, those which are submarginal and have passed or are passing out of agricultural use, and the various categories which fall between these extremes. Such classification and inventory is the basis for all further planning for the development of these areas. When the lands have been classified, the various land classes can be compared with respect to public or private ownership, resident or absentee ownership, size of business and income of operated farms, assessed values, tax delin-

quency, cost of farm fire insurance, cost of farm mortgage credit, cost of relief, cost of education in rural schools and other items.

For all lands which it appears are to remain permanent in agriculture it is essential that all of the farms shall be served by improved highways, readily usable at all times of the year. For much of the country this implies hard surface roads. As rapidly as possible the farms should also be served with electric power lines and telephone lines. From the surveys the remaining mileage of improved roads and of rural electric and telephone lines to be constructed can readily be determined and decision as to their location facilitated. These are the areas in which such facilities will have the greatest number of users and should generally first be constructed. There are areas of higher economic returns, better wages, greater frequency of economic and social intercourse with neighboring urban centers and therefore more ready and more able to support improvements in social services and institutions and the amenities of comfortable living.

The land-use survey throws clear light on the question as to whether the individual farm units are of adequate size for economic success under the types of farming which the soil character and location permit. They therefore contribute toward reorganization of such units where it is desirable.

For the lands submarginal for agriculture and which have been abandoned or which are in process of abandonment, considerable mileages of roads may be abandoned and their upkeep saved, and other needed roads may frequently be maintained as dirt or gravel roads for less frequent access to the areas, according to the new uses to which the lands may be put. Public utility companies can be saved possibly large expenditures for lines into areas which seem destined to pass out of agricultural use.

The fact that the lands are submarginal for agriculture does not mean that they are incapable of serving other important economic or social purposes. These alternative uses are chiefly for the production of timber, for water control and conservation, for wild life preserves and fishing and hunting, for public parks and other recreational uses, and for the beautification of the countryside; but still other alternative uses may be considered. Among them is the production of secondary and derived forest products, providing building stone, sand, clay, salt, oil, gas and other mineral products, and providing research and demonstration areas and the conservation of areas of unusual scenic or historic interest. There is little land that cannot be put to some worth while use. Often multiple uses can be worked out for single tracts. For arriving at these alternative uses

and mapping the areas for which they are adapted the land-use survey is a first essential.

The land-use survey may reveal tracts of low productivity which should be retained in farming because of certain compensating economic advantages in location or type of farming; and, on the other hand, it may reveal areas of good farm land which should be retired permanently from cultivation because of greater social or economic values to be derived from their use for some other purpose, such as special need or utility for public recreation for adjacent urban centers. There will also be located areas suitable for farming but not at present so used because they may require certain improvements, as by irrigation or drainage.

In the western range states there have developed extensive areas of steadily decreasing utility because of improper range management, and other areas which have been ruined or are rapidly being ruined by over-grazing and washing. The land-use survey establishes the location, extent, and seriousness of these misuses and points to the remedies.

The Land Survey and the Water Resources

The problems of water supplies, flood control, stream regulation, soil erosion, water power, the location of water supply, irrigation and power reservoirs, the recreational uses of the public waters, and related questions are becoming growingly acute in many parts of the country. The relation of the use of land to water control and conservation is very intimate. The protection of the upland watersheds of the principal river systems must everywhere receive careful attention. The present and prospective needs for water are so great that insofar as physically and economically possible the rainfall of the more elevated hill and mountain regions should be carefully conserved. The land-use survey will locate the areas where the problems are acute, indicate why they are acute, and make evident at least some of the remedies to be applied. Such land survey is indispensable in dealing with the recurring menace of great floods and the appalling losses of soil caused by uncontrolled erosion.

Other Products of the Land-Use Survey

Tax delinquency on farm and cut-over forest lands has reached great proportions, and in some areas the reversion of lands to public ownership as a result of such delinquency has become a major problem of government. The survey not only enables the mapping of such areas but also the determination of their common characteristics

insofar as the physical character and the possibilities of economic utilization of the lands are factors in causing the delinquency.

For land settlement projects and the zoning of areas against resettlement in order to avoid governmental costs in providing the essential public services to such areas, or for other reasons, the land-use survey is an essential implement.

The land-use survey has obvious contributions to make to industrial location and relocation, particularly when the production of raw materials for industrial uses is considered or when the development of suburban homes for industrial workers is contemplated.

The survey provides facts relating to the extent and location of rural non-farm homes and part-time farms, a recent development of rapidly expanding proportions adjacent to urban centers and one bringing in its wake many important planning problems and governmental responsibilities, as well as many economic and social advantages.

Because the land-use survey throws light on changing uses, and especially on the extent and process of abandonment for agricultural uses, it raises sharply the question as to what changes in local government and in the provision of public aid for roads, schools, and the like are desirable in view of the probable future uses of such lands. Vast savings can be effected when lands submarginal for agriculture are withdrawn from farming and when foresight is exercised as to probable future changes in use.

Finally, the survey is perhaps the first essential step in formulating or modifying public policies in relation to land and to agriculture. The situation confronting agriculture in this country and the vast and growing domain of lands formerly productively used but now lying idle show clearly the urgent need for new public land policies better adapted to a nation approaching maturity, in whose youth many sins have been committed for which amends must yet be made.

It will be recognized that, in conjunction with the land-use survey and the utilization of facts derived therefrom, there must be considered what are the requirements of the nation for land for each of the various major uses. In reaching conclusions as to such requirements consideration must be given to such matters as the outlook for population growth, occupation, and distribution, changing industrial conditions and the prospects for employment in industry, the effect of further mechanization of agriculture and the applications of science on the human requirements in agriculture, the land requirements in relation to the actual land resources in the nation as a whole, and

any other matters which will assist in ascertaining the needs of the nation for lands for any of the larger purposes for which land is requisite.

Considerations such as the foregoing are quite as important for the future development of our cities as for the future utilization of the open country. The future development of both is inextricably interwoven by countless economic and social phenomena. The changing outlook for one affects the outlook for the other. The cities have always rested heavily on the economic and the social welfare of the surrounding, and to a degree the supporting, land areas about them. With the tendency toward a more nearly stable population, with the automobile and the hard surface roads, with the ready transmission of power and the development of transportation almost everywhere, with the concentration of population in urban centers creating increasingly urgent needs and desires for ready access to recreation areas in the open country, and with the possibility of seriously altered employment conditions arising from changed economic conditions, and especially from changes and limitations in international trade, the more intelligently planned utilization of the rural lands promises to be nearly as important for the future dwellers in our cities as for the future of those who reside in the open country.

DISCUSSION

MR. JACOB L. CRANE, JR., Chicago, Illinois: Provost Mann has made a very convincing demonstration of the simple fact that in dealing with the re-planning of American development we must understand the individual farm situation, the county situation, and the state and national situation. He has brought out very well the relationship between land utilization and other elements of development and redevelopment. He finds—as we all find these days—that there is a necessity in these planning processes for a re-integration of techniques which, until recently, have been widely divergent.

For the first time in this country there is a chance for the economist, the sociologist, the landscape architect and the geographer to play a part in the re-integration of these sciences toward the end of determining our program for development and redevelopment. Until now the geographer has had little chance, and in my experience he has, in many cases, not wanted to take the chance. He has been an academic figure not altogether willing to stick his neck out by permitting findings from his material to be used for public policy.

Mr. G. Donald Hudson, chief of the Geography Section, Division of Land Planning and Housing of the Tennessee Valley Authority, has consented to express his opinion on what part the geographer can play in the wide field of regional planning and he is, I think I can say, sticking his neck out in doing so He will show in what ways his technique may be useful and the hazards which befall the technician once he leaves the academic fold.

GEOGRAPHY AND ITS FUNCTION IN REGIONAL PLANNING

G. DONALD HUDSON, Tennessee Valley Authority

One of the more interesting places in which I have lived is Beirut, Syria, the port of the old inland trading city of Damascus. As my medical brother used to say, there is a lot of geography out there. Of course there is a lot of geography everywhere. The point is that life in Syria is sufficiently simple to make some features of the geography area readily observed.

Let me give you an example. Beirut stands on a point of land. This point of land turns slightly toward the north, partially encircling a body of water that forms St. Georges Bay. This bay is the only protected body of water for miles up and down the coast. It is nearer to Damascus than any other such bay. This fact largely explains why Beirut is the most important port city of Syria. This explanation is geographic.

Have you ever admired the symmetry and neatness of French vineyards? Each row of vines is neatly trained on a low, sturdy arbor. Each season vines are carefully trimmed so that the grapes are exposed to the warm sunshine. When I first saw the famous vineyards of the Lebanon Mountains, I thought the Syrians were about the most shiftless farmers I had ever seen. Not a vine grew on an arbor. They were allowed to lie on the ground, a carpet of intermingled vines and leaves. I learned later that my first impressions were not justified. When I was in the vineyards the next season I lifted the leaves here and there to find beautiful bunches of juicy grapes on the dry ground under the shade of the carpet of leaves. Where a bunch of grapes protruded into the sunshine, the portion of the bunch exposed was shriveled into small, undeveloped, dried grapes. This difference in the vineyards of France and the Lebanon Mountains is related primarily to conditions of climate. The best wines of France are produced during years of relatively low rainfall and relatively abundant sunshine. The French lay out their vineyards so that the ground is shaded as little as possible and the grapes can benefit as much as possible from the sunshine. In the Lebanon Mountains, on the other hand, rainfall is light and the continuous succession of sunny days together with the high altitude make it necessary to conserve moisture and protect the grapes from the sun. This is accomplished by allowing the vines to grow along the ground, the leaves forming a protective canopy for both the soil and

the grapes. These relationships between methods of grape culture and climatic conditions are geographic in quality.

It is an old principle in shipping that the farther inland ships can go, the better. Thus we have Philadelphia, Quebec, Mobile, Buenos Aires, Seattle, and many other ports at inland points of arms of the sea. Montreal was hindered in its development because above Quebec the St. Lawrence is too shallow for the traditional type of transatlantic liners. The river cannot be deepened because the bottom is solid rock. So what happened? A ship builder sliced the bottom off the liners. A cross section of one of these liners forms a "U" instead of the traditional "V." Now Montreal is visited regularly by the "Dutchess"' boats of the Canadian Pacific. That adjustment of vessel design to the contours of the bed of the St. Lawrence represents a geographic relationship.

When you glide down the St. Lawrence on one of these "Dutchess" boats you may notice the strings of farmsteads along the river and the relative absence of farmsteads back on the hills. Each farm has its cultivated fields on the relatively level land near the river, its pastures on the hillsides behind the farmstead, and its woodlots on the hill crests still higher up. The relationship of farm pattern to topography catches the eye. It is geography.

Most people think of Illinois as a state of rich agricultural resources. Not all of the state produces great agricultural wealth. Some sections have only recently come into their own. Calhoun County is one of these sections. It is tucked between the Illinois and Mississippi rivers, only its northern boundary of thirty-odd miles being a land boundary. The county could be classified justly as submarginal. The lack of development, the county's sub-marginality, was related mainly to two things. In the first place, the topography was relatively rough. In the second place the county was relatively inaccessible. No railroad or highway bridge crossed either the Illinois or Mississippi. No highway reached into the county from the north. Whatever agricultural development took place had to be sufficiently specialized to be adjusted to relatively rough topography and to overcome the disadvantages of relative inaccessibility.

One man brought Calhoun County into its own. The story of his work is full of drama. He saw in Calhoun County the opportunity to produce apples. Soil, climate, and topography were favorable. In addition, apples constituted a product high in unit value, and, therefore, able to pay their way to a market relatively hard to reach. Also, apples do not have to be hurried to market. Therefore, they were suited to the means of transportation at hand; namely,

the river highways to the St. Louis metropolitan area. The possible development was greater than the market of St. Louis warranted. The problem then was to remove the disadvantages of relative inaccessibility. A spur railroad was constructed to the east bank of the Illinois River and a highway bridge thrown across the river at that point. With these facilities available, development could go ahead, the county occupying a strategic position between St. Louis and Chicago. This strategic position was further utilized by the extension of a highway into the county from the north. Calhoun County is today raised from the sub-marginal class to the excellent class. The story of its development consists of a series of adjustments between the agricultural activities of the people of Calhoun county and the factors of the natural environment. The study of these adjustments is in the field of geography.

Tucked back on the foothills of the Shenandoah Mountains is a cement factory. After driving along the road that winds through wooded hills and past mountain brooks, one comes upon this busy industrial spot without ample warning. You feel that it is out of place in its mountain glen. But there were very good reasons for putting a cement factory at this point. One of the main reasons was that at that particular place excellent limestone beds and good shale were in juxtaposition. This adjustment of plant location to limestone and shale is geographic. If the plant were being located today, it would be nearer its market. We have found that cement can be made from other materials than limestone and shale. But the plant continues to operate where it is, carried forward by geographic inertia.

And so we could go on and on, picking out additional evidence that geography is everywhere. The warm sunny climate of California winters, together with mountain snows in the form of irrigation water, help to produce fresh vegetables for the dinner tables of cold, wintry New York. It takes four minutes to cook a "three minute" egg in the dining car kitchen when it is lifted over the high altitudes of the Rockies. Farmers of the cotton belt terrace their fields against the erosive effects of rains. More United States wheat goes out of Montreal than New York, and more Canadian wheat goes out of New York than Montreal, largely because ice has blocked the St. Lawrence by the time the Canadian wheat is ready for shipment. We yearn for cool spots when temperatures are high and seek warmth when temperatures are low. When it rains, department stores move their umbrella racks to the front doors.

Yes, geography is everywhere. One can see it if he learns to see geographically. Dr. Mann is seeing geographically when he says, "The land is one of the underlying and fixed requirements for human

abode and occupation." The theme that runs through the illustrations I have noted, runs through his statement, too. On the one hand are the activities of man—the building of a harbor, the development of a port, the application of certain methods to the growing of grapes, the building of transatlantic liners with "U" shaped hulls; in other words, man's abode and occupation. On the other hand are the factors of nature—a protected bay, an arm of the sea, a sunny climate, a shallow stream.

Human activities the world over form a pattern. Here is a mine shaft; there is a factory; here is a farmer moving with his team and plow across a field; there is a herdsman and his flock; and here is a housewife hanging out her clothes. Let us call this pattern of human activities the *cultural* pattern. Into that pattern Dr. Mann would put his items of human abode and occupation.

In like manner, the items of the natural environment the world over form a pattern. Here are coal fields; there are limestone and shale lying close together; here are the prairies of Iowa; there are the rugged slopes of Switzerland; and here are drying winds and bright sunshine. This is the *natural* pattern. Into this pattern Dr. Mann would place his items concerning the land, its topography, its elevation, its soil, and the conditions of drainage and erosion.

These two great patterns are related to each other. They are related through the use that man makes of nature. Sometimes these relationships are easily discovered. Sometimes they can be discovered only after long and arduous study. The discovery and understanding of these relationships between man and nature is recognized by the sciences as the function of geography.

Thus we come from the simple geographic relationship between the port city of Beirut and a protected bay to the complex study of the geographic relationships between the cultural pattern and the natural pattern of a region.

Are these geographic relationships of significance to regional planning? Dr. Mann answers this question many times in the affirmative. Let me give my answer affirmatively, too.

The history of mankind, both past and present, is full of many sins of omission and commission. People have tried to develop ports where they should not be developed, and they have not developed ports where they should be developed. They have tried to grow grapes where they should not be grown and they have not grown grapes where they should be grown. In other words, there have not always been satisfactory adjustments between man and nature. If

man had always known and always knew how to adjust his activities to his natural environment, there would never have arisen the need for regional planning.

In order to adjust his activities to nature, man must discover and understand the relationships between his activities and the resources nature has to offer. Geographers have devised certain technical ways and means of discovering these relationships, that is, techniques of gathering, analyzing, measuring and otherwise treating cultural and natural data. Geographers have developed a scientific philosophy for the purpose of promoting a regional understanding of these relationships. Geographic relationships, that is, the relationships between man and nature, must be discovered and understood regionally if human activities are to be rearranged so that haphazard, unplanned, and unintegrated social and industrial development can be replaced by order, design, and forethought—the aim of regional planning.

DISCUSSION

MR. JACOB L. CRANE, JR., Chicago, Illinois: There comes to the planner's hand then, material derived by the geographer, the geologist, several different kinds of economists, sociologists, and engineers, and the landscape architect. All of them display different techniques and approaches to the many problems of an area. The planner must bring them together. He can't know less and less about more and more; he must know enough about the whole field to be able to coordinate all the factors for use by the public agencies which actually determine the policies and carry them out. We are aware that the destiny of our cities is inwrapped with that of the larger regions of the nation. The data, with their recommendations and suggestions to executive and legislative bodies, must, therefore, be put together in such a way that they form the basis for sensible policies. This is the planner's job.

Russell Black will tell us how to do it. He has had wide experience as an engineer and landscape architect in various cities and states; he has been concerned with regional planning projects; and he has tried the "back-to-the-land" movement. He is a sub-regional farmer and in his rural retreat can think out from the heights this whole question, carefully fitting together all of the techniques.

THE MAKING OF THE PLAN

RUSSELL V. BLACK, Planning Consultant, New Hope, Pennsylvania

Planning is a process. The *making of a plan,* whether for a city, state, or nation, is a step in that process. Viewed over a period of years, a plan is or should be a product of evolution. It has many protean characteristics. A plan prepared today is to the city or state of tomorrow as the acorn is to the oak. In the plan there should be the vital germs of form and direction, with inherent capacity for adjustment to circumstances. As the embryo oak must be adaptable to unforeseeable environment, ranging from deep forest to open field and from low plain to mountain-side, so must the plan for a city or state be adaptable to evolving customs and to changing economic and social requirements and demands.

Such statement of premise is made lest planning be regarded too much as an exact science or the plan be thought of as too static a portrayal of objectives. A plan may be positive for today's requirements, depending in soundness upon the degree to which those requirements are understood and adapted to unavoidable limitations. The applicability of today's plan may be extended into future years to whatever extent current trends may be successfully interpreted. It seems probable that scientific and social development is such as to place planners in better position than ever before to appraise future conditions and needs. But sufficient scientific and social fluidity remain to compel a kinetic quality in plan.

This by no means is intended to imply that planning is a futile enterprise. A highway-planning engineer for a state important in highway construction has frequently said to the writer that it is impossible to plan state highways as much as five years ahead. He is wrong. Many contingencies cannot be foreseen. Others are discernible through broad analyses of conditions and trends. The state highway structure should be given conscious form. To fail in attempting that because new and better principles of design may be evolved five or ten years hence is merely foolish evasion. This is the era of highway building. Essential form and system are now in the process of crystallization. As with railroads, the opportunity for good planning will never come again. As incomplete and fallible as foresight may be, that foresight should be applied to the best of human ability through the process of planning and through the agency of a comprehensive plan. A little foresight is better than no foresight at all. A good motto might be that which has been said in better words to the effect that: Let us do our damndest today

with minds turned always, and not too remorsefully, toward the future.

Planning directed toward the making of a city, state, or national plan, is something of a science, a little of an art, and a great deal of an applied point-of-view founded upon informed good judgment and common sense. Planning is neither engineering, architecture, economics, law, nor sociology, but a well-balanced blending of all of these, overlaid with an appreciation of the all-inclusive art of living.

Some of this may sound a little nebulous or abstruse when applied to an activity of such high claims to practicality as are those of planning. There is no desire to confuse. I am attempting merely to establish a groundwork of planning objectives and to give some definition to its limitations. It must be recognized from the beginning that plan-making is not quite as simple or as easy as it looks. Being an inexact science, the results of planning, and in this instance the plan, cannot be checked in entirety by rule or formulae. To the extent that planning is an art, the appraisal of its product is subject to all the inexactitudes of the judgment of other arts. The quality of judgment and common-sense applied may be determined surely only by the showings of time.

Because of its apparent simplicity, because of the difficulties of adequate appraisal of the product of planning, and because of the resulting lack of tested criteria, planning, as a guide for modern progressive development, tends to become anybody's plaything—subject sometimes to either conscious or unconscious exploitation—but, more often, an object of suspicion. In other words, given an awakened enthusiasm and nothing else to do, almost anybody will undertake the making of a city plan and, because of the ill-defined and narrowly known earmarks of good planning, few are the public administrators and fewer are the private citizens who can separate the "sheep-plans" from the "goat-plans." A badly constructed bridge falls with an accusing roar much to the confusion of its would-be designer. The people of a badly planned city live in blissful ignorance of better, cheaper, and equally possible alternatives.

As one rather inadequate illustration: 183 New Jersey municipalities proudly boast of adopted zoning ordinances and plans. A considerable proportion of these ordinances have been drawn by "yardstick" methods without benefit of a background of comprehensive planning study. Many of them have been made by lay committees through a process of assembling or copying miscellaneous clauses from grab-bag ordinances of other cities. It is probably not an unfair estimate that 50 per cent of these zoned municipalities would be

almost if not quite better off with no zoning than with the kind of zoning plans they now have.

More often than not, the village lawyer or the neighborhood grocer will unhesitating take on the drafting of a zoning ordinance and the making of a zoning plan. The task seems simple, especially if the ordinances of cities A and X are at hand to copy from. The job *is* simple compared with the making of a comprehensive plan for a city in complicated environment—much more so in comparison with tackling a plan for a region or for a state. But zoning and planning are more than skin deep. Underneath all planning, and too frequently unobserved, lie the complications and inter-relationships of numerous social and economic implications and objectives. Plans for no single element in a community's physical structure or social existence can be well made without taking all other elements into consideration.

Now, planning is beginning to assume some rank as a great American pastime. Perhaps only a few more years of depression are needed to assure to planning that position. Already, school children in school exercises are reported as making better plans than produced by professional planners. Both modesty and chagrin make it difficult for me to offer refutation. The butcher, the baker, and the candle-stick maker, distinguished by appointment to a planning commission, romp joyously into plan-making, sometimes, it is true, returning a bit crestfallen through experience, but, sometimes never learning—never knowing. A hundred and fifty miscellaneous advisers to a planning project become overnight a hundred and fifty able planners. There is something about this plannnig business that touches a very responsive chord in the human make-up. Like gardening, perhaps, it seems to offer a fleeting opportunity to assume man's birthright, the image of God, without wearisome pre-preparation and without danger of really serious or recognizable blunders. Unlike gardening, there is more at stake in planning than color harmony or an adequate supply of fresh green asparagus.

This is a long way around to saying that not all of the so-called planning is remedial. Planning, per se, may be good, bad, or indifferent, depending upon how it is done, what it is, and how it is used.

The above is not intended to belittle the invaluable part played by planning commissioners in the making and administering of plans, nor to discourage the entrance into the professional planning field of sorely needed new and additional talent. Nor is it intended to imply that planning is being approached any more amateurishly than are many other governmental activities in this country—not especially

since 1932—but habitually and traditionally. I am trying to drive home the fact that plan-making is a much more complicated thing than usually appears on the surface, requiring in its successful application much of experience and well-balanced judgment.

A plan is as good as the directing intelligence under which it is made, whether that intelligence is vested in one man or in ten. The present-day social and economic structure, whether evidenced in city or state, is too extensive and too involved to be completely mastered in all its parts by any single individual. The thought and findings of many men, directly or indirectly, must go into the making of a plan. Usually, however, one man acting as interpreter and coordinator must be relied upon to give unity, form, and direction to the plan. This man is the planner or plan-director. He is a planner not because he is an architect, engineer, sociologist, or economist but because, by reason of experience or peculiar capacity, he has sufficient grasp of all basic requirements and considerations and sufficient judgment, to weave the many elements of plan into a desirable and workable whole.

The importance of adequate direction extends through the entire planning process from the making of basic maps and surveys, through planning studies, to the making of the plan and its administration. Pointed discrimination must be used in determining the kind and scales of needed maps and in the selection of pertinent information. Facts obtained must be analyzed and correlated in their direct and indirect bearing upon the plan and its administration. Unsupported by the authority of dictatorship, planned development is considerably dependent upon wide understanding and appreciation of its provisions and objectives. Facts and their analyses must serve the dual purpose of shaping and of supporting the plan. Their presentation must have popular appeal and legibility as well as technical adequacy.

To the entire process of survey and plan-making there should be imparted the symphonic qualities of scale, tone and balance. Too much stress upon the bassoons of traffic and highways and too much or too little upon the cellos of forest and park will serve only to reproduce the cacaphony of the old order of unbalance with an improved technique. Coordinated direction, therefore, calling for a peculiar and perhaps specialized quality in directing personnel, is a first essential in beneficially-effective plan-making.

This requirement of good planning procedure is particularly troublesome at this time. Present disorders and their more or less obvious causes have emphasized the need for planning. The necessity of providing useful public work for many men offers unparalleled opportunity to advance planning projects. Fairly adequate tools of almost

every kind, except sufficient experienced or otherwise qualified direction, are or can be made readily available. The finding of qualified directing personnel is difficult. Undoubtedly there are thousands of men in this country with inherent capacity to direct well the most involved of planning jobs. But most of them are specialized and busily occupied in other fields. Lacking close familiarity with planning procedure and objectives, knowing little or nothing of its technique, and being preoccupied with other things, few of these men are available to planning. Bringing them into and educating them in the field of comprehensive planning is of necessity a rather long process. Because of a deficiency in trained personnel, therefore, it may be necessary to stop many current planning projects short of actual comprehensive plan-making, confining activity for the time being at least to such preliminary and basic work as the making of maps and the compilation and presentation of significant factual data. These items require a minimum of specialized direction. In the absence of experienced direction there will be some lost motion but not more in planning than in any other operation tied up with fitting square pegs into round holes. Such temporary limitation of the scope of a planning project, pending arrangements for adequate direction, will not necessarily retard planning progress. A wide range of dependable maps and fact compilations is essential to intelligent and efficient planning. Most planning projects of the past have suffered from the lack of this foundation material. Few cities are so well equipped with such basic maps and assembled information that bringing themselves up to date in these matters will not, of itself, require months of concentrated effort. Full planning programs should, of course, be undertaken wherever and whenever, by reason of sufficient funds or other favorable circumstances, competent direction is available or can be drafted into service.

Someone will now call attention to the presence and probable availability in all sizable cities, urban counties, and states, of the wide array of competent technicians: street and highway engineers, sanitation engineers, park and conservation men, educators, statisticians, lawyers, sociologists, administrators, and numerous others. That someone will go on to suggest that organized cooperation between these men can be made to produce an adequate plan and that the setting up of machinery to insure that cooperation is the only need. My reply is that positive *coordination* and not cooperation alone is essential, and that this coordination must be initiated by a neutral agency such as the planning board and its staff. Such coordination should be directed toward the initiation of a comprehensive plan constructed upon a much deeper and a much broader base than has hitherto been

applied in the disjointed development-procedure of the unplanned city or state. Close cooperation between many specialists is essential but this alone will not produce a well-balanced plan and works program. The situation calls for one more specialist, the coordinator.

A further first essential to effective plan-making and administration is a strong, interested, and enthusiastic planning board. The planning board need not be comprised of technicians, although the inclusion of some technicians among its members will be found most helpful and desirable. It is seldom the function of a planning board, through direct membership activity, to do the technical planning. This is a job for the board's paid staff. The primary function of the board, and one no less important and exacting than the technical job of plan-making, is that of bringing to bear upon the entire process that matured judgment and vari-sided point of view essential to an assured workability and suitability of plan. In addition to the competency of matured judgment and balanced point of view the planning board and its individual members should have sufficient position and prestige in the community to command respectful hearing in all matters within or affecting its jurisdiction.

I do not know just what the audience may have expected to be produced under this subject, "Making of the Plan." Having set planning up as a noble and specialized procedure, it has seemed scarcely logical for me to follow that by an attempt to frame rules-of-thumb covering technique and procedure. I also have my doubts as to whether planning can be so packed, sealed, and delivered. I am quite certain that the technique of plan-making is not a matter to be confined effectively within the span of one short paper. Moreover so much has already been written on the subject that further discussion of specialized planning technique seems relatively unimportant at this time and in this place. Given a good planning board, willing and in position to devote time and thought to its job; qualified directing personnel; ample funds; and a reasonably well trained staff, planning presents no peculiar or insurmountable difficulties. There remains to the planning process so implemented only one especially troublesome problem, that of shaping plans and policies toward an economically sound and socially desirable end. We have all heard of "the beautiful but dumb" and perhaps known "soulless perfection." Plans can be that way too.

DISCUSSION

MR. JACOB L. CRANE, JR., Chicago, Illinois: If Russell Black is as persuasive to all of you as he is to me, we might conclude that the show is over. We have a better understanding now of the manner in which the destiny of our cities is inwrapped with regional and national development.

I should like to say here that the kind of planning we are discussing is an instrument for good public administration. The whole process is one of understanding what we are about, of selecting objectives, of choosing a way of preventing our cities from disintegrating and disappearing. We hold the firm conviction that they need not and should not. There is the greatest need that our energies be brought to bear upon a plan from which programs laid in that direction can be derived. It leads to one thing as I see it: better public administration. With better instrumentalities of planning to guide them, cities and executives of cities and state and national governments can more wisely carry on their affairs.

I hope you all saw a recent editorial in the *Cincinnati Enquirer*. It said, I believe, "Planning [not just city planning] is not only useful but essential to the operation of a municipality." In Cincinnati a high level of municipal government has been attained with a city manager of outstanding ability and the city manager system on the one hand, and the City Planning Commission on the other.

The next division of our program, under which three papers will be presented, is entitled, obscurely I think, *The Functioning of the Plan*. Mr. Dykstra will present the first paper of the series: "Public Works and Uses."

THE FUNCTIONING OF THE PLAN: PUBLIC WORKS AND USES

C. A. DYKSTRA, City Manager, Cincinnati, Ohio

We have discussed the question: Must American cities decay? If they must not, as has been indicated, how is that decay to be avoided? The speakers here have indicated working through a planning process. They suggest that we should make a plan for the rehabilitation of cities as they are now—for the future of cities as they are to be. They predict that we shall have much geography and many finely drafted plans which will make of cities what those of us who have vision wish them to be.

Then we come to that most prosaic consideration, the old problem of finance. There is also the problem of the acceptance of plans by those who have never lived under one, who perhaps do not care to. Then, assuming some sort of public acceptance, there are those individuals and groups who appear before legislative and administrative bodies to point out that the plan will conflict with their own personal hopes and schemes.

One of the ways in which these conflicting interests may be brought together in the administration of a plan, is through introducing into the planning commission personnel representatives of those agencies of the government which are to have part in the prosecution of the plan. For instance, in the planning commission of this city there is a member of the City Council chosen by that Council as *ex officio* member of the commission who is also a member of the administrative force—the city manager. Thus representatives from the legislative as well as the administrative body sit with the planning commission which is charged with the planning function of the community.

Such a set-up may produce friction or it may minimize it, depending upon personalities, individual convictions, or the time of day! But there are informal ways of reaching conclusions, of discovering differences of opinion, of ironing out difficulties. There are ways of finding out how to avoid the rocks in the path of a plan or new zoning ordinance before action by the commission or legislative body which has authority to put it into effect or to prevent its being carried out. I think we have been successful here in doing this kind of thing. A suggestion here and there to the community as to how certain difficulties may be avoided affects not only the local administrative and legislative bodies but, under the impetus of regional, state and national planning, is leaving its imprint on other levels of ad-

ministration as well. One of the discoveries we must make is how, on a vertical line, the administration of all planning may be brought together and integrated.

As an illustration of this point let us take the community that is embarking upon public housing. You may have a local housing authority of some kind. Here in this community the city planning commission has taken a great interest and has played a large part in seeing that a public housing development shall do its part in the rehabilitation of certain districts in this community. But in the administration of that program there have come to bear upon the scheme not only local administrative officers, park and playground commissioners, but all those who have to do with the national features of this project as well. A local project not only has to run the gamut of engineers and architects and financial authorities at Washington, but has to be coordinated with a national plan. There are many difficulties involved in that, so it takes a great deal of time to administer a program once it is set up as a local project.

Certainly that is true in the construction of a local Federal building. What will be done in such a case in your community? Is the Federal Government going to work with the local planning authorities in the determination of a Civic Center plan, and if so, are the Treasury and Post Office departments going to participate in that planning arrangement?

When we come to the administration of a plan, the problem is not a local problem only. It may become a State problem if there are certain facilities which the State will move into the community. It may become a national problem. Therefore, if we are going to talk about the integration of planning on these various levels of government—local, state, regional and national—we must discuss the integration of the administration of plans on these various levels as well. Unless we do that, we shall have a conflict of interests and authority which will be a hindrance to carrying through in a practical administrative way all of the beautiful schemes and ideas we may have considered as a program.

I take it that this is the reason for the suggestion that a national body should study problems of taxation and collection of revenues on the various levels of government. When we discover how an integrated plan is to be financed, how it is to be administered; when authorities are integrated vertically through all the administrative forces of our government, then we can look forward to the successful execution of our plans.

You have listened patiently to a discussion of plans of geography,

of the trouble with plans, and of the difficulties of administering them. It is my belief that not only as planners, but as administrators, we must find a way to correlate these two functions in such a way that we can make proper progress in a proper way to a proper end. That is why the question of who is to administer a plan, of how the local, regional, and perhaps state and national planning commissions are to be made up is of considerable importance. I suggest that it might be worth while on all these levels to introduce into our planning agencies representatives of groups which will furnish both the financial support for the making of the plans and the responsibility of their administration. By such coordination and correlation I think we shall make progress more quickly, more sanely and more surely. Once that progress is made the community will support not only the plan but its administration.

THE FUNCTIONING OF THE PLAN: SUBDIVISION CONTROL

EARL O. MILLS, Planning Consultant, Saint Louis, Missouri

Subdivision control has been a major topic of discussion at the meetings of the National Planning Conference for the past quarter of a century. Indeed, little has been left unsaid regarding the inevitable consequences of an unregulated patchwork of independent subdivisions, which appear in the form of poor street arrangements, inadequate lot sizes and a woeful lack of open space for schools and recreation. Interesting and conclusive facts also have been presented to illustrate the enormous sums expended in the poorly planned areas to provide increased street, school, and recreational areas in accordance with the requirements of modern community life.

Largely as a consequence of the constructive suggestions elicited by this Conference, many subdivision laws have been enacted and a marked degree of progress has been made in the method and control of land subdivision. Though the exact number of municipalities possessing and diligently enforcing modern platting regulations is not readily ascertainable, it no doubt includes a substantial part, if not a majority, of the approximately 800 planning commissions now in existence. Similarly gratifying is the statement contained in that enlightening publication "Our Cities Today and Tomorrow" by Mr. and Mrs. Hubbard of Harvard University. According to a statement contained therein, nearly half of the states have authorized municipalities to exercise extra-territorial control of subdivisions varying in extent from one-half to ten miles beyond their corporate limits.

Through the application of more scientific principles in land platting, creditable achievements have been obtained in a better adaptation of street arrangement to topography, more economical and rational use of street space, larger and more practical lot sizes, some provision for recreation, and a greater recognition and acceptance of modern thoroughfare planning.

The vast mileage of major thoroughfares acquired without cost, through comprehensive planning and subdivision control, represents one of the most effective and economic products in the field of planning achievements. Among the numerous notable accomplishments illustrating the economic wisdom of farsighted planning, which our more "practical" community builders like to think of as the day dream of a benighted theorist, is the experience of Los Angeles County. According to a report issued by the Los Angeles Regional Planning Commission in July, 1932, it had secured over a period of

years, "the dedication absolutely free, of 165 miles of highways. During the same period, the auditor's books show the County condemned 24.6 miles of highway right-of-way at a cost of $118,000 per mile. At this rate the 165 miles secured through planning would have cost nearly $20,000,000."

These figures for Los Angeles County, where planning precedes development, afford a striking comparison with the regrettable and costly experience of the City of Los Angeles, which grew and then planned. Obviously, if the City of Los Angeles had exercised the same foresight several decades ago, that has been followed in Los Angeles County during the past decade, the vast majority of the City's one hundred million dollar program for major thoroughfare improvements could have been prevented. Numerous other cogent demonstrations could be recounted, but this alone should be sufficient to sustain the contention that farsighted planning pays big dividends.

Notwithstanding the fact that meritorious progress has been achieved in subdivision control as a part of comprehensive planning, certain serious evils still prevail. The root of these evils, which have persisted virtually since the beginning of community development, can be attributed in large measure to the unfailing belief that land is a commodity to be bought and sold for profit rather than devoted to its most logical and wholesome use.

Few, if any, communities have escaped the blighting and detrimental effects of land exploitation in the form of excessive and unwarranted subdivided areas. The disastrous consequences of these false attempts at the urbanization of land yet unripe for development are not, and cannot be, fully realized in the absence of more complete and authentic information. The editors of the magazine *Fortune*, however, throw some light on this dilemma in their excellent publication "Housing America," in which they say:

"The American Continent was whittled down from the lap of God to the corner lot in a man's lifetime. And the waste of that process lies about our cities now in slag heaps of houseless subdivisions and tailings of high-priced acres like the refuse around a careless mill. Chicago was said to have enough newly plotted suburban land five years ago to house 10 million people. There are enough lots staked off on Long Island to make suburbanites of the inhabitants of the five Boroughs of New York. One hundred and seventy-five thousand of Cleveland's 375,000 lots, or 47 per cent, were vacant in 1929. Detroit suburbs have been staked 30 per cent in advance of requirements for the last thirty years. Seventy-five per

cent of the total plotted area of Burbank, California, and 53 per cent of the plotted land throughout Los Angeles County are vacant. Fifty (50) per cent of the land of Portland, Maine, 66 per cent of the lot area of Duluth and 30 per cent of the plotted area of El Paso, stand empty."

Another indication of the fallacious and almost ludicrous situation, which has arisen through unbridled land gambling, can be gained from a rough approximation of the probable total number of vacant lots existing throughout the country. For instance, if the average amount of vacant platted land known to exist in several representative communities, is indicative of the average for all urban regions, there are now sufficient vacant lots to accommodate a total urban population considerably more than double that of 1930, which was 69 millions. Contrast this with the population studies in the recent report of the National Resources Board, which anticipates that the nation's maximum population will be attained about the year 1960 with a total of slightly more than 140 million. According to the details of these population estimates, if the migration from rural to urban areas continues at the same pace as it did from 1920 to 1930, which is exceedingly doubtful, the maximum increase in urban population will scarcely exceed 13 millions, or only about 15 or 20 per cent of the amount needed to absorb the now existing vacant lots. It cannot be assumed that the entire increase in urban population will seek the lots already subdivided. There are many areas relatively closer in and more attractive that could and should be developed, notwithstanding that the present surplus far exceeds all reasonable future demand. This would indicate that the vast majority of the surplus subdivided areas will forever remain idle unless some readjustment is effected.

It is to be regretted that sufficient data is not now available for a fair approximation of the tremendous useless expenditures made for streets, utilities, and other facilities now serving vacant lots. Certain figures pertaining to this subject from the Los Angeles Regional Planning Commission, however, are most illuminating. It is reported that in Los Angeles County there are 2,220 miles of streets serving the frontage of vacant lots and the *annual* charge for street maintenance in front of these vacant lots alone is $1,435,869. It also is stated that the increased cost of government made necessary solely because of the existence of these vacant lots is 3½ million dollars annually.

Another testimony to the folly of surplus land platting, is the resultant and fictitious increase in land values. From a few approximate estimates it is clearly evident that for the entire Nation such

inflated values would run into billions of dollars, being in excess of ¼ billion in each of the Chicago and Los Angeles regions alone. Undoubtedly careful research would disclose that these false increments in land values exert a more profound and distressing effect upon governmental finance than is generally realized. It should be apparent that in no other phase of urban planning is there greater need for research and study than in the social and economic consequences of indiscriminate land platting.

The immediate problem of urban land planning might be said to be concerned chiefly with the urban slums, and the sparsely built areas between the developed sections and the open country. In the urban slum areas, it has long since been conceded that the only practical solution to this vexatious problem of rehabilitation is the consolidation of individual parcels of land and the construction of neighborhood units sufficiently large to create and maintain their own environment. This, of course, involves several serious obstacles which heretofore have been regarded as almost insurmountable. The present slum-clearance and low-cost housing program of the Federal Government, however, recognizes the above principle and should presage the solution to our slum problems.

It can scarcely be denied that the sparsely built areas constitute one of the greatest present-day challenges to the ingenuity of the planning profession. With a scattered surplus of vacant subdivided property, most of which will never be needed for building purposes—some of it improved and much of it held in small parcels—the problem is indeed a most complex one and one which under present inadequate legal authority seems almost insoluble. Yet if metropolitan areas are to be well-balanced and reflect some semblance of order, economy and efficiency, certain readjustments are inevitable. To be sure, any plans for the intelligent reorganization of these areas will necessitate a more comprehensive survey and analysis of present conditions than are now available.

One of the difficulties in curbing the premature platting of land has been the failure or inability to substantiate previous predictions with complete and conclusive facts. Though some partial and interesting studies have been made in certain localities, further enlightenment is needed upon such matters as:

(1) The cost of installation and maintenance of streets, sewers, water, gas, electricity, transportation, schools, fire, police, health, and similar facilities, now serving vacant lots.

(2) The losses sustained in carrying charges, such as interest and taxes, and the effect of vacant lots upon the problem of tax delinquency.

(3) The greater financial risk involved, for which the unsuspecting purchasers pay, where agricultural lands are prematurely platted into building lots and remain idle indefinitely or eternally.

(4) The fictitious property values created by designating rural land for urban purposes in advance of need thereby enhancing its assessed value and establishing a false security upon which the community bonded limit is legally determined.

Factual information of this character would not only serve to emphasize the need for broader regulatory powers, but would also facilitate the reorganization and planning of these areas. Obviously any plan for readjustment should take into account opportunities for converting tax delinquent lands into park and school sites, and the replatting of vacant unimproved subdivisions for residence, business, subsistence homestead, and other appropriate uses.

To secure an orderly reorganization of the sparsely built areas, it is essential that a thoroughfare plan and zoning regulations precede the platting or replatting of land. In states where county zoning may be difficult to obtain, "extra-territorial zoning" might be resorted to, as is permissible in certain cities in Kentucky and Tennessee. Density regulations under zoning ordinances, if used more extensively and effectively, would contribute immeasurably to the solution of the problem of indiscriminate land platting and the prevention of suburban slums. For example, it is quite generally conceded and should be recognized in planning that greater open space should be the compensating factor for greater distance in travel. Generally speaking, building sites should be increased somewhat in proportion to their distance from the center of high values. Beyond the limits where scientific studies indicate that the subdivision of land into lots of less than an acre or two should terminate, only large estates, agricultural uses, subsistence homesteads, parks, and the like, should be permitted.

Such an attempt to control more rigidly the distribution of population and wild-cat subdivisions may seem a questionable extension of the zoning principle, but we need only to be reminded that in the short span of less than twenty years we have witnessed the extension of the application of zoning regulations from the skyscrapers of New York to the cut-over lands of Wisconsin, where the permanent use of certain lands is specifically prohibited. Moreover, in view of our serious land problems both rural and urban, we may reasonably expect a more widespread use and continued refinement of zoning regulations to effect, among other things, a more rational and wholesome distribution of population.

Such regulations would serve to correct many evils in land plat-

ting and tend to bring about a better and saner understanding of our future population growth in the urban regions. Too much stress, however, cannot be placed upon the dire need of direct legal authority to control excess subdivision and the sale of subdivided property by metes and bounds. The installation of improvements and utilities as a condition of approval of plats is now in effect in a limited number of communities. Though not a panacea for all ills, this is a commendable practice and one that should be more extensively used. In Memphis, Tennessee, an interesting law has been in operation for the past decade, which provides that a deed to a lot of less than two acres within the city or five miles beyond, cannot be recorded unless it abuts upon a public thoroughfare or is approved by the City Plan Commission. In other communities instances are recorded where building permits or utilities are refused for lots in unapproved subdivisions, and while such a procedure may possess some merit, it can, at best, be regarded only as an expedient of questionable practical value under our democratic form of government. Obviously these problems must be corrected at their source if subsequent and aggravating complications are to be avoided.

A gratifying degree of progress has been made in subdivision control, especially in the matter of design, though too little attention has been given to the final appearance of completed projects. A great deal can be achieved through such devices as density regulations under zoning ordinances—requiring the installation of improvements and prohibiting the conveyance of property in unapproved subdivisions, but there is admittedly a crying need for exhaustive research and study to reveal a true and comprehensive picture of the colossal waste and unwholesome conditions resulting from unbridled land speculation. With such supporting facts there is every reason to believe that, through the renewed interest in all phases of planning now being stimulated by the National Resources Board, together with the increasingly favorable attitude of the courts toward the necessity of broader regulations to meet our changing social and economic conditions, suitable legislation can be procured and sustained.

A ZONING PRIMER

JOSEPH T. WOODRUFF, Consultant, New England Regional Planning Commission

We might just as well start right off and look zoning in the face. Its face is proud, as it should be; it has done things. But in spite of the fact that the Supreme Court has given it a pretty clean bill of health, it is not what it used to be. It started out with enabling legislation that said, usually, that zoning must be based on a comprehensive plan, that it should be designed to promote general welfare, to prevent the spread of fire and congestion on the streets, to promote safety and to sponsor all the other things that would be achieved if zoning were truly the legal background for the comprehensive plan that it should be, and a medium to prevent decay.

The fact is that zoning, as it exists today, is far from that goal.

In many instances the quantitative relationships between business, residential and industrial areas are all awry. Much zoning was done in times of belief that the sky was the limit, whereas fairly recently most of us have been there and found that it isn't. Much zoning was not preceded by any plan at all. Business zones adequate for 800,000 people are found in cities of 140,000; areas in towns already troubled with delinquency, fire hazard and other congestion, are zoned so that density in that area may be greatly increased; marshy lands that can't economically be sewered are zoned for multiple dwellings; taxes are assessed by tax boards without reference to zoning; fire districts prescribe regulations for construction with no reference to areas zoned for specific uses; Boards of Appeal nibble at the existing zoning giving special privileges to the chosen few, while they should be interested only in relieving unnecessary hardship in the strict enforcement of the ordinance.

You have probably heard of the discouraged squire who said that he had had so many messes in the family he was having a mop put on the coat of arms. What we need is a mop. The mopping isn't going to be easy, for zoning has been set long enough for us to have learned not only its bad habits, but to resent changing them. Yet it can be done.

Only recently sections of the Boston Post Road in Darien, Connecticut, have been reclaimed from a business to a residential use through a program of education based on a newly-made comprehensive plan and extensive studies by the Fairfield County Planning Association. Streets in Bridgeport, Connecticut, have been reclaimed where sporadic business uses had not done too great damage. Mont-

clair, New Jersey, has restudied her ordinance in the light of changed conditions. Springfield, Massachusetts, is restudying her ordinance as she has done every five years, and you know of many other instances where the mop is working.

We will all admit that we have fathered and mothered zoning. We have to be good parents; children are natural mimics. They act like their parents in spite of every effort to teach them good manners. This is zoning as she is: too ambitious without balance, too changeable without a plan, too undisciplined under proper appeal, but young —so young that we can forgive her. She is only waiting to be married to her planned lover to lead a fuller and more useful life.

A friend of mine says that some people have no respect for age— unless it's bottled. But zoning isn't too old to be criticized, nor is it bottled up. It is probably on the verge of the greatest opportunity to be of real use.

Its highest function is to promote health, safety, and general welfare through the intelligent exercise of the police power by setting aside certain uses of land, heights, bulk, and coverage of buildings, population density provisions, etc., *according to a comprehensive plan.*

Where is the plan? The enabling acts call for a plan, but do not require the production of a plan before and as a part of the evidence incidental to the adoption of the ordinance.

Zoning can so apportion the quantity of business, residence and industrial uses that they will not only be suitable to the land areas but, what is more important, will be balanced to fit the comprehensive plan for the community. Zoning can prohibit residence, where sound background of health and safety reasons can be shown, on areas unsuited for such use. This principle has been used on marsh lands of Connecticut shore towns and on Connecticut River areas subject to annual floods.

The heroic efforts of this Administration, through the National Resources Board, are resulting in the making of more thorough and complete studies of existing and potential land-uses than have ever been made for this or any other country. Its labors are resulting also in the making of town, city, state and regional plans. Plans are being made for cities and towns that were zoned without a plan, and data are being assembled for whole areas of rural lands indicating their highest use. County and regional zoning should turn these data to good use.

In recapitulation let us say:

(1) Zoning should form the legal control and support for a comprehensive plan, be it for town, city or region.

(2) Much of present zoning has been done without a plan.

(3) Much of present zoning should be redone.

(4) Before present zoning is redone up-to-date plans should be made.

(5) Comprehensive plans should be required before adoption of zoning plans.

(6) The quantitative balance of land-uses in relation to population trends should be stated on the zoning map and in the ordinance at the time of adoption, so that the people who are adopting the ordinance know what they are getting. A city should know whether it is providing today business areas for ten times its present population, or whether it is really getting some reasonable degree of protection.

(7) Taxation methods, building codes, fire districts should be inter-related and conform to a general plan.

But this is a Primer, and its third part, on how to accomplish better zoning, has yet to be discussed. My impression is that though she's been a flighty youngster, zoning had better recognize the well-meaning advances of her comprehensive plan lover. The sooner they are married the better. An intelligent girl is one who knows how to refuse a kiss without being deprived of it.

DISCUSSION

MR. JACOB L. CRANE, JR., Chicago, Illinois: I was very glad to learn that Hugh R. Pomeroy was coming on from California to talk about zoning. I have known Hugh Pomeroy for a good many years. This morning a stranger approached me and said he was Hugh Pomeroy. I had no way of defending myself on that matter. This gentleman still insists he is Hugh Pomeroy. I do know Hugh Pomeroy has done some very interesting things in zoning in California. If that gentleman will come forward and present himself he assumes the responsibility, not I.

MR. HUGH R. POMEROY, San Jose, California: My well-meaning attempts to give a little dignity to the planning profession back in California by facial re-forestation was met with singular disrespect on the part of my colleagues. I simply have to do the best I can in letting nature take its course.

Having decided only Thursday morning that I could come, and having driven the distance in three days, there has been no opportunity for me to go over the papers. I have, however, a few notes on the discussions and comments which have been made today.

We had outlined for us this morning the effects which result in rural, city and national development from three primary causes: faulty land utilization, faulty distribution of population with resultant population density, and faulty site planning. We have as an objective in planning, therefore, whether it be city, state or national, the effectuation of a pattern of sound land utilization, sound distribution and density of population and sound site planning.

It is necessary that we interpret our data in the light of an adequate philosophy and evaluate it in the light of what has taken place. We need a philosophy that is sound socially and economically and directed toward the development of sound patterns.

I do not agree entirely with Mr. Hudson in his statement that if we knew how to integrate our development with geographical factors we would not need regional planning. The accomplishment of the objectives which have been mentioned is, of course, the purpose of planning; and the very integration to which he refers is planning itself.

We have seen during the past few years a reaching down, or a reaching in as it were, toward the broader aspects of planning which characterize our search for a constructive national policy in forestry and agriculture. At the same time we have seen in a reaching out into urban planning an attempt to provide satisfactorily for the city dweller pleasant driving conditions along the highways by means of roadside control. This reaching out into the broader aspects of planning is now being met with, particularly in the fields of county and state planning. We have seen some interesting experiments along that line.

Mr. Bartholomew referred this morning to the necessity of undertaking the practical task of working over our existing zoning. While Los Angeles has accomplished a great deal in subdivision control in Los Angeles County, the fact remains that over 50 per cent of all its subdivided lots are still vacant, and that one out of every three lots in Los Angeles is zoned for some particular purpose. Our urban zoning patterns must be redrafted in an attempt to develop a technique that will reach beyond urban limits as we know them.

We are endeavoring to do certain things in California counties which are, frankly, experimental insofar as techniques are concerned. The County of San Mateo is undertaking to write broad laws in order to make planning an essential function of the county government, providing also that the plan as it is developed will not become what has been described here today as something beautiful but dumb. We hope that the plan will become an actual part of the working policy and program of the county development. In our opinion, it is the duty of the county government to determine the means for effectuating the conditions of the plan as the plan is developed. Zoning is not called "zoning" in San Mateo County, but is referred to as "Land-Use Planning" and the ordinance is known as the "Land-Use Plan Ordinance." This ordinance does the thing which a good city is supposed to do: It sets up an urban district which reaches out into the rural areas of the county bringing roadside control to the larger thoroughfares in terms of rural rather than urban classification. It sets out frankly to protect the scenic areas of the country and even to encompass the problem of erosion control. The intention in San Mateo County, then, is to extend the zoning process to the point where it will definitely control the ultimate land utilization and, extent of occupancy, and will protect the scenic areas of the county.

There is no local precedent for what we are doing. However, Mr. Bettman's words, spoken at the Pittsburgh Conference of 1932, are ringing through parts of California. Speaking as a lawyer, he expressed the hope that we planners would forget the law in making sure that our programs were solely for human betterment. The lawyer's job, he said, would be to keep up with us. So with more courage, possibly, than good sense, we are proceeding to find means whereby we may utilize the zoning process to effectuate a pattern of sound land utilization, of proper population distribution and site design in some of our California communities.

MR. ALFRED BETTMAN, Cincinnati, Ohio: Some subdivision regulations—not everywhere, but certainly in enough places to permit a general assertion—seem to have been successfully devised to accomplish that which the particular ordinance or law set out to do. We have limited subdivision regulation largely to the adequacies and set-up of the commission. Outside of small contributions to recreational space and increased efficiency in street lay-out, we do not seem to have applied the division device technically to subdivision regulation. In our minds, if not to any great degree in the law, we have reached the point of willingness to prohibit the premature and excessive subdividing of land by means of subdivision regulation. Proof of its value is apparent in statistics. A question arises in my mind, however, which I wish I were technically better qualified to examine. Can we apply this technique or device of subdivision regulation to meet the conditions described in our morning paper? That is, can we, through subdivisional regulation and zoning (for they are allied techniques) accomplish something along the line of Mr. Pomeroy's suggestion? For instance, if we have a probable, practical plan for the replanning and rebuilding of the blighted central area, how far can we go? Is it theoretically possible, is it politically and practically possible to use the device of subdivision regulation to exclude from certain areas those types of development which we wish to divert to our rehabilitated and replanned central areas? Or, if we have a land administration program which goes into considerable detail, possibly into more detail than the zoning ordinance in regard to land administration within the urban district, is it sound to conceive of the practicability of using this device not only negatively to prevent vacancies, but positively to develop the city?

MR. HERBERT U. NELSON, Chicago, Illinois: The National Association of Real Estate Boards is intensely interested in a practical plan or method of subdivision control. It is spoken of here as something already in existence. Personally, I know of no established method of effective subdivision control. Our Association has been greatly concerned with and has repeatedly investigated the subject. I can give you facts and cite instances of the evils of excessive subdivision that are much more convincing than anything you have heard today. In our opinion, there is nothing worse for a city or for the public than wildcat subdivision. At one time we hoped that the city planning commission would ultimately be vested with the authority to control such tendencies, but so far we have not seen a city planning commission willing enough to use the powers already delegated to it. Zoning as it has been discussed here, as a part of regional activity, seems to us to be in the future.

We may again witness subdivision activity within the next two or three years. We are anxious, therefore, to see a device developed or suggested by you who are technically skilled in this field and who are studying these problems; a solution that will give immediate, even stop-gap, control. Otherwise we will go through another five or ten years of intense real estate activity and all of the things that we see and don't like now will be a great deal worse than they are at present. A plan for dealing adequately with the subdivision problem does not now exist, so far as I know, in any community. If anyone in this group will undertake to develop a practical method of subdivision control, I assure you that it will be welcomed by every responsible man in our Association as well as by the many cities that are studying this problem.

MR. JACOB L. CRANE, JR., Chicago, Illinois: I should like to suggest that one or more members of the organizations represented here undertake to prepare a statement of what now seems to be a sensible and practicable way

of going about this problem of subdivision control. In fact all of you might undertake to comment on this subject.

Mr. Pomeroy of California has what on the face of it appears to be a very effective subdivision control law so far as controlling the layout of a subdivision is concerned. He has described a method which includes density of occupation control, site control and zoning. It does not control subdivision quantitatively. When the law was adopted in that form in 1929 the provision was forced into it that any subdivision not approved by the planning commission within 30 days could be sold thereafter. In other words, subdivision control law in the State of California contains within itself the specific means for its own nullification. The only way we have been able to get around that is in adopting by ordinance the plan of the subdivision that should be put into effect. This method has been used in very few cases, however, because the mere threat of it has generally been effective.

MR. GEORGE H. GRAY, Hartford, Connecticut: I should like to say that I have studied the San Mateo action and it seems to me to be far in advance of anything else we have in zoning. I should like to recommend that either this organization, or some other, print this material in such form as to be available to everyone in the country. It is, to me, one of the classic jobs of its kind and, if published, would be an extremely valuable contribution to planning.

MR. EDWARD M. BASSETT, New York City: The State of New York has, for several years, had on its statute books laws to control planning and subdivision. One of these laws is in the general town law, another in the village law, and a third in the city law. In each case they are the same. Many villages, some towns and a number of cities have taken advantage of these permissive laws. They are not mandatory, and they are working rather well under a great deal of experimentation. One good thing about them is that they do not penalize non-compliance. Nor do they prohibit the filing of deeds in recording offices. Mr. Mills spoke of such prohibition unless the plat was approved. That, we think, is dangerous because whether there is a plat or not a man should be able to make an assignment of a driveway or deed two feet of land to his neighbor. The recording officer can't distinguish if there is a blanket prohibition. In other words, land should always be kept alienable. We can get at all these things without prohibiting the recording of deeds.

MR. AARON B. HORWITZ, Duluth, Minnesota: Mr. Mills spoke of the dearth of quantitative facts pertaining to subdivision. It may be of interest to give the experience of Duluth two years ago. We wanted our legislature to give us planning control so we surveyed our local conditions and checked the investment cost in streets, sewer, water and gas improvements. We did not include privately-owned utilities, electricity or telephones. We found we had an investment of 25 million dollars in these publicly-owned improvements of which 15 millions were along occupied frontage and some 10 millions along unoccupied frontage. As a result of the information which was presented in graphic form, the State Legislature of 1935 passed an act giving the Duluth Planning Commission the authority to control subdivision planning.

I don't know how the regulations which we adopted are actually going to work out under extreme pressure at the time of a boom. We have had very little fighting so far, and we haven't had to meet the problem of popular pressure. An advantage we do have lies in the fact that the citizens' commission is not subject either to elections or other political forces.

MR. JACOB L. CRANE, JR., Chicago, Illinois: May I ask, Mr. Horwitz, whether or not your Commission has the power to refuse permission to subdivide land?

MR. AARON B. HORWITZ, Duluth, Minnesota: No, it does not. We are hoping that proper planning will be effected through control of improvement requirements and their costs so that speculative planning will not be possible. It will be impossible to do shoestring planning as has been done previously in Duluth.

MR. RUSSELL O. KOENIG, Saginaw, Michigan: There has been some talk about discovering what can be done by zoning the rural areas, and I am wondering whether or not the permission could be constituted as land-use. Suppose a given area is zoned in a rural section for residence purposes—whether for residential purposes governing large areas or for small town lots makes little difference. Could provisions be incorporated into the zoning ordinance covering, not only the use of that land, but the method of subdividing and planning it as well? Must there be a record of that deed by subdivision plat or by metes and bounds?

REHABILITATION OF THE BLIGHTED DISTRICT: A COOPERATIVE ENTERPRISE

CHAIRMAN'S INTRODUCTION

MR. ALFRED BETTMAN, Cincinnati, Ohio, Chairman of the Conference: We have heard the meaty papers which were presented this morning and this afternoon. We have heard discussed data regarding population and industrial trends, faulty urban land policies; and we have had described for us the social and economic factors which intensify the problem of the urban area. Reasons have been given for integrating the planning of the city with the region, the state, and the Nation. We have had our attention drawn to the need of planning the city in such a way as to counteract certain social and economic forces, particular attention being paid to the trend toward a decreasing rate of growth of the American population, a reduction in the birth rate and an increase in the average of the population as well as other factors.

We know that the most obvious effect of the conditions we have discussed is the increase of blighted districts in the heart of the American city. We know that it is an immediate and serious problem. The blighted district—within which term the slum is included—is an urgent challenge to the planning profession and to other branches of the social and physical sciences as well.

Whereas the morning's program was concerned with data regarding the factors of decay of American cities and the afternoon session with the planning process as a remedy and means to counteract the forces which bring about the decline of the city, this evening we shall attack the most serious angle of the problem and the most urgent part of the remedy. The general topic is *The Rehabilitation of the Blighted District,* presented as a cooperative enterprise from differing intellectual and official viewpoints. In our first speaker two of these are found in combination—the planning approach joined with legal technique. Mr. Walter H. Blucher is a man with special experience in both fields, proceeding from his connection as City Planner of the City of Detroit and as Consultant to the Michigan State Planning Commission.

THE SHARE OF THE PLANNER AND THE LAWYER

WALTER H. BLUCHER, Executive Director
American Society of Planning Officials

Many of the people in this country are still under the delusion that the rehabilitation of blighted areas involves only new housing in those areas. If we approached the problem of rehabilitation properly, it would become apparent that the best use of the property in many communities might be for commercial or industrial purposes or for parks or open spaces. Even if we finally conclude that housing is the best and highest use for particular property in blighted areas, it is utterly impossible to determine what kind of housing is needed in the community and in the particular area without first having a plan for the city. Since housing is being given most consideration as a factor in rehabilitation at this time, I propose to discuss that aspect of the problem first.

Why is it that we in America resist experience? It is 17 years since the Government entered upon its war housing program. That program taught us certain lessons which we proceeded to forget as rapidly as possible. We were left a collection of data which has had little improvement in the 17 years that have elapsed.

Housing in those days was truly an emergency measure. In the hurry to get homes under way for workers engaged in war-industries it would have been reasonable to assume that planning aspects might properly be overlooked. As a matter of fact, in spite of the emergency, we were left with a few well-planned communities—communities which today, because of adequate planning, are able to maintain themselves as desirable neighborhoods. Little of the so-called site planning of recent years has equalled that of the war-housing, much less excelled it.

I will say nothing about the problems which were created in maintaining and operating the war-housing communities. They do not leave pleasant memories, but that too seems to have been forgotten.

We have now been engaged in a Federal housing program for about two years and the greater part of the country has not, to all appearances, learned the elementary principles of housing policy, principles which I have been repeating for many months; principles which you all know and which constitute the A-B-C of housing.

Some of those elementary principles are:

(1) Every slum area is not necessarily an area to be rebuilt with new types of housing.

(2) Every blighted area should not of necessity be developed for housing purposes.

(3) Cheap land alone will not serve as the only basis for a housing program.

(4) The mere incidence of high rate of juvenile delinquency, felonious homicides, tuberculosis deaths, pneumonia deaths, infant mortality, tax delinquency, etc., etc., does not prove that the area should necessarily be rebuilt with housing.

(5) There can be no suitable housing program in any community without first having a "land pattern" or a "concept of" the community. This may be called the "plan" for the community.

(6) All large-scale housing should be constructed as a part of a neighborhood or community plan and all public housing in blighted areas should contribute to the rebuilding of the community.

(7) Suitable housing will not ordinarily be obtained if a site is selected without relation to the "land pattern" with later attempts to justify that selection on a so-called "planning basis."

What I say is not in criticism of public housing. My stand on that matter is sufficiently well known. Some of us will disagree as to the policy of Federal or public housing, but all of us, I am sure, wish, if there is to be public housing, that every effort be made to insure that it will be adequate and successful public housing. If we criticize, it is because we feel that essential factors are being overlooked, factors which, if missing, may prevent the consummation of a successful housing project.

I do not come here as a preacher for the abstract or theoretical cause of planning. I do not believe in planning for planning's sake. I believe that without planning we can have no successful governmental housing operations.

I quote from a public address of a Federal official.

> "We have heard it stated that a housing program must be incidental to a city plan. While I fully agree that all housing development should be a part of a city plan, I can assure you that we would never get started on housing if we were to sit down and wait for the planning bodies to organize or be organized and work up plans for their cities. I do not mean to imply that sufficient interest has been lacking on the part of planning officials, but rather that the housing issue has been brought to a head in advance of planning progress in many cities. This is substantiated by our fact-finding questionnaires which are in effect, cross examinations in planning. Many times months are consumed in digging out necessary facts which would be immediately available in well-ordered, well-planned communities. Unquestionably, the housing movement will stimulate city planning activities."

I am forced to disagree with that statement. There is only one way to approach a housing study; that is to approach it not as a hous-

ing study at all. We are no longer talking of housing as an emergency measure to prime the pump. It is part of a long-time program to provide a better physical environment for the people of this country.

The only way to approach urban housing is on the basis of a study for the building of a suitable community.

The City of Toronto recently made an extensive survey in that community. It determined that proper housing could not be done without relating the projects to a plan for the development of the community. The first recommendation of the special committee was that a City Planning Commission be established immediately for Toronto. The Report uses the following language:

> "It is essential that a City Planning Commission be established forthwith. This would be desirable even if there were no problems of housing in existence. The lack of a single body to plan and guide urban development should be a matter of concern to all citizens of Toronto. It is remarkable that property owners, industrialists, business men, taxpayers and voters, should so long have permitted their interests to remain unguarded. For there is no citizen who does not stand to profit, in the long run, from a beautiful, orderly and conveniently planned city; there is none who does not stand to lose from the waste of a city which sprawls haphazard at its outskirts and which decays in congestion at its heart. But when we add to the need for a body to plan and guide future development the immediate necessity for reconstructing certain areas where housing conditions are beyond the toleration of civic conscience and civic pride alike, then the case for a City Planning Commission becomes overwhelming. To undertake the reconstruction of these areas, at considerable trouble and expense, without ensuring that development of the city would be such as to improve, rather than degrade, their surroundings or that equally obnoxious conditions would not develop elsewhere—such a policy would be to reject the light which is available and to leap wilfully into the dark."

Because I am to be followed by the Sociologist, the Realtor, and the Administrator, and because I am to shed my robes of Dr. Jekyll to become Mr. Hyde, I will only touch upon *some* of the studies which must be obtained or made, before we can properly consider housing:

For the entire community, the region around it, and the state, we must know about population, its shifts and trends, what has been and what probably will be. The same information must be obtained for industry.

Also on a city wide basis there should be studies of:

(a) Assessed valuations and trends
(b) Tax delinquency and trends
(c) Streets and thoroughfares
(d) Parks and recreation

(e) Schools
(f) Transportation
(g) Residential buildings, condition, age and vacancies

It will be claimed that housing cannot wait for a comprehensive plan. My answer is that a so-called comprehensive plan is not needed, that with a properly equipped and directed planning organization, all the information listed can be obtained in a reasonable time; that housing has not been constructed in unplanned communities in less time than is required for these studies and that it would be much better to delay housing projects a few months than to gamble upon constructing buildings in inappropriate places.

A word of caution here might not be inappropriate. It is easy to reach false conclusions from some of the data collected. An area with a high rate of tax delinquency denotes more than physical blight. It often denotes low economic status of the residents. Place those people in the best area in the city, give them the same wages or lack of wages, and you will find the same high rate of tax delinquency, the same welfare load, and the same demand upon health agencies. Strangely enough, we find high rates of tax delinquency in some of our best areas but there has been no suggestion that these areas are blighted or that they ought to be replaced with low-cost or low-income or low-rental homes.

After the city-wide studies have been made and are properly analyzed, areas of the community will stand out as potential housing districts. More detailed studies can and should be made here. These will include various economic and social surveys, such as family income, size of families, place of work, etc., etc. Of course, you will want the usual surveys of crime, juvenile delinquency, deaths, etc., etc. Although not nearly so important as other data they do make good propaganda.

It is desirable and often informative to have comparisons of the economic and social status of relief clients in the selected areas to compare with averages for the whole community.

I had not intended to prepare an outline for a housing study; I am merely trying to show that it is impossible to do housing without first knowing in what kind of community it is to be placed.

Irrespective of the type of housing work to be done in a community, the lawyer—unfortunately—comes into the picture. There will be some discussion this evening of rehabilitation through the instrument of private property owners. Certain additional powers will have to be granted if successful rehabilitation is to be carried out. Perhaps

we will have to give to the majority of property owners, or to a public agency acting in their behalf, limited powers of eminent domain.

In the field of public housing every step of the work is directed by lawyers. They prepare agreements for the sale of property; examine titles; institute condemnation proceedings; and execute deeds. It has also been necessary for them to appear before the courts to get a determination of the legality of public housing procedure.

I confess frankly that my interest in planning aspects of rehabilitation is greater than my interest in the legal aspects. I venture to say, however, that if planning is not given adequate consideration at the outset the lawyers of the future will be kept very busy settling all of the difficulties which are sure to be created by unplanned housing developments.

DISCUSSION

MR. ALFRED BETTMAN, Cincinnati, Ohio: Mr. Blucher has said a great deal which will stimulate disagreement and I hope that time will be left before we adjourn for the expression of that disagreement from the floor.

Our next speaker is a sociologist. It is possibly a little dangerous for one who is not a sociologist to attempt to define just what a sociologist is. Obviously, before one can know how much is within control of the administration and the law, one must know the forces which create the conditions requiring correction. One must know what the limitations upon those social forces are which are inherent in the large urban areas. One must have access to expert knowledge of social forces in order to estimate the probabilities of success for the proposed methods of dealing with the complex situation under review. This, I assume, is the work of the sociologist.

THE SHARE OF THE SOCIOLOGIST

EDWIN S. BURDELL, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

The fact that the sociologist has a share in this program does not assure by any means that he has had or will have any very real share in the rehabilitation of the blighted districts now being studied in American cities. What has the sociologist to contribute to the field of city planning and housing—a field which was long ago pre-empted by those trained in the physical sciences and technology? It is a unique position which I occupy at Massachusetts Institute of Technology; namely, that of sociologist. Perhaps by reason of the fact that I am a Tech man myself, and speak their language as it were, I am accepted more readily there. And I should like to think that, by virtue of my eleven years' service on the zoning board of Columbus, Ohio, and my long membership in the Ohio State Planning Conference and recent membership in the National Conference, I might be accepted here as one who speaks your language, though perhaps with a different accent.

The sociologist's part in the rehabilitation of a blighted area should begin with the fact-finding process. The collecting of social data relative to specific areas under consideration should be done at least in consultation with persons trained in the technique as well as the theory of urban social studies. A mere census or count is of relatively little value. For instance, census tracts, now become such convenient frames of reference, may or may not have any real significance depending on their relation to the so-called natural areas upon which they are super-imposed. Having had something to do with fitting such a frame upon the capital city of this State of Ohio, I haven't a great deal of confidence in the adequacy of this device, which to engineers might appear to be entirely satisfactory. The setting up of field surveys, the use of the schedule and the questionnaire, the use of attitude measuring scales involve rather highly specialized techniques that should be launched under the supervision of a person thoroughly trained in such matters. Neither is knowledge of mathematical statistics sufficient.

The other day I was consulted by a graduate student in the College of Education in one of our leading eastern colleges, as to method in a current college graduate unemployment study. I was amazed to find that he had had no training in the planning of a social investigation, had no idea of determining the proper scope of his study or the difference in the use of, or the results obtained by the schedule as against the questionnaire, yet he could talk glibly about

coefficients of correlation, time series, harmonic mean and the like. Another type of "researcher" that I have come across during the depression is one who winnows the World Almanacs, the Federal statistical services on down to police and fire department annual reports, and arrives at something that is usually more chaff than wheat. Yet by reason of ample footnotes and documentation it looks impressive, especially if it proves the point the board or the committee wants to make.

Perhaps I am a bit too cynical, but I know that with plenty of white-collar relief labor available to city planning and housing boards, there is a real temptation to turn loose some energetic and resourceful ex-clerk or real estate salesman and bring in six weeks later a comprehensive survey of housing conditions in Pleasantville, Ohio. I speak feelingly on this score, for in the summer of 1933 Dr. William J. Blackburn of the Ohio State University and I put on a survey of nine blighted areas in Columbus involving 3,734 households. The problems proved to be much more formidable than could have been suspected. In the first place, we had to construct a schedule and instruction sheet that was fool-proof in the hands of relief labor. Next, we had to train seven or eight crews because of the small number of hours of work any one man was then allotted. A check-up had to be devised to see whether or not areas had been completely enumerated, and finally, the problem of editing, coding, tabulating, text writing and preparation of the manuscript for printing had to be met by close and constant supervision by one or the other or both of us. I want to make clear this thought, namely, that the specialized training of the sociologist and social surveyor can be turned to good use in making preliminary studies and presenting facts preceding the policy-making and the action-taking.

I am going to assume, for purposes of discussion that there are usually three possible lines of action in rehabilitating a blighted area. The first situation might conceivably involve principally repair, reconditioning, moving families out of basement apartments, ferreting out over-crowded tenements and breaking up combinations of families that for economy's sake had doubled up or tripled up. Enforcement of the sanitary laws, building codes, fire escape provisions may do much to save an area from passing from blight to slum. I am assuming that we all agree that we have here a distinction as well as a difference. In this first situation, where neither demolition nor rebuilding is indicated, the sociologist is able to advise on specific situations that may be factors leading to social disorganization. The trained social investigator, family case worker, and group worker acting as the eyes and ears of the sociologist and reporting to him,

place the sociologist in a much better position to make recommendations than the architect and engineer who see only structural deficiencies or who more likely might overlook situations of over-crowding, the latent threat of single boarders and lodgers in families with growing children, the essential lack of privacy where there is an intermingling of sexes in the use of toilet and bathing facilities, however perfectly such facilities might comply with the requirements of the plumbing code. The architect and engineer may quite naturally dismiss inherently bad social situations simply because outrageous filth, vice and depravity are not too obtrusive. As a rule, they are not trained to see the more subtle social dangers and demoralizing factors that the sociologist, who has had field training in social work and social administration, can readily put his finger on.

Mere statistics of over-crowding, ratios of persons per room, may not mean very much to the public taxpayer who is putting up the money or to the hard-pressed public works manager who is trying to make that money put as many people to work as possible. Both must interpolate the social situations that lie back of these figures. They must realize that children get less sleep when they are put to bed in rooms where grown-ups are stirring about and that the adults cannot entertain friends, especially the teen age members of the family cannot, where children are supposed to be asleep. With over-crowding and uncleanliness go drab furnishings, unsightly walls, producing a total complex so uninviting and unlovely that the father and older children, the more mobile members of the family, are almost forced to spend their leisure time in pool rooms, taverns, dance halls and loitering places. Exposure of the youth and the temptations of the adults to unsocial and criminal behavior become a certainty.

An attack upon the state of repair and living conditions probably offers not only the most immediate possibilities for better housing conditions, but also is the method that would extend better housing to the largest number of people. Many of the houses in the blighted areas are very well built, as is attested to by the years of abuse that they have survived. An architect and engineer could readily determine the structural safety, the cost of repairs and remodeling, if needed. I have in mind room rearrangement to eliminate the windowless rooms and to provide a private toilet and bathing facilities for each family. To be sure, the thoroughly bad "dumb bell" tenements so common in New York do not lend themselves to much rearrangement unless perhaps by a combination of two or more buildings. I am aware that this suggestion of rehabilitation of existing buildings will not appeal to a considerable number of you. Architects, by the

necessity of requiring larger fees on a higher percentage basis for remodeling as against their fees for new construction, give some hint of their basic opposition to this form of improvement. Nevertheless, if we want to be realistic about getting improved conditions for the greatest number in the shortest possible time, this method has much to recommend itself.

I would not for a moment rehabilitate the rickety old arks that characterize so much of the low-rental areas of our large cities. Therefore, I believe that the second possible situation may be described as one that lies between mere repair on the one hand and complete rehousing on the other. I submit this second alternative partially in reply to a recent query from Mr. Flavel Shurtleff, the secretary of this Conference, in the matter of the wisdom of a wholesale destruction of slum properties. I believe that his point is well taken, namely, that to dislodge a considerable number of families at one time might lead to serious social difficulties. He raises the question whether the rehabilitation process will not have better results, if in slum areas only properties here and there are entirely demolished and model dwellings put up in their place, using renovation for other properties in the neighborhood. Since it is not conceivable that there will be money or even time enough completely to rebuild blighted areas, I offer an emphatic affirmative to Mr. Shurtleff's query. Yes, I do believe that the reformative factor of a few rehousing schemes will be important.

We know from experience that spot zoning is bad. It would be interesting to know whether spot housing is good; that is, would isolated good housing prove to be effective? The recent report of the Rosenwald Foundation on five years' operation of the Michigan Boulevard negro apartments in Chicago says in part: "The Apartments have beneficially influenced property values throughout the surrounding territory. In many instances, it can be pointed out that competitive real estate owners and managers in this area have patterned some of their services and practices after those of the buildings, with the result that there has been general improvement in the facilities, management, and appearance of other properties." [1]

The Federal Government cannot hope to offer the cities anything more than isolated demonstration projects. The most ambitious Federal program could actually rehouse only a fraction of the urban population needing it. Very properly the Federal authorities indicate at the outset that they expect the municipalities will take over the job as quickly as possible. Even though we had the funds, it

[1] Five Year Report of the Michigan Boulevard Garden Apt. Bldg. Corp., Chicago, Feb., 1935.

might take some years to get national and state laws enacted, much less enforced, similar to the British, which make it an offense to house persons in over-crowded and sub-standard dwellings. The strong central influence of the Ministry of Health in the British Government has accomplished in a decade the adoption of an attitude of mind as well as a willingness on the part of the British taxpayer to support such measures.[2] We have a long, long way to go before we shall have any such national program in this country. In the meantime, we may learn much by a trial of spot housing.

The sociologist believes in the power of limitation as a social force. He has observed and experimented with it. He has reason to believe that normal people in our contemporary western civilization really prefer cleanliness to dirt, quiet to noise, warmth to cold, dryness to dampness, activity to idleness, happy, healthy children to cross, sickly ones, wives and husbands adequate to meet life's problems in a self-sufficient independent way as against doles, charities and institutions. Believing this, the sociologist has no hesitation in predicting that a few examples of good housing correctly interpreted to the community and the concrete evidence of the happier and more adequate living that goes along with it, will have a leavening effect on the lump of apathy, indifference and ignorance that accounts for the complacent acceptance of such frightful housing conditions on the part of those subjected to them.

I have in mind the splendid work being done in the South End, Boston, by Mr. Albert Stoneman, head resident of venerable South End House. Mr. Stoneman is a worthy successor to Robert Woods in that he is following a program of creating a community consciousness of housing, clean streets and alleys, vice and crime on the part of his neighborhood. Although Mr. Stoneman has not the remotest idea of being able physically to clear out the dilapidated rookeries in his district, the shabby remnants of the fashionable homes of Boston of the mid 19th century, still he is doing much that the architect, engineer and city planner may marvel at in the way of arousing local interest. He has also aroused local energy in improving housing in a manner suggested in what I called situation number one, namely, repair, paint, sanitation, reduction of crowding and the like. I know that he feels that one good example of adequate housing at rents within the reach of his people would be a tremendous boost to his program of social reform and amelioration.

I agree with Dr. Aronovici that we have evidence from European sources that we can depend to some extent upon the voluntary vacat-

[2] Particulars of Slum Clearance Programmes, Housing Act 1930. Presented by Minister of Health to Parliament March, 1934. Published by His Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 1934.

ing of the slums provided we afford the tenants an opportunity to occupy at reasonable rents dwellings in the suburbs or in the outlying urban districts.[3] Here in the United States Mr. Harland Bartholomew finds that the Bowery population of Manhattan had lost 53 per cent of its population between 1910 and 1930. His report goes on to say: "With the present conditions of obsolescent buildings, inadequate open space for light and air, insufficient recreational areas and numerous other unfavorable factors which are largely responsible for the great losses in population, it appears necessary to rebuild the entire area or major portions thereof, if the present unfortunate social and economic conditions are to be corrected." [4] The savings banks and insurance companies who hold the mortgages and who were also "holding the bag" discovered this all too late. The landlords had killed the Goose that Laid the Golden Eggs. The Goose really hadn't been such a goose after all. The landlords of Harlem, Queens, Long Island City and City Point, however, now have a chance to repeat the blunders just mentioned. But I have a feeling that these isolated Federal demonstration projects, if properly operated and adequately interpreted to the community, will bring even the dullest as well as the most rapacious landlord to his senses.

I know what is in the minds of many of you, at least those who don't remember what I said at the Baltimore meeting of this Conference in 1933. Some of you may recall that I paraphrased the former title of the paper I presented to you at that time to "The Sociologist's Answer to the Coal-in-the-Bath-Tub Menace." It is to this familiar chord that I would return for a moment. Of course, coal and vegetables will go into the bath-tub, and even door-frames may be broken up into kindling wood if the families know of no better use for them. Bewildered, demoralized, poverty-stricken people who have scampered from one rabbit warren to another, who have perhaps moved to the city during the late lamented boom times from remote rural or mountain settlements need more than anything else the assistance of a helping hand, the sympathy of the friendly neighbor; in a word, those services which the trained settlement house worker is able to furnish. I want to emphasize the fact that merely transplanting families from basement tenements, shanties and rickety old arks to decent, clean, sanitary dwellings will not in and of itself work any miracles. Miracles do still happen in social relations, but they happen because we use our heads in figuring out a solution that is a complete solution. In other words, a complete solution of rehabilitation is not merely a brick and mortar proposition of a building, a park or a playground. It must necessarily include an educational

[3] Law and Contemporary Problems. School of Law, Duke University, March, 1934, p.152.
[4] Plans for Major Traffic Thorofares and Transit, Lower East Side, N. Y., 1932, p.25.

program and by educational I do not mean classes and textbooks in the conventional sense. The only education worthy of the name is one of teaching by living—the heart and soul of the settlement movement from Barnett, Toynbee and Woods down to date.

The sociologist reads with interest and approval the details of the plans[5] of Mr. Ernest Bohn's group, the National Association of Housing Officials, to inaugurate a training school for the managers of the new Federal housing projects. There seems to be every reason in support of training for management. Neither a glorified janitor, nor a hard-boiled rent collector is sufficiently qualified to cope with the exacting responsibilities—physical, financial and social. Premature deterioration and careless financial control on these first few public projects will very effectively kill the chances of anything like a really comprehensive national program having the enthusiastic support of the public that it has in Great Britain. The sociologist, insofar as he is interested in the creation of a favorable public opinion toward better housing, is interested in the adequacy of the management. We simply cannot afford to let these first efforts fail. If, in order to avoid direct subsidy, the Federal or local authorities resort to long periods of amortization, say 75 or 80 years, the physical upkeep will be no insignificant item.

Equally important is the securing of the maximum social return for the money invested. This implies a sympathetic landlord plus a friendly neighbor, a combination indeed rare when looked for among persons who are equally good as maintenance men and rent collectors. Adequate social administration will be predicated somewhat on the manager's understanding of the economic and social problems of low-income families, specifically such problems as distribution of family incomes, family budgets and expenditures; housing policies of relief agencies, standards and habits of living of different racial and nationality groups; the influence of churches, schools, fraternal orders and the like; adult education, handicrafts and hobbies, recreation of one kind or another; and especially the recognition of the importance of the trend of the short hour day and the short work-week in planning leisure time activity for the prevention of anti-social habits and debilitating amusements.

As to the third possible situation, one involving wholesale demolition and complete rehousing on the site, I believe the sociologist has some advice to give in the matter of handling groups, of adjusting relationships between widely divergent national or ethnic folkways, of making provision for adult leisure-time activities, of securing the co-

[5] Letter from Mr. Bohn dated March 6, 1935, Chicago, Illinois.

operation of the health forces of the community in making an intelligent attack as well as defense in preventing sickness and epidemics. In other words, I feel that the sociologist may be permitted the right to speak with authority when it comes to coordinating the totality of life within a great rehousing project. The problem simply cannot be attacked piecemeal. The brick and mortar program of the architect is good as far as it goes, the health worker's program is important, the recreation leader is indispensable, the small garden adviser is useful, the family case worker will still be needed to straighten out marital and familial difficulties, new and desirable patterns of which are not going to be acquired right off, I can assure you, with the new stove or bath-tub. Of all these, the so-called neighborhood worker, trained by years of service in our best American settlement houses, comes the nearest to seeing the situation in its totality as the sociologist sees it. The Germans have a word for it, "Gestalt," which conveys that concept of the complete configuration which embraces all of the elements.

I think many of these plans of rehousing are much too elaborate. They require too great change and too many adaptations for many of the poorest of our slum families to make. Perhaps it is unwise to pick out specific items, but it strikes me that electric refrigeration is expensive equipment that could be dispensed with. Monel metal sinks and tile baths, which I have seen proposed in some plans, appear to me as being too far beyond the needs of the people who will use them, assuming, of course, that we are talking now about the rehousing of the lowest third of our income group, those for whom outright subsidy seems inevitable. If, as in Holland, a family so improves its social and economic adjustments that it can cope with more elaborate facilities, then it is time enough to consider the desirability of creating housing of medium standard of comfort. I can see absolutely no excuse at this time for creating housing of anything more than a minimum standard of decency. The philanthropic groups, the limited dividend corporations, may be induced to become more active in this medium standard field. The Federal Government should confine itself for the time being to the minimum housing requirement of the group that is contributing most alarmingly to our jails, asylums, hospitals and relief burdens.

I do not mean to imply, however, that I favor the erection of drab barrack-like quarters, however dry, clean or sanitary they might be. I recollect a story told my class at Technology the other day in a course on social and economic factors in city planning and housing by Eva Whiting White, head resident of Peabody House in Boston. She was called in consultation by the trustees of a great

publisher's philanthropic trust to tell them why a certain model housing project of theirs would not rent when it met every requirement of the housing code and was well above the minimum requirements for decency and health. Mrs. White told us that the first trouble was that the trustees had failed to take into consideration the social history of the block. In other words, the rehousing was done in an area that had for generations been identified by everyone in the West End with the most outrageous vice conditions. The very name of the street was synonymous with prostitution and degeneracy. But Mrs. White went on to say that the stark austerity of the interior of the apartments was its most serious drawback—everything was cement and metal, everything was painted a dull gray, everything was glazed, enameled—scratch proof. Rooms were reduced to cell-like simplicity. As usually happens, her suggestions led to her appointment on the board of trustees. Her remedies, however, were simple: brighter paints, skillful color combinations, more built-in cupboards, counters, and shelves were about all that was needed to make the interiors attractive. The overcoming of the bad social reputation of the street and number was accomplished by the care with which the families were selected and the upbuilding of public approval for those that lived in that street by seeing to it that none of them did revert to the old ways of vice and by encouraging participation of the new tenants in the neighborhood activities.

In closing, I want to recognize what is undoubtedly in the minds of some of you, namely, a sort of disgust with a program such as I have outlined as being too patronizing, too solicitous, involving too many interferences with personal and family independence. What justification do I have to offer? Simply this, that the people who are occupying our blighted areas are right now the object of control and manipulation by an even larger number of agencies and functionaries than I have suggested. Let me refer you to the report of the Cleveland Metropolitan Housing Authority prepared with the counsel of Howard Whipple Green, which revealed that in 1932 the public agencies expended $1,132,000 and private agencies $615,000 in an area of 333 acres housing 22,236 persons. The financial return from this area was only $225,000 that same year, whereas the figures for that 0.7 per cent of the land area and 2.5 per cent of the population of Cleveland reveal 21 per cent of the murders, 26 per cent of the prostitution, 10 per cent of the illegitimate births, and 12 per cent of the deaths from tuberculosis.

Another way of showing that you and I and our friends who are taxpayers in our respective communities are now and have been

putting up a scandalous lot of money to maintain slums, is to quote again from the Cleveland study as follows: "The tax rate income to the City of Cleveland from the slum area amounted to $10.12 per capita while the cost to the city of operating the area was $61.22 per capita." The private agencies spent $27.68 per capita or a total of $78.78 per capita, or $315 per family of four persons.

Let me point also to a study in Boston under the auspices of the ERA and the Planning Board which revealed that while the business district yielded to the city a net profit of $110,000 per net acre and the Back Bay, high grade rental district, $17,000 per net acre, the South Boston slum cost the city $15,000 per net acre.

There is no use doing the ostrich act any longer so far as costs are concerned, and I believe that such studies as those cited are having a beneficial effect on the practical minded brethren. I still believe, however, that many people have suspicions about the need for all this "fancy" kind of management, this friendly neighbor business.

I have presented to you the reasons I think that the framing of an adequate social plan is quite as important as your legal, engineering and financial plans. I believe that the real threat to the success of the present Federal projects and future state and municipal projects is the possibility of inadequate social management. Let occur a few spectacular cases of rape, brawling, gambling, destruction of property; a serious epidemic, racial or nationalistic feuds in the public projects. The press will pick them up and the whole country will shake its head sadly and say, "I told you so." Instead of the "coal-in-the-bath-tub menace," we shall hear about the "manufactories of crime"; worse still, of the "hot beds of radicalism." Even the best of our citizenry has its marital troubles, its delinquencies and debaucheries—only they are more successful in keeping them hushed up. How much more are slum dwellers, people living in the freedom of the anonymity of the great city and habituated to dirt and dilapidation, likely to fail to recognize the same patterns of behavior that the rest of us observe or claim that we do? Suggestion and help along these lines, therefore, does not constitute mollycoddling, officiousness nor interference.

It has been assumed that by some hocus pocus fine streets, civic centers, parks and rehousing will result in improved standards of living, more stable and happier family life, and consequently less vice, crime, poverty and disease. Let us make a "sure thing" out of our ambitious and high-minded efforts along these lines by making as rigorous demands upon the social sciences as we have made upon the

physical sciences. We insist on science and technology in industry and building; why not require at least the same scientific approach to the social reconstruction of our blighted areas? Those thoroughly trained in the knowledge of the structure and processes of society as well as in the technique of the collection and interpretation of social data can be useful to you.

DISCUSSION

MR. ALFRED BETTMAN, Cincinnati, Ohio: Again we shall leave discussion of what was a most interesting paper until the close of this session.

There are serious economic factors as well as social factors to be dealt with in studying the blighted area, and as the sociologist has a contribution to make with regard to this problem so has the economist.

Real estate is a business whose members have occasion to deal with certain economic factors, such as land values, building costs, buying and selling, landlord and tenant relationships, etc. In the person of Mr. Herbert U. Nelson, the Executive Secretary of the National Association of Real Estate Boards, we have a realtor who has taken a keen interest in planning.

THE SHARE OF THE REALTOR

HERBERT U. NELSON, National Association of Real Estate Boards

I think we must admit that there are limitations to comprehensive planning, and that the function of the planner is a great deal like that of the physician who can study the growing child and can do some things to provide for his good health, but certainly cannot create it.

We need to break down this concept of planning, it seems to me, into some of its narrow segments so that we may study them in detail. One of them is industry. I have looked with keen interest on the successful operation of the clearing of the industrial district in Chicago and the northwest terminal district in Minneapolis; there is here an enormous field where the technique of the engineer should be applied.

There are other functions that should be studied separately and analyzed so that they may be understood. We know that every financial district tends to concentration resulting in high buildings. It is possible that type of activity demands a concentration that no other does.

When it comes to housing in the blighted districts we are on more familiar ground, possibly because we have thought about it a little longer. Our group began to think of this question about seven years ago and appointed some committees to make studies and assemble facts. We have spent most of that time in trying to find the answer. We have no answer yet, but we have drafted a suggestion or memorandum from which we propose to start. This memorandum we have turned over to Mr. Harland Bartholomew, who is a consultant of the Association in this matter and who is, with some legal help in St. Louis, preparing a preliminary draft of what we hope will be a State Enabling Act to help us cope with the problem of the blighted district.

We recognize that the flight to the suburbs, which we have witnessed during the past ten or fifteen years, and which has caused the suburbs to grow at about three times the rate of the city, was caused not necessarily by speculation in land but by the desire of people to preserve the home environment. Those who were able left the city and went to the suburbs where they could control their home conditions. This has left us in our cities with almost a third of the privately-owned land standing vacant, which entails an enormous carrying cost on the local government.

The zoning ordinances which were designed to create some protection for homes and residential districts came too late. To a large extent they were imposed upon the basis of existing use. While they saved some residential districts from destruction, they could not save those which already had been penetrated by inharmonious uses, and people had no confidence in building their homes in the districts even though they were zoned.

We believe, on the whole, that it is better for us who are citizens, as well as for those of us who are in the real estate business, to try to correct the errors we have made and to rebuild our cities more wisely on the basis of experience, rather than to go still farther out and spread the American city over a larger area.

We feel that we should give those who have the greatest stake in this problem—people who own property in the districts that have been deserted and are now blighted because of inharmonious uses—some chance to fight their own battles by providing the mechanism through which they can do it. We doubt if any efforts to impose a plan for blighted districts can suffice, but we believe that given an opportunity to save themselves, they will do it.

We suggest an enabling act to be enacted by State legislatures which would authorize local city governments to create Neighborhood Improvement Districts. We suggest the boundaries for such Districts would be tentatively outlined by the City Council with the advice of the City Planning Commission; and when more than half of the property-owners, owning more than half of the assessed value, agree to the creation of such a District, there should then be issued for such District a Charter for a Neighborhood Improvement District Association in which all property-owners in the District would automatically hold membership.

We suggest the creation of such an association because it would take advantage of something that already exists. I do not know how many neighborhood improvement associations there are now. They represent a feeble effort on the part of the home owner to protect his environment. So far, these improvement associations have fought a losing battle. If, however, they are definitely recognized by the Government and given a status and certain powers, it may be that they can make a successful fight.

We further suggest that the District organization, when created, elect Trustees whose powers would be clearly defined in the Charter. Hearings would be held in the District as to the final definition of its boundaries, and a plan for the rezoning of the District would

be prepared by the Trustees in cooperation with the City Planning Commission and submitted to the City Council.

We recognize that the first point of attack is rezoning. After the City Council, by appropriate resolution or ordinance, approved the plan for rezoning and the boundaries of the District, the District would be declared established. Whenever such a District was established, all of it thenceforth would be reserved for residential uses only, except for such specified lots as may be set aside for neighborhood business and other activities necessary to serve the residents of the District.

This enabling act should further provide that where a Neighborhood Improvement District is established and the plan for rezoning approved, all non-conforming uses must cease completely within a period of ten or fifteen years. This is known as *restrictive zoning.*

Where deemed necessary or desirable for the protection of the development of the District, the City Council could, upon request of the District Association, acquire by purchase or condemnation any properties devoted to a non-conforming use; properties which are obsolete and detrimental to neighborhood values; vacant property when necessary for replanning or replotting the District or any portion of it in conformity with the approved plan.

The costs of such acquisitions should be assessed by the City Council against all property in the District in proportion to its taxable value. The city should have power to issue its bonds, pay out its funds, or otherwise use its credit for such acquisitions. The city should not, however, continue to own such properties. It should dispose of them, after the replanning and replotting and other necessary measures have been taken to insure the carrying out of neighborhood plans, to the highest responsible bidder who covenants to carry forward improvements of the character needed in the neighborhood and approved by the Neighborhood Improvement District Association.

The Neighborhood Improvement District Association should, with the aid of the City Planning Commission, develop plans for the District. Such plans, when approved by the Planning Commission and the District Association, should be regarded as recommendations to all property-owners in the District but should not have legal or binding force. The District Association should also, after consultation with the City Planning Commission, have the right to make official recommendations to the City Council with regard to land-uses and the uses of improvements. When such recommendations

are approved by the City Council (in other words, substantially they would be amendments to the zoning ordinance), they should become a part of the Neighborhood Improvement District Ordinance for that District and should be binding upon all property-owners. Such recommendations would include the establishment of building lines, side yards, rear yards, building heights, etc.

We suggest that the Neighborhood Improvement District Association should also recommend that it be authorized to carry on certain neighborhood services in addition to those conducted by the city. These might include such matters as planting, landscaping, servicing trees, shrubs, playgrounds, collection of rubbish, cutting of grass and weeds on neglected vacant property, etc. These are activities which are, at present, carried on by local improvement associations through a system of voluntary assessments.

When the City Council by appropriate resolution or ordinance authorizes the District Association to carry on such services and the budget presented by the trustees of the Association is approved, the Council should assess the costs of such services against all the property-owners in the District.

With respect to architecture of new buildings and buildings that are reconstructed, the District Association should have the right to make recommendations. The District Trustees should be notified of all applications for building permits and have access to the plans. If the District Trustees give notice that they wish to be heard with reference to plans for any specific property, no permit should be granted until reasonable opportunity for such hearing has been given. The hearing should be conducted by the City Planning Commission. If the City Planning Commission finds the architecture of the proposed improvement is of a nature which would be clearly detrimental to the values of surrounding property, the Commission might recommend to the City Council that a building permit be refused. If the Council concurred in the recommendation of the Planning Commission, it should issue instructions to the Building Department to refuse a permit for construction until new plans have been submitted to which no objection is made.

Obviously a plan of this kind suggests objections which, naturally, we have considered very seriously. It involves a large degree of decentralization at a time when a good many students of administrative law and public affairs feel that a larger degree of centralization is wise and necessary. It has been our observation, however, that to try to concentrate the function of planning in one group of men—a planning commission or a few officials—leads to neglect of the

local problem and to a lack of constructive action in preserving the neighborhood unit as such. The central city government may suggest plans, but we must have smaller districts to carry them out.

DISCUSSION

MR. ALFRED BETTMAN, Cincinnati, Ohio: To deal properly with the rehabilitation of the blighted district we require another type of knowledge or activity—that of the city legislative, or administrative, official. No matter what the nature of the plan, it will involve action on the part of the government either in contribution of property or in approval of levies. So consideration of the problem, by one whose official position has enabled him to observe the bearing of municipal administration on the question, is a necessary adjunct to this program.

Mr. Ernest J. Bohn has been active in the promotion of better housing in Cleveland. He has conducted his local campaign from the position of Chairman of the Housing Committee of the City Council of Cleveland, thereby having exceptional contact with the local administration and legislative problem. And, as you know, he is President of the National Association of Housing Officials.

THE SHARE OF THE CITY ADMINISTRATOR

ERNEST J. BOHN, President
National Association of Housing Officials

I had occasion recently to comment on the fact that perhaps no group of persons should take the blame for the lack of planning in this country more than the city planner. I think it is all his fault. The city planner should sell planning to the public. Someone raised the question as to whether this is the job of the administrator. He should go out in the highways and byways and tell the public it is necessary. Isn't it a fact that the principal reason planning has not gone any farther in this country is that the public has not been told about the necessity for planning?

You have your society for this and society for that, this planning conference and that, and what do you do? You go into a small room year after year and tell what a great thing planning is, but the real way and the only way in which you can put planning into effect is to convince the administrator and the legislators—the persons who have the power to accomplish the things that need to be done—that planning is practical.

When the finance committee of the City Council makes appropriations it finds that money is scarce and that there is not enough to take care of the policemen and firemen and the planning commission too. What is done? Of course funds are taken away from the planning commission, because the public has not been made to recognize that planning is as essential as we know it is.

Planning has come more to the front with the National Resources Board during the last year than it ever has before. Why? Because the administrator has had to take the bit in his own teeth and say, "Since the planner cannot do anything about it, we, the Government, must."

What are the principal reasons for discussing blighted areas from the viewpoint of the administrator? Some have said, "Let us have zoning laws." That was a wave that went over the country. How were the original planning zones made? We had public hearings to prepare the zoning districts and now we find, in my city of Cleveland, that we have enough property zoned for business to take care not only of Cleveland but of the whole State of Ohio as well. Yet, every Monday night, there is legislation pending in Council: to do what? To amend that comprehensive zoning law made some time ago in order to zone more property for business.

What is the poor legislator or Council member to do? If he listens to the poor widow whose earnings are in that piece of property which she owns and on which she is informed she may not have a grocery store although the property-owner across the street may, what is the legislator going to do? Vote to amend that zoning law to allow more property for business purposes?

And there is the problem of blighted areas. I live on a street that, at one time, was one of the finest in the city. Someone had the zoning law amended so as to be able to put up an apartment house and immediately in that area—probably not right at the moment, but soon—someone else puts up an apartment house next door to me. So in rooms for which I pay about twenty dollars a month, I can stretch my arm out of the window and touch the apartment next door.

You had a law in this city that permitted the creation of so-called sanitary districts. It has been amended so that they may be created by the county commissioners who are then administrators of that sanitary district, and by virtue of the fact receive an additional salary. This led to an increase in sanitary districts out into the countrysides where assessments were made against the abutting property. Now there is a resolution to wipe out these assessments. And the public pays for all of it.

There is a very definite place here for the lawyer. He should be thinking about this condition. What is the planning function of one of my own profession? For I do call it a profession. The politician has a profession; it is not a lucrative one, but it is a profession. If I were to make my speech in one sentence, I should say that the administrator or the legislator should have the courage and good sense to take advantage of the ideas which you have discussed today; and the lawyers should have sense enough not to be too far ahead of the public, but to make use of the studies that are available.

The administration and the legislature have to provide the money to do all these things which you have mentioned. We must have money and we are gradually arriving at the point where the Government is looked to to provide it. Here is a great opportunity for the planner to point the way.

I know that Harland Bartholomew is circulating a proposal to provide a tax. I think we should give consideration to a public subsidy for housing. We administrators and public officials should also give our attention to propositions such as Mr. Nelson has just described.

When I was in Newark, N. J., a short time ago, I noticed that

the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company had bought several blocks of land, retained enough on which to build their structures, and had sold the rest to the citizens for recreational purposes. Why should the tenant who lives on land abutting that recreational center bear the cost, rather than all the public?

DISCUSSION

MR. OWEN CUNNINGHAM, Des Moines, Iowa: I am sorry that only a few lines were devoted to the part of the lawyer in "The Share of the Planner and the Lawyer." I feel that in a gathering of this kind the lawyers of the community, who spend their time in the organization and development of plans, and on the programs of the city planner, should be given due credit and a word of praise. Gentlemen like Mr. Bettman and Mr. Bassett are lawyers and are well able to maintain their standing as gentlemen. I think a word of praise should be given them for their having had the ability to maintain that status over a long period of years.

I can give you, in a very few words, what I consider the function of the lawyer in planning and rehabilitation programs. Every city planning commission has one or more members who are lawyers. Why? One reason, of course, is because they feel they have a public service to perform, and being public-spirited wish to carry out that duty. They have expert advice to offer on planning and zoning which the city gets for nothing. It is good advice because the men who spend their time on city planning and zoning have a serious purpose. I believe the lawyer is the logical coordinator between the administration at large and the committee of experts represented in the plan commission.

MR. ALFRED BETTMAN, Cincinnati, Ohio: I should like at this time to ask Mr. John B. Spilker to express his opinion on this discussion of blighted area rehabilitation. Mr. Spilker is a realtor, a member of the Cincinnati Metropolitan Housing Authority, and is active in connection with the Federal Housing Authority here. He is now and has been for many years instructor in real estate at the University of Cincinnati.

MR. JOHN B. SPILKER, Cincinnati, Ohio: I do not intend to suggest any plan, but I do want to say a few words to those of you who are interested in planning and housing; to tell you about some of the reactions of the realtor and the real estate owners with whom we come into intimate contact. While some of the situations are humorous there are others more serious which describe in a crude way perhaps certain ideas which can be satisfactorily explained if we take the pains to try, and do not merely ignore them in our city planning and housing activities.

A year and a half spent in close connection with the Cincinnati Metropolitan Housing Authority has given me a slant on the tremendous job which we are trying to do. Coordination of the many phases you have heard about this evening is the biggest problem we have to face. I think, however, that in that coordination we must not overlook the real estate owners who own property in this area and who are trying to rehabilitate it. We cannot ignore them; they are citizens who have invested their money in our community and the least we can do is to try to understand their viewpoint.

We have asked ourselves the question: What is the cause of the blighted

area? Is it merely the aging of the houses? Is it improper zoning, or lack of zoning? There is growing concern over whether the problem of blight does not go down very deep into our economic, social and political conditions and possibly even deeper than that into human nature.

The realtor wonders whether you are going to cure the blighted area by building new houses and whether those new houses will not become blighted too if conditions which cause blight have not been changed. He questions whether Government housing subsidies, long-term amortization, low interest will deal with these properties. Will they pay for themselves or will they be thrown on the Government for use in whatever way the Government sees fit—as free housing for example. The realtor is interested in these questions because he has experienced difficulty with his investments and he is now looking around to see whether this proposition, Government housing, will work out in a practical way and whether it will be self-sustaining.

Another problem is occupying the attention of the real estate owner. The theory of valuation for taxation of real estate is based upon the theory of capital investment, less depreciation. This means that what a house costs, less depreciation, is its taxable value; even though it is misplaced, even though it has lost its usefulness. The real estate owner wants to know why it is possible to tax him on one valuation, using another as a basis for condemnation purposes. Why should property be condemned by a different method, the method of income? I do not believe it is right to tax by one method and condemn by another.

Our real estate owner is also wondering whether slum clearance is going to benefit only the low-income group or whether it is going to stretch out to houses in the country. He is concerned with that because he knows that he has no chance to compete with governmental housing. Such competition will mean the destruction of his investment. If you are not going to limit room rents or if the Government builds houses that rent for 10, 20, or 30 dollars a month obviously he will be seriously affected.

I am not going to attempt answers to these questions. I am merely outlining them as they appear in the mind of the property owner.

He is also perplexed on the question of how this housing will be managed, of how the difficulties and problems of rent collection will be met, how to get people to keep their premises sanitary and clean. How is coordination of the social activities with the business management to be obtained?

The owner of property admits the importance of zoning, but he hears rumors that zoning may be used as a means to limit the value on the eve of condemnation and he is opposed to this. He believes that it is an injustice to zone an area solely to drive its value down for condemnation purposes, by limiting its use.

I believe there is a great opportunity for this type of housing and I believe that through a coordination of legal knowledge, city planning and zoning knowledge, the practical knowledge of our realtors, architects and engineers with the knowledge of the sociologist we shall accomplish something of enduring benefit to our communities.

MR. WALTER H. BLUCHER, Chicago, Illinois: Because the contribution of the lawyer is so obvious I spent little time on it. May I say further that because Mr. Bettman is Mr. Bettman and Mr. Bassett is Mr. Bassett there is nothing that could be added to the praises brought to them by their own actions.

MR. ALFRED BETTMAN, Cincinnati, Ohio: I am surprised that a number of people have not risen to challenge Mr. Nelson. If I understood him correctly he referred to piecemeal zoning desired by a certain group of people in a particular area. I frankly question that rezoning if it be done without any relationship to the rezoning of the entire community, and I am particularly interested that we shall set up no new taxing areas.

MR. TRACY AUGUR, Tennessee Valley Authority: Anyone who has lived in Detroit cannot help but come away with a great deal of respect for the real estate men. I once took occasion to count the lots that had been planned in Detroit and found the real estate men of that area had "planned" a city of at least 10 million. From Detroit I went to Muscle Shoals where I found Woodward Avenue and other streets just as in Detroit. I discovered that quite a sizable metropolis has been planned down there for 780 families. Mr. Nelson brings up the subject of local improvement districts as though it were something new. In the Detroit area his friends have, for some time, been adopting that plan in the form of school districts provided with power to make improvements, build sewers, etc. The public pays for these improvements, but I do not see that that has anything to do with this proposal wherein the public bonds itself so that the property may be sold on the open market. Wherein does the present proposal vary from the previous practice of creating districts to build schools in municipalities as they have done in the past?

MR. BLEECKER MARQUETTE, Cincinnati, Ohio: I wish to say a word in appreciation of the valuable services Mr. Spilker has rendered to the cause of housing in Cincinnati. When Mr. Spilker became a member of the Housing Authority I confess I was a little anxious as to what his views might be. He has shown himself, however, to be most broad-minded. He has brought here tonight a number of practical questions for those interested in the problem to answer. In putting their thoughts together and seeing both sides of a question, I think other cities would benefit from such services as Mr. Spilker has rendered in Cincinnati.

MR. L. SEGOE, Cincinnati, Ohio: I was not here when Mr. Blucher spoke so he may have touched on the point I wish to raise. I know if I had been here I might have reminded him of this and he could have covered it much better than I am able to.

In listening to the other speakers it struck me as rather strange how far away from the fundamental questions the specialist started. One proposal of Mr. Burdell dealt with the blighted residential area as a residential settlement where the efforts of the combined facilities of the planner, the sociologist and the realtor are required to determine which of the three methods he mentioned is applicable to the various questions. The question has been raised whether it is a matter of doing away with those areas which are most dilapidated to provide for the others more light, more air, more open space for recreation, etc., or whether the district under scrutiny is so far gone that it should be torn down and replaced by an entirely new housing development.

Mr. Nelson proposes that we accept these blighted residential areas for residential purposes; that the city council at the request of certain neighborhood districts determine the limits of the districts. Then by intelligent planning, agreed upon by the property owners in the district, the procedure is to permit the planning commission to cooperate with the municipality holding the bag at the financial end.

Someone raised the question whether or not the particular blighted residential area under review is fundamentally fit for the prescribed purpose.

Should it be used for residential purposes or should it be cleared without any thought of replacing it with a residential type of use?

We are still interchanging the two terms—slum clearance and low-cost housing. I suppose Mr. Blucher spoke on that and I wish also to comment on it for a few minutes. I have been repeating for three years, and find I have made little headway, that a study of the entire area should be made to discover especially what are the needs of that community in the case of areas of various financial types; and how far those needs can rationally be met in the blighted districts. Careful studies must be made of the blighted areas to determine for each and every section of them the most appropriate uses, considering all the while their value and relationship to the community plan as a whole; and considering, too, the requirements of the community for additional areas of the type of use to which it has formerly been put.

STATE PLANNING AND URBAN COMMUNITIES

WHAT PLANNING CAN CONTRIBUTE TO THE GOVERNMENTAL REORGANIZATION OF URBAN AREAS

CHARLES E. MERRIAM
Member, National Resources Committee

I have been greatly concerned with the governmental reorganization of cities, usually with those of larger size, and most particularly with one on Lake Michigan. There are many questions in setting up governmental reorganization in a metropolitan area; many questions to raise, many to direct at those who are what we might call the regularly licensed and authenticated planners. The type of questions we now raise differ from those of earlier times when, as in Chicago for example, the Burnham plan was developed under the auspices of my colleague, Mr. Delano, and others.

In 1935 we asked the planners: What shall be the areas for which you wish us to plan a governmental organization? Planners may reply, of course: The corporate limits of the city—Chicago, Cincinnati or New York. Obviously that is not a complete answer, for it is necessary to go outside the limits of New York, Chicago and Cincinnati and build some extra-mural type of political set-up. So we further ask: What is it that constitutes the kind of unit with regard to the density of population or with respect to other characteristics you may develop? What is the unit for which the governmental costume should be designed? Those of us in the governmental field are raising that question not alone in regard to the larger metropolitan cities, but all along the line. We are raising the question even in the smaller units—towns of three to five thousand population. If you take a town of five thousand, how far outside that do you go? What is the social area for which you wish us to set up a governmental plan?

A city is a bundle of services, labeled "Governmental Services," with a peculiar brand and type of power. These governmental services are set in a net-work of larger social services which require much sharper definitions and more elaboration than we now have in order to make clear that the particular thing we label a city has the population and the area best adapted to certain types of social or service grouping.

From another point of view we question you with regard to the data upon which we plan unions or combinations of cities. Before we can plan successfully from a government point of view we must have social and economic data indicating the kind of service which might best be performed by the particular municipal corporation or political authority to be set up. Thus far such social and economic data are largely missing. Is it the function of the economist, the student of populations, or the function of the social element to collect these data which are the necessary pre-condition to the governmental structural plan? Possibly the planner himself must become somewhat more of a student of populations, of economic and social forces than he has been hitherto.

Planning came out of architecture and engineering largely, and remarkable results have been achieved, but others remain to be accomplished. In the next stage of our development we are going to require from someone—the economist, the sociologist, the planner—more elaborate data because inevitably we shall have to consider the national aspects of the question: What is the place of the urban community in the national economy? If we ask you planners what are the data upon which we, as students of government, should build; or if we suggest the relation between the cities and the United States Government, what will your answer be? You may answer, "You tell us!"

We can tell you of the variety of services that are being rendered for the municipalities by the Federal Government above and beyond emergency services. We can supply the necessary administrative and political data. The larger question, however, we cannot answer; and it is here we must appeal to some group of planners.

Is it desirable to build larger cities? Already there are 96 metropolitan regions containing 45 per cent of the population within their area. From the national viewpoint what should be the policy? Shall we build our large cities still larger, so that in time we may have 75 cities containing 75 per cent of the population? Or shall we contract them, even to the extreme of making a United States built up of a federation of subsistence homesteads and small towns? Before we can plan our cities governmentally we must know in which direction the general trend lies. So far it has been in the line of drift. Legally a Federal policy does exist, but there is no general understanding in the United States as to whether we wish to build cities greater or whether we wish to build them of a different size.

Are we to have industrial centralization or industrial decentralization? There also is the problem for which persons interested in governmental structure for cities must seek help, in the future, from

planners. Can you give us the larger line of direction? Can you tell us whether we must look forward in our housing problem to centering our activities in the larger cities, the smaller cities? Shall we develop some sort of satellite or belt-around-the-city type of development? Shall we tend toward an industrial type of city? You may say that no one can answer these questions; that if he could he would not have the power to put his answer into practice. That is true enough, but all countries in the world, particularly in western Europe, are thinking seriously about their urban policies. The Germans have reached a paper conclusion to return in large measure to the land, veering sharply from too great an urban industrial civilization. The British are already working out a large planned area, the outcome of which is difficult to predict.

It is not impossible, of course, that the hard and fast line between urban and rural communities may, to some extent, be broken down in the future. With the growth of transportation a double system of residence embracing both town and country, may become a more general practice. The planners must help us in determining the values involved.

I have proposed here what may seem a large outline of data. To me, however, these are types of data that some group of people, whether they are planners or not, must collect and analyze for us. Whatever type of urban service is put into a plan of government, whether for the little city, the middle-sized city or the metropolitan city, the fact is evident that our planners have not recognized clearly that inner connection between the urban and the rural ways of living. It is this lack of perception which lies at the base of much of our modern confusion in the construction of an urban government.

My suggestions are not novel, but I present them to the professional planners in the hope that they will not only continue to give us their splendid advice on landscape architecture, engineering and the general aspect of the city, but will help us even more in the collection of population, economic and social data; facts in regard to land-use, plant location, industrial centralization; and a larger and richer measure of those facts upon which the governmentalists can proceed in building an urban structure.

STATE PLANNING AND LEAGUES OF MUNICIPALITIES

MORTON L. WALLERSTEIN, Chairman
Virginia State Planning Board

In order that you will not take too seriously what I have to say, I must first confess my double complicity in the crime of being both the Chairman of our State Planning Board and the Executive Secretary of the League of Virginia Municipalities. The latter crime was committed by the conspiracy of one Louis Brownlow, then both City Manager of Petersburg, and President of the Virginia League. In the former, I became implicated by appointment of Governor Pollard to our unofficial Planning Board, since made official, however. It seems a strange anomaly that several months of my time were spent in educating my appointer, Governor Pollard, as to the duties of his appointee, only to have him retire from office after he had begun to understand something about the ramifications of state planning. I then began to educate his successor, my re-appointer, Governor Peery. Very modestly, of course, I admit having succeeded in both cases. Only recently I had the pleasure of forwarding to Mr. Eliot a copy of a veritable gem of an address on state planning delivered by Governor Peery at a meeting in Lynchburg. He tied up state planning with the Gospel according to St. Luke. That even antedates the planning activities of our distinguished chairman, Mr. Delano.

Here is what our Governor claims St. Luke said: "For which of you, intending to build a tower, sitteth not down first and counteth the cost whether he have sufficient to finish it? Lest haply after he hath laid the foundation and is not able to finish it, all that behold it begin to mock him, saying, 'This man began to build, and was not able to finish.' "

Many of you will recall that our great philosopher on public administration, Dr. Charles E. Merriam, at a luncheon at last year's session of this Conference counseled you planners to bring your respective state municipal leagues strongly into your state planning activities. When, over a decade ago, a half dozen league secretaries organized themselves into the American Municipal Association, the group was not too small for Dr. Merriam to meet with us and to encourage us in our endeavors. He foresaw perhaps better than the secretaries the possibilities of the state municipal leagues of which 41 have since developed. He is an annual fixture at our meetings and it must be a source of gratification to him to observe our growth.

Over seas these unions of cities are important organizations in the field of public administration. It is fortunate that today in this country they are becoming more and more potent. While I realize that it is probably unnecessary for me to point out to this group what these municipal leagues are, nevertheless it may not be amiss to touch the high spots of their activities.

Just as it has assisted the American Society of Planning Officials, so, too, the Spelman Fund has furnished liberal aid to some of the state municipal leagues. I believe that Fund acts upon the principle that one of the best ways of improving government is to aid the organizations of the public officials themselves. Of such organizations, state municipal leagues are typical. While they are not organizations of public officials, because the state municipal leagues are supported through financial appropriations made out of the municipal treasuries, they must necessarily function through the public officials who are the representatives of those governments.

Let us take Virginia as having a typical municipal league and briefly sketch some of its activities. Perhaps its most important, although least spectacular, function is the day-to-day furnishing of information on any municipal question at the request of any official. For our long-time research projects, we have set up at the University of Virginia what we term the Bureau of Public Administration which, through the use of a Director and graduate students, aids us on many of those problems, the Bureau being operated jointly by the University and the League. Many of our state municipal leagues enjoy intimate contacts with the state universities. During legislative sessions, following the adoption of a legislative program which we feel is both fair and progressive, we send out daily bullletins advising all of our cities and towns as to the status of legislation affecting their interests. This enables them promptly and propitiously to contact their own legislative representatives. During the past several years we have trained in a three year course 2,500 policemen and firemen in Virginia and this year will train 500 water works operators. We conduct a radio series on various stations throughout the State enabling public officials to inform the public on various phases of our activities and of the activities of the city and town governments. Planning discourses have frequently been included in these series.

We publish a monthly magazine with a circulation among all of our municipal officials and many of the State and county officials, carrying current problems of interest. We answer legal, accounting and auditing questions. We hold an annual convention, at the last one of which the vice-chairman of the State Planning Board led one

of the most interesting discussions on state planning. We have endeavored to represent the public in many utilities matters, and have a field representative who travels among the smaller municipalities and definitely assists them.

These leagues are both a sword and a shield in furthering municipal interests. The slogan of the Kansas League is "Substituting Facts for Guesses in Municipal Government." The league function is to translate these facts into action. I had always known that these leagues were for the most part independent organizations whose sole purpose was the furtherance of the public interest, but it took our consultant-director, Major Calrow of the State Planning Board, to bring to me the idea that a league is primarily a planning organization. Because of the insistence of these leagues that facts are tough animals—not chameleons—our planning boards have the same common purpose. Having such a purpose—one in the local field and one in the state-wide field—an harmonious, cooperative relationship of your planning board and your league would seem both logical and essential.

Let us then direct our attention to whether such a relationship exists. I have endeavored to secure a summary of just how it has been worked out in some of our states. I selected state municipal leagues in 13 states including our own as representing a cross section. As a result of this survey, what do we find? In the 13 states, two league secretaries have been chairmen of the state planning boards, although one of them has been smart enough to resign, due to the fact, I believe, that he was on leave for a year. On two of the state planning boards appear the presidents of their respective leagues, and on one of them, the secretary. The two chairmen are in Minnesota and Virginia, the two presidents in Oregon and Illinois and the secretary in Michigan.

It is significant that when the state planning boards had a quick yet thorough job to do, that, in connection with the projected public works program, nine of the 13 leagues took an active cooperative part along with the state planning boards, notably California, Kansas, Kentucky, Michigan, Colorado, Oklahoma, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Virginia. A close relationship between the leagues of municipalities and the state planning boards according to my report exists in all of the 13 states. For example, in California the League officials sit in at the various conferences of the planning board. In Kentucky they are of constant aid in securing the answers to questionnaires. In Kansas they have taken an active part on the public works program. In Oregon the League Secretary is chairman of the section of

the Planning Board on Legislation. In Michigan they are in continuous cooperation. In Colorado a large section of their program at their annual convention was devoted to state planning, and they have run articles on state planning in their magazine. Oklahoma forwarded an educational program on state planning at eight district meetings throughout the State, all done through the state municipal league. In Arkansas the state planning board has aided in a joint endeavor to build up a library on city planning and the board has aided the Arkansas League in establishing many city planning commissions. New York has frequently furnished much factual data to the state planning board and included a speaker on state planning in its radio series. Wisconsin has also supplied various data to the planning board as has Minnesota, besides the league secretary acting as chairman of a sub-committeee on taxation for the state planning board.

The Virginia experience with which I am most familiar may prove interesting. For over a year, our planning board was forced to operate without funds except for the furnishing of a consultant by the National Resources Board. After nearly a year's operation we succeeded in persuading the Governor to furnish us with a stenographer and some stamps. Both the State Chamber of Commerce and the League of Municipalities did much of the mimeograph work besides undertaking considerable of the correspondence. I paid for some of my state planning trips out of the treasury of the League of Virginia Municipalities. When I reported this fact to my executive committee with a statement that should they feel it advisable I was ready to reimburse the League, I was much heartened to hear this committee approve of my efforts on behalf of the state planning board and to give its entire ratification to the expenses incurred with the further authorization to incur such reasonable expenses as I deemed proper in connection with the Planning Board. This certainly is tangible evidence of the genuine interest of a municipal league in state planning. Since that time, due to a fortunate grant our planning board received from the Spelman Fund, we are able to operate on an adequate basis.

Although I have hastily sketched the cooperation existing between the State Boards and the Municipal Leagues, if you were to ask me from the survey made as to whether there had been adequate cooperation between the planning boards and the municipal leagues, my answer would unquestionably be no. If you further asked me whether a close relationship should exist the answer would unquestionably be yes. For whatever they may be worth in at least furnishing a basis for discussion, I would make the following suggestions: First, that in every state, if feasible to do so, the executive secretary or other execu-

tive director of the state municipal league in that state, be a member of the planning board. My reason for suggesting the administrative head of the League is that league presidents come and go, but league secretaries seem to go on forever. Both leagues and planning boards bid fair to continue as permanent governmental departments. Second, that cooperation from the local municipal governing units in the local objectives of state planning can best be secured through the state municipal league. That being so, the state planning boards may not only secure much of their information as well as giving much information through these leagues, but translate into action their suggestions. The State Departments in Virginia have wisely taken advantage of the fact that their best mode of securing cooperation where desired of municipal officials is for the most part by working through the municipal league. This may well be emulated by the state planning boards. Third, wherever possible, sub-committees on taxation, municipal government, and various other germane subjects should contain representatives of the leagues of municipalities. Fourth, active cooperation should be secured by the state board through the municipal leagues in an effort to further the establishment of local planning commissions. Fifth, state planning boards, as at present organized, being merely fact-finding bodies, must necessarily rely on such public organization as municipal leagues to translate their findings into action. Sixth, the National Resources Board, the American Municipal Association, being the national federation of the state municipal leagues, and the American Society of Planning Officials, in my opinion, should work out a technique for the exact lines of cooperation between the state planning boards, the league of municipalities, the planning association and the federal board. The municipal official as a rule is proud of his state municipal league. It is his own organization. The best way therefore to receive municipal support of a state planning program is through the local official's own organization.

Bear in mind, if you will, in tracing the history of planning and zoning legislation, that it was the state municipal leagues for the most part which were successful in securing this enabling legislation. Sometimes I almost forget that it was only a decade ago that a distinguished old Confederate soldier and lawyer, buttressed by a state senator who was then president of the Outdoor Advertising Association, made a stirring plea against the infringement on property rights. Little did either of them then realize that property rights were being best protected through zoning and planning laws. Nevertheless, almost single-handed, we were able within two years to secure modern and progressive zoning and planning legislation. Compare this, if you

will, with what happened at the last session of our general assembly. Mr. Harland Bartholomew, one of the members of the Richmond City Planning Commission, and myself adapted to Virginia the act which was proposed and unfortunately defeated in the Legislature of Missouri. It is perhaps the most progressive city planning legislation enacted anywhere. Our municipal league made that legislation a part of its legislative program. Contrasted with the bitter experience of over a decade ago, it passed through the General Assembly without a dissenting vote in either branch. If the state municipal leagues are liberal, public-minded organizations representative of the best public interests, if they are truly planning organizations, if they are organizations that work upon the thesis that given the facts the public will face those facts and arrive at more or less of a proper conclusion, then certainly it appears that there is no stronger ally of a state planning board than its state municipal league, nor correspondingly is there any body which can aid in building up our leagues more than these planning boards.

By such coordination and assistance we can in some measure realize one of the objectives set forth in the executive order creating the original National Planning Board nearly two years ago, so aptly stated in this language: "The analysis of projects for coordination in location and sequence in order to prevent duplication of wasteful overlaps and to obtain the maximum amount of cooperation and correlation of effect among the departments, bureaus and agencies of the Federal, State and local governments."

NEW APPROACHES TO URBAN PLANNING

CHARLES W. ELIOT, 2D
Executive Officer, National Resources Committee

Last fall at the Planning Conference in St. Louis we focused our attention on problems of extensive rural land areas. We discussed plans for land-use, for agriculture, forestry, recreation and other subjects which were later reviewed and expanded in the December report of the National Resources Board. Now we are called together to consider the future of our urban areas. Almost one-half of the total population in this country is concentrated in a few small areas. Rough figures show that 47 per cent of the total population occupy less than 1 per cent of the land area of the United States. In this small area is concentrated a large part of the personal wealth of the country, and, according to recent figures, at least 60 per cent of the relief cases are located in cities of over 2,500 population.

Planning as forethought for the future, has taken on much new meaning since these National Conferences on Planning were inaugurated in 1909. At the last two National Conferences I tried to make some contribution to the re-definition of the term and to supply new words to describe different aspects of planning work. I do not want to frighten any of those of you who heard me make those suggestions either by making additional ones or by re-hashing previous ideas, but I do want to impress upon you that the need for re-definition of planning in relation to the problem of our American cities is acute. Perhaps I can best illustrate what I mean by suggesting a few contrasts or different ways of approaching the whole subject of urban planning.

First of all, what I have to say refers not to town, city or metropolitan areas, but to problems of urban communities as contrasted to rural problems. In thinking about city planning we need to differentiate between urban and rural life, instead of considering particular plots of grounds and jurisdictions. You must know, as I do, people who sincerely prefer to live with sidewalks, street cars, traffic and the other excitements, noises and attractions that go with city life. Personally, I don't understand their point of view very well, but I have been forced to recognize their existence.

Civilization to my mind has been too long synonymous with urbanism. We have learned, I hope, that opportunities for the abundant life and other incentives to progress are not monopolies of the cities. Neither city nor country has any corner on either the good things

or on the problems of civilization. We have heard talk, for instance, in recent years, of the "Barbarian Flow," as Benton McKaye described the extension of billboards, gas stations and shack towns along our interurban highways, and we are all familiar with the uncivilized intrusion of urban characteristics into healthier rural surroundings. On the other hand, persons in high places predict "grass in our city streets" as though a spot of green amidst our tenements was a sign of deterioration instead of something devoutly to be sought.

Can we not find a happy balance and understanding of mutual dependence between city and rural conditions? Can we not find a new approach to the city problem by thinking out some idealized mode of life which we want to make possible for those, who by choice or by force of economic circumstances, live in areas of concentrated population?

In the past we have started with the obvious and acute problems which were immediately facing us—problems of our physical surroundings with which we are all familiar. Do not suppose that I deprecate such a practical line of approach, but let me also point out that from that stage we have been led on to consider other matters which in many cases apparently frustrated our efforts in physical planning. We have come smack up against social and economic conditions or governmental tangles which made our physical planning programs impossible or fruitless. What better example could I give than the choked entrances to our cities, where, because of the change of jurisdiction between city and suburb, both the will and the means to provide adequate entrances to the urban areas have been missing. Is it not time to look at the whole problem the other way around, to examine more closely, more intensively the social-economic limitations and the governmental procedures and methods which limit and influence the kind of plans which are both desirable and practicable?

Besides thinking of this problem in terms of how we live or might live in cities, and with stress on the organization of society to make possible better physical surroundings, we must add another definition to our new approach to urban planning. We are not considering just the physical arrangement of things. We must design. We must have design implying understanding and organization of the forces behind the plan. It must not be just an architectural group of buildings, but a functional, dynamic force. It must be designed in the larger setting of the general, working back to the particular. Too long we have approached planning from the point of view of a geometric progression—the house lot, subdivision, small town, city,

and metropolitan area. We are in danger of seeing nothing but house lots, of being unable to see the woods for the trees.

I have had occasion in recent weeks to go over inventories of public works and other proposals, and have heard people saying, "Here is a complete plan." I have felt called upon to ask them, "Since when did two and two make five?" It is a dangerous error to suppose that a compilation of a whole lot of good things is a plan, when the missing element, the design—the force binding the combination—is missing. If we are to have a real plan we must have the proposals put together in the proper order, *plus* a design.

It seems to me we must again examine all the influences of commerce, transportation facilities, power and natural resources, industry, government, art, recreation, invention, individual genius—all those things which in one form or another caused the original settlement of a town, village or city and which cause or do not cause its growth. Let us go back and re-analyze the forces which cause these concentrations of population. We would do well to analyze further the power of tradition and the various economic forces that cause our cities to grow or decline, for in planning we are concerned primarily with direction of those forces, and if we are to direct them we must have increasing knowledge of their operation and their possibilities. Without for a moment minimizing the constant uncertainties in this world, we should seek out the forces that seem to follow a predictable course with a view to using them as tools in planning. We must recognize living and changing forces, such as new inventions, but we must fight against the idea that we are hostages to fortune and substitute a determination to be masters in some limited degree of our own destiny.

When I talk of tools that we can use, I am really discussing the approaches to urban planning which are made up of three main elements: a positive element, a negative element and an organization element.

Among the positive elements, it seems to me, we ought to make special efforts in the next few years, to study the influence of transportation on the growth and decline of cities. I have been interested, for instance, in the dependence of cities on the rate structure and on its possibilities as a means of stimulating or retarding growth. Just imagine what would be the effect of a single railroad system on many cities which have grown up primarily because of competition between railroads! Another element on the positive side is the public works program and still another example is the reservation of lands in advance, whether for park or for urban development; a fourth element

which requires re-analysis is our taxation system which we all recognize as a motive power for development.

Among the negative elements which influence urban development I include zoning, limitations on the borrowing capacity of cities, and tax limitations.

Finally, with reference to governmental organization: You all know that we now have 45 state planning boards. Perhaps you don't know that we have 26 legislative enactments and two legislative resolutions to establish those boards on a permanent basis. We expect four or five more states to pass similar legislation in the next month or two. There are great possibilities of developing, through state planning boards, a new technique of relationship between the state governments and the municipalities. It seems to me that a primary responsibility of state planning boards should be to develop local planning organizations, to encourage their growth, to give them direction and guidance. That is the next step in our city planning program.

But in any talk about the tools of the planner I should not minimize one other aspect of the work. Planning is not static—if it is, it is dead. It must be a dynamic and continuous force. It is an approach and not a finality.

In summary then, I am advocating an approach to urban planning which, by my own definition, means an approach to an approach, or a plan for a plan. Is that not what we need most in the field of city planning: A new interpretation of what we are trying to do. To make such a statement is one of the goals of the National Resources Board for the next year.

DISCUSSION

MR. FREDERIC A. DELANO, Washington, D. C.: If I may take advantage of my position to say a few words, I think Dr. Merriam and Mr. Eliot both hinted at a fact that is old in medicine and is, I think, equally true in economics; that is, almost every disease has the seed of its own cure concealed within it. Our cities are a good deal in the position that many corporations got into of being over-capitalized, having spent too much for unproductive investments. New York is not alone in the position of having to spend 45 cents out of every tax dollar on interest and the amortization of her public debt. For 20 or more years Manhattan, the center, core and heart of New York, has been diminishing in population. I mean the night population. The day population has been steadily increasing. Yet, so unwilling are we to face these facts that Mr. Thomas Adams, who was director of planning and regional planning of New York, had to invent a new word. He couldn't apply the words "deflated by natural causes" to New York, for he would have aroused a storm of opposition. So he invented the word "reflation." He perceived that while the center of this great city was being deflated it could spring up again in "reflation" into centers of community life of the less

crowded suburbs. I imagine that this is the sort of thing that is going to go on, but, as Dr. Merriam hinted, in the problems of the great city the burden of maintaining a great city and how it is to be solved is a very difficult question indeed. Parts of our big cities are being blighted and people are leaving, not because they are being driven out but because they want to get out. The cities have got to find some way of maintaining their lure and without a constantly increasing taxation. The City of Paris attempted a system that has always seemed grotesque to us Americans, when we are over there, of a duty that the country pays for trading in the city. I don't know whether we shall ever come to anything like that, but that is one way for the city to get even with the country.

MR. HAROLD S. BUTTENHEIM, New York City: We have heard a great deal of the importance of cooperation between the planning groups and other official groups, as represented by the municipal governments and leagues of municipalities. I wonder if emphasis should not be given to the importance of cooperation in planning by the unofficial groups. In the early days of planning, a great deal of original planning was financed by local chambers of commerce, women's clubs, etc. They were some of the principal originators for the support of professional planning. I believe at the present time, and in this desire to secure greater action and better public education on the need of plans, that the planners and municipal officials should take advantage of that sort of cooperation. I believe it is within the power of the planners to show the chambers of commerce that planning has a real business implication of great importance in addition to its civic implications, and that cooperation of that kind might be secured successfully.

MR. RUSSELL V. BLACK, New Hope, Pennsylvania: As Mr. Eliot has reminded Dr. Merriam many in this audience have given a great deal of thought to the question of possible limitation of the size of the city, the best social and economic size of the city. I think many of us have come to our own conclusions as to approximately what size a city should be. I think, however, that Dr. Merriam cannot rely entirely on this particular group to produce all of the essential facts in support of our theories. We will have to go back to Dr. Merriam himself to answer one of the most fundamental questions: that is, what size city can be most economically administered?

MR. JOHN NOLEN, Cambridge, Massachusetts: I think we must keep in mind that the problems are not only vast, but are exceedingly varied. They are complex and there is not, of course, only one solution. The solutions must be exceedingly varied and there is no possibility of a rapid change. Vested conditions and vested interests cannot successfully be interrupted. There is a wide gap at the present time between the best that we know and the best that we do. I believe we should not stress too emphatically the necessity for perfect or nearly perfect effort in view of the success we have enjoyed and may continue to enjoy in working gradually.

MR. MARSHALL N. DANA, Portland, Oregon: I find myself intensely interested in the proposed relationship between the local and state planning organizations. In my experience city planning antedates state, regional and national planning. Now we are confronted, however, with the problem of assimilating, through state organizations, a large number of rapidly organized local planning groups, some city planning groups, and some county and district planning groups. It seems to me, looking at the matter from the viewpoint of the state planning board, that the first item is the bringing into relationship of the local planning organization with the state planning board; then the legal establishment of those local groups by the passage of state laws establishing

the authority for city, county or district planning; and likewise the passage of laws providing for zoning authority. Beyond that you come to the question of cooperation which Mr. Eliot mentioned.

In my mind cooperation is even more the key to successful planning and planning relationships than laws because, after all, the people themselves begin the planning process. It was achieved by labor; and by professional men who acted as labor, who have little by little, through the years, interested official agencies until at last we have more or less of an authoritative planning idea. To me the planning organization is dependent upon cooperation almost to the same extent that the executive is dependent upon a board of directors. The board of directors in this case is comprised of the public members who took an active and intelligent interest in planning, supported it with their funds and their understanding.

MR. FREDERIC A. DELANO, Washington, D. C.: I wish to make one reference to what Mr. Dana has said. It is true, very true, that interest in this subject began with the cities. I think you must remember that the reason it began with the cities was because we had become more and more conscious of the terrible mistakes which had been made in the past and we wanted to prevent a recurrence of those mistakes in the future. We also found that the cost of correcting some of those mistakes would be enormous. Now the heartening thing about planning in the open country is that we don't have to spend a lot of money in correcting mistakes and that, from our experience in the cities, we can make real contributions to the development of the smaller communities and the county. I think that is how the two subjects are related to each other.

FEDERAL ACTIVITIES AND URBAN PLANNING

CHAIRMAN'S INTRODUCTION

MR. JOHN NOLEN, Cambridge, Massachusetts: We have come this evening to the most essential and encouraging approach to our municipal problems that we have had. It is a little difficult to appraise our many forms of government at the various levels—the municipal, the state and the Federal. I have a strong feeling myself that the Federal Government, to speak of the highest level, has employed qualities of idealism, of science and certain elements of efficiency in its attack on the problems which it attempts to assist the state and local governments to find solutions for. I believe that a Federal contribution is being made to local governments and to our sovereign states which, for one reason or another not easy to explain, is one that cannot come from any other source.

I am sure that those of us who have had the opportunity—and I think it is really a privilege to sit on a session such as we had this afternoon with representatives of the National Resources Board—to see the approach, the desire for definite and helpful action, feel greatly encouraged thereby.

One of the things we have learned from these sessions is that there must be a plan. I think that we are pretty well convinced that the word "comprehensive" is significant; that serious limitation in our planning and welfare programs and expenditures is represented by the word "piecemeal."

Another point stands out that has come as our experience enlarged, which I would call the conviction that we must have a new type of city and that there must be a new technique to produce it. Our existing situation will continue for some years with only gradual alterations, but we are moving toward this new type with considerable success. This transformation will mean a city adapted to modern life, to new conditions, to new ideals, to new potentialities related to newly-developed resources, or from a new attitude to old resources.

I recall very well a quotation in a book I read recently. It seems to me to express the point in a clear manner. It said, "Cities, when one regards them impersonally, are so ugly and ill-proportioned that one wonders that specialized men could have constructed them." The fact is, specialized men did not construct them. They simply grew by the addition of one private and unrelated contrivance after another until today cities stand as examples of our haste and our failure to use intelligent forethought.

FEDERAL ASSISTANCE TO LOCAL PLANNING PROJECTS

ROBERT H. RANDALL
Consultant, National Resources Committee

Any discussion of Federal aid and planning projects must necessarily involve first a consideration of the organization of city projects and second the duties of the planning staffs so organized as they relate to the work program.

In the matter of organization, I may say that it is anticipated that applications for projects and for staffs to be supplied to state planning boards will be made to the State Works Progress Administrator in each state and by that State Works Administrator will be forwarded to Washington, where it is expected that a representative of the Resources Board staff will review such applications.

In regard to applications for staff aid to local planning commissions, these will also go to the State Works Progress administration and will, in all probability, be subjected to a review in each state by the State's Planning Board if one has been organized. Details of the procedure implied in the method of project application are being worked out tentatively at the present time, by the Works Progress Administration and by the National Resources Board in Washington.

It is expected that in general the procedure will be quite similar to that followed previously up to this date by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration in relationship to State and local planning boards. Specific instructions as to how to make these applications will be forthcoming in the near future. Also, the form of application blank is expected to be ready shortly.

Just a few more words as to how to make these applications. While it is a matter for your individual judgment, I should advise those of you who are interested in making application for Federal aid to delay making actual application until the forms for the purpose are ready. When they are ready, they will be distributed to State planning boards.

In the meantime, if I might suggest, it would seem to be proper to prepare all the facts which will be the basic makeup of your applications when the blanks are available. That fact basis, of course, should include a statement of exactly what you want the additional staff for. That statement should not be simply a general argument for the

need of a planning staff. It should include some of that, of course, but in the main it should be a specific list of the activities which you hope to undertake with the staff.

It will probably also be required that each governmental unit, the city, the state or county, whichever the case may be, make a statement of the participation, of the cooperation which the unit is prepared to extend. That should cover the degree of local supervision there will be because I think you will find it is to be assumed that in each case competent local supervision is provided.

It should also cover the positions, the actual positions which you would like to have filled. Now, the salaries of these positions are not known. All that anyone knows at the present time, I believe, is what we see in the papers as to the limitations of the work-relief financing.

So much for the method of making application. I would like to discuss now, if you will bear with me a moment longer, the relationship of the state and local planning board to the work program. It is very properly not only concerned with long-range planning and research which is a typical activity of most planning boards now, but it should also be concerned with projects for immediate operation. Quite a few in this audience heard Colonel Waite talk this afternoon about the wisdom of directing planning forces in a very practical way through the work program.

Four billion dollars are to be spent in putting people to work. In doing that, it occurs to me that the state and local planning boards can be of service in creating a reservoir of projects, each project being designed to take its place in the coherent program of community improvements. If our planning boards fill that function without neglecting their ordinary planning activities, I think we can expect full support from the Federal agencies.

So far, I have spent the time on the relationship of the Federal Works Progress Administration to the state planning board in the matter of planning projects. I would like to bring another matter to your attention. That is the method by means of which the projects developed by your state and local planning boards may be brought into the best use.

The Public Works Administration in Washington and the Works Progress Administration in conference with the National Resources Board is working upon forms for construction and other projects. I think quite a few of you are familiar with the forms in use by the Public Works Administration and I believe that I am correct in

saying that what was done in this regard by the Public Works Administration project will be followed. In other words, a provision is made for recording the opinion of the planning board concerned.

In the operation of the Works Progress Administration there is to be a series of forms. The first one will be a Progress announcement, which will be more comprehensive and in more detail than the former Progress application which was used by the Federal Administration.

It is anticipated—and again I must say that the details of this have not finally been settled—that on this project analysis sheet, there will be space for recording the opinion of the proper state, city, county or town planning agency. It is also expected, on the Works Progress form—probably to be called "Application Form No. 1"—which follows the project analysis sheet, that the planning commission's action also will be recorded.

So far I have confined myself pretty rigidly to a statement of the procedure by which we hope that Federal aid may be extended to planning. As those of you who have read the report of the National Resources Board know, it is very definitely the purpose of the Board and I believe of the other Federal agencies cooperating, to make planning a part of the method of this work program. While it is as yet not possible to speak with finality and while the reports and the blanks for application are not, as I have said, yet complete, I think we may hope that planning will have a real place, with real cooperation on the parts of the Public Works Administration and the Works Progress Administration.

I shall not take up additional time because I would like to leave insofar as possible, a clear picture of what is known to date and also what is not yet decided upon. My final recommendation to you all would be this: Get your facts together. Get clearly in mind exactly what it is that you would like to do. Get in touch with your state and your local relief administration and, as soon as it is organized, your Works Progress Administration. Make your application and I believe that you will find on the part of that administration and all Federal agencies a most hearty desire to cooperate with you in making planning a real factor in the program.

DISCUSSION

MR. JOHN NOLEN, Cambridge, Massachusetts: The subject next under consideration under the heading *Federal Activities and Urban Planning*, is a most important one and one which many of our foreign planning friends feel has been greatly neglected in the American approach to planning.

I saw a statement recently to the effect that the building of houses constitutes the major architectural work of every civilization. A new house cannot be conceived except in terms of the community. The houses in our country are great masses of obsolete and dilapidated equipment. In the housing which is to be so important a part of the communities of the future, light and air and recreational space should be available to every resident to an extent that only the wealthy, advantaged groups have enjoyed hitherto.

In our housing endeavors we must take the same broad view that is accorded to public works, Federal and state highways, pipe lines and schemes, or to any corresponding major activities. Housing needs for its program those who see the several subjects and see them in their true relationship. This is not a subject which can be attacked from and solved by a narrow point of view. We need in this broad planning not narrow men, but broad men sharpened to a point, who will apply at a particular place the broad, related knowledge necessary to provide a satisfactory and permanent solution.

Our next speaker is a planner who has this broad and related approach proceeding out of his fund of knowledge, his keen observation and understanding of values and a sense of proportion. Planning requires also—and I am thinking of Mr. Crane here—a characteristic ascribed to the men of Labrador who, when they are given a choice of action, always choose the most venturesome.

BUILDING HOUSES AND BUILDING CITIES

JACOB L. CRANE, JR., President
American City Planning Institute

In this paper I am offering one proposition. The proposition is predicated upon one assumption. The assumption is that the country is not going to fall to pieces. I am assuming that we can successfully readjust our collective affairs, readjust the distribution of purchasing power, re-establish and expand our tremendous potential production capacity. Assuming that these eventualities are in prospect, I submit that the current interest in housing on a large scale heralds the beginning of the greatest enterprise ever undertaken by the American people. I submit that we are undertaking to rebuild our cities. And I feel that all of our housing activities must be considered as elements in the vast project of rebuilding the cities of this country. We should understand this thing that we are undertaking and each housing policy and each housing job should be fitted into that concept. We must measure all the urban housing work we do by this question: "How will it be as a part of the rebuilt American city?"

The evidence that we are beginning the rebuilding of our cities is plainly visible on every side. Thousands of dwellings are being demolished. As rapidly as means can be found, hundreds of thousands of people are fleeing from the huge, jerry-built, ugly, blighted areas. If we grow rich again, as I assume we shall, how little of these big cities will be acceptable as an environment for living? What family or what individual will endure the crowded, noisy, dirty, ugly, uneconomic, shoddy camps which we call cities,—vast stretches of disorganized brick and stone so barren that a crow would have to carry his lunch in flying over them? Who can conceive that the full expression of American life demands less than the almost complete rebuilding of these overgrown towns? I contend that the cities will not die or disappear, but that we will rebuild them. The present many-sided attack on urban housing problems represents the beginning of that reconstruction.

A bigger project would be difficult to imagine. To reconstruct on a reasonably decent basis the unlivable and uneconomic portions of our bigger cities means, at present costs, an expenditure of something in the range of fifty billion dollars! I insert that figure here so that the shock may wear off before the next speaker is called upon. Two billion dollars per year for twenty-five years! If it is work and the

exchange of goods that creates purchasing power, and if our cities and their dwellings constitute one of our most important elements of capital, this is a project to rouse all of us from any lethargy and social paralysis we may feel. Here is by all odds the greatest single opportunity for utilizing our natural resources, our equipment and our man power.

Now, in rebuilding our cities we will be giving expression to the culmination of our ideals. We will be registering our concept of the art of living. We will give visible evidence of our American standards. This is not just a matter of piling up bricks. It is our statement of the American ideal of life and of the framework for the American arts of living.

The policies which we formulate and follow lie at the foundation of all our future living arrangements. Possibly it is too soon to speak of policies which we formulate, since there is now so much feeling that with a complex of more or less conflicting policies there can be no central policy to follow. When the pickpocket dashed into an office and asked to be concealed from the cops, the office girl said, "Jump into our filing system, nobody can ever find anything there." Our housing policies, what ought to be city rebuilding policies, are buried, not in one, but in a dozen different filing systems. They should be brought out, dusted off, polished up, and put into the pot by a Federal Housing Policy Board. That Board could then build up the necessary general research, hear all sides of the case, and in a while produce a set of coordinate policies which could sensibly guide the federal, state and local governments, and out of which sensible and practicable programs could be developed—programs which recognize what we are actually undertaking and the difficulties to be overcome. Several separate agencies are doing this now for their own operations. The total resultant, when all are put together, still constitutes a confused picture.

An underlying question of policy is that having to do with standards. Is it possible that the prospects in America are so poor that we must pare housing down to the bare bones of three and a half rooms per family? I don't know. But I hope that our preoccupation with repayment, rigid limits upon subsidy, and depression incomes, will not blind us to the great potentialities we possess for building open, ample, full-scale cities.

Likewise, I hope that we have the courage and ingenuity really to tackle the gorgon of irrational land policies which still tends to frustrate the valiant efforts of those wrestling with it. We shall have to formulate some central policies and some new measures. Virtually every other industrialized nation has gone far ahead of us here.

We must lay the ghost of public versus private enterprise in housing. I am convinced that there is a huge field for both, once the fields are analyzed and defined by a Housing Policy Board. Meanwhile it is clear that large housing programs, in reality city rebuilding programs, involve problems which can be solved only through the participation of our collective agent, the Government. Even where purely private funds and private enterprise are utilized—I should say particularly where they are utilized—both the public interest and the private interest must be drawn in to plan and to stabilize the development.

Finally, while we don't know enough yet to institute a full-scale, long-range program, and while our instruments are still not perfectly adapted to our purposes, it can be clearly seen that we require as a part of our central policies for city rebuilding: first, sensibly drawn, complete city and metropolitan plans; secondly, procedures for fitting any single project into such a broad city plan; and thirdly, procedures for designing each project and its site in such a way that the city we are rebuilding will find the project appropriate and right after it is completed.

We are undertaking to rebuild our cities. This is a principal significance in our large-scale housing work. Our policies, our programs, our procedures, the perfection of our techniques may all be directed toward that purpose. "Bigamy," says a school boy, "is wrong, because no man can serve two masters." The objective we cannot deny, the objective from which we should not deviate, is the objective of rebuilding the American city.

DISCUSSION

MR. JOHN NOLEN, Cambridge, Massachusetts: We probably will get more out of this discussion of housing—a subject which appears only at this place on the program—if we take time now for discussion. Mr. Crane has kindly consented to answer any questions and to discuss any opposing views or contrasting opinions.

MR. HARRISON, Indianapolis, Indiana: We just went through a planning program on slum clearance in Indianapolis and it is interesting and enlightening to hear about other approaches.

About ten years ago it was my privilege to attend a conference on city planning in Cincinnati. At that time I learned something about the neighborhood unit. When you approach the replanning of areas from the slum clearance standpoint you are right back to the neighborhood unit; it has all the elements by means of which the proper development of a city may take place.

One of the worst problems we have to contend with is that of land acquisition. If some way could be provided so that land could be obtained economically without paying for the structures on the land that have to be demolished, we could make greater progress in this direction.

Minds have begun to concentrate all over the country on these housing projects. The manufacturers are awake to the situation and I believe that ultimately we will realize something far beyond our present treatment of the problem of housing and rebuilding our cities.

MR. JOHN NOLEN, Cambridge, Massachusetts: We have time for one more speech if there is someone who would like to comment on this particular matter.

MR. L. SEGOE, Cincinnati, Ohio: We have heard a great deal about land costs as an obstruction to low-cost housing. We have been told that low-cost houses could only be built if the land were obtained at a reasonable cost. Anyone who has had the disappointing experience of trying to figure out how that might be possible has made the discovery that, as a matter of fact, if someone were to make us a present of the blighted area, we might use it for any other purpose for which land is being used in the community except to provide housing for our lowest income people. The explanation for this is that the cost of these areas is still too high to provide a decent standard of housing for those with the lowest income; the simple fact is that their wages are not high enough.

Now then, the question faces us, how can the slum clearance problem be distinct and different from the housing problem? I am emphasizing this since we are so used to intermingling the two terms. There are instances, of course, where slums might be cleared and houses built on the area. But there are a great many other ways of clearing the slums. In the capitol city of this State, Columbus, you will find that a most effective clearance resulted from the construction of an inspiring city center. Nevertheless, slum clearance and the erection of low-cost housing are different and distinct problems.

In this city, many houses in the blighted area were demolished to provide an approach to the new station. A sum of four or five hundred dollars was paid for every room in these obsolete houses. If the cost of the rooms demolished is added to the cost of providing new rooms, it is impossible to house those of the lowest income or even those of somewhat higher income in houses they can afford. If we were to require the same standards of light, air, and sanitation in the old buildings and districts that we require in new buildings, the building department would be able to hold up a large proportion of these buildings, and there is nothing to prevent a community held to a low income from having the proper sanitary conditions.

MR. JOHN NOLEN, Cambridge, Massachusetts: When I heard there was the prospect of having Louis Brownlow, Director of the Public Administration Clearing House of Chicago, on our program there flashed into my mind many things about him—his connection with planning work and all sorts of enterprises. I thought particularly of what someone has said of his social judgment and wisdom: that it represents that harmonious combination of clear thought and warm feeling which is so necessary a factor in the efforts being made by individuals and groups of individuals to bring about greatly needed alterations and improvements in public administration. I also thought of the mastery Mr. Brownlow has acquired, through a long and varied career, in the engineering of human consent, the most difficult engineering job of all. We are unfortunate in that Mr. Brownlow cannot, after all, be here. We are fortunate, however, that the same topic which he was to discuss will be covered by Mr. John F. Willmott of the Municipal Finance Officers' Association of Chicago.

AN URBAN BUREAU IN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

JOHN F. WILLMOTT
Municipal Finance Officers' Association

We have listened this evening to two outstanding addresses both of which have emphasized Federal participation in local planning projects growing out of the changing relationships between the Federal Government and state and local governments.

Changing Relationships

This change in relationship is not confined to planning but touches other functions and activities as well. Indeed, the circumstances in which many local units now find themselves may bring about still further changes in the traditional pattern of government. Faced with a sharp decrease in assessed valuations on the one hand and the restrictions of tax limitations and high tax delinquency on the other, many local governments are caught like miners in a flooded mine shaft and are being driven to the higher levels of government to seek assistance in maintaining public services through either

(1) a transfer of functions or debts to the broader shoulders of the larger units of government,

(2) a reorganization and consolidation of the small units,

(3) aid from state collected locally shared taxes, or

(4) grants-in-aid for specific purposes.

In at least one instance, namely Key West, we find the city and the county and the school district pooling their administrative and financial resources under the leadership of the Federal Government, in an arrangement which is called the Key West Administration.

No one knows how far this process of changing relationships will go and, for reasons to which I shall refer in a moment, no one knows how far it should go. But whether present trends are accelerated or retarded, whether we have more federal participation or less, one thing we may predict with assurance and that is that the old pattern of federal, state and local governments, existing in water tight compartments, making their plans and conducting their affairs without regard for the policies or problems or requirements of the other levels of government—that pattern is a thing of the past. Looking

from where we now stand to the farthest horizon, we can see no road that would carry us back to that order of things.

Fact Basis Needed

It is not too much to say that this changing relationship between the different levels of government is the distinguishing characteristic of the present decade for the political scientist, the planner and the administrator. That fact is now quite commonly recognized. But it holds certain implications that are as yet only dimly perceived. And of these, there is one which I commend to your most earnest consideration: namely, the need for a fact basis for the determination and administration of national plans and policies which affect, and are affected by, the finances, activities and policies of the state and local governments. Indeed, without this, there is real danger that what should be a thoroughly harmonious and cooperative relationship may result in friction, misunderstanding and bitter controversy.

The cities and states are reasonably well equipped with facilities for keeping in touch with what the Federal Government has done, is doing and proposes to do. We have in Chicago seventeen national organizations of public officials, including the American Society of Planning Officials. These organizations are located in the same building and there is the closest cooperation between them. Coordination of their activities in order to prevent overlapping of program and duplication of effort is brought about through Public Administration Clearing House, of which Mr. Brownlow is the Director.

The Federal Government, on the other hand, is inadequately supplied with information concerning the state and local governments. For a number of years, various federal bureaus—notably the Bureau of Census, the Office of Education and the Bureau of Public Roads—have been gathering statistics of state and local governments. During the past two years there has been a marked increase in the number of such compilations until, at the present time, we can count at least a dozen federal agencies collecting state and municipal data of one sort or another, and, if we were to include those agencies which are interested in only minor aspects of local government or whose interest is only temporary, their number would increase to a surprising figure.

Many of these federal agencies are doing excellent work under great handicaps—financial and otherwise. Yet with all this activity, much essential information is nowhere available and that which is available is scattered in numerous patches here, there and everywhere in various nooks and crannies of federal bureaus with little or no

coordination. Some of this information does not appear for almost two years after the period to which it relates. And of course, by that time, the data may reflect a set of conditions which no longer exists. There is no one place in the entire Federal Government where complete and up-to-date information may be obtained regarding the financial condition, the transactions and the activities of our state and local governments.

Bureau of Information Needed

For a number of years leaders in the municipal field have been urging the establishment of a bureau of state and municipal information in the Federal Government for bringing together in one place complete, accurate and up-to-date information concerning state and local taxes, tax delinquency, receipts, current expenditures, capital outlays, budgets and balance sheets, together with data regarding state and local organization, personnel, facilities and activities.

Presumably, the proposed bureau would be developed out of some existing federal agency which is already engaged in the compilation of state and local data, but with expanded facilities and revised procedure. Such a bureau should undertake the following activities:

1. It should serve as a central clearing house of information regarding state and local government for all federal agencies.
2. It should coordinate the activities of the various federal statistical and information services insofar as they deal with state and local government.
3. It should itself compile data where such data cannot be obtained in satisfactory form from other federal agencies.
4. It should establish a monthly bulletin service for bringing together the following current information regarding states and municipalities: gasoline, sales, tobacco and liquor tax collections; expenditures for relief and mothers' pensions; public construction; current and capital flotations; new defaults; number of public employees, and amount of payrolls, etc. This would involve little or no compilation, since most of this information is already available in one form or another—sometimes in several conflicting forms.
5. It should enlist the cooperation of the various state departments of municipal statistics in order to bring about better coordination of their activities.
6. It should carry on an active research program for studying the work of all state, regional and federal agencies engaged in compiling state and municipal data in order to develop new and improved techniques for its own use and for the use of others.
7. Finally, such a bureau should furnish information and advice to local communities where necessary.

Advice to Local Units

This latter function may sound like paternalism. May I remind you, however, that the Federal Government has persuaded a large number of the smaller communities to embark in new and unfamiliar ventures, such as sewer systems, light plants, hospitals, etc., as a part of the national recovery program. Left to themselves, many of these communities would not have undertaken these activities for years to come. When the operation of these unfamiliar services develops perplexing questions for which their customary procedure makes no provision, they naturally turn to the Federal Government for advice.

Furthermore, the Federal Government has lent them money to finance the greater portion of the capital cost of these undertakings, which loans it expects to collect. Furnishing advice to the borrower is a traditional function of the money lender. The merchant consults his banker concerning the conduct of his business, and, if he fails to do so, the banker may offer such advice voluntarily and even insistently in order to protect his investment. The Federal Government, having assumed the role of banker, will find it necessary to furnish advice and information to many of the local units to which it has granted loans, especially the smaller units, in order to protect its investment. Obviously, it cannot furnish information which it does not possess. Accordingly, it seems clear that, if and when a bureau of state and municipal information is established, it should not be confined to statistics but should gather information regarding administrative and financial methods and make this information available to the local communities.

State Bureaus

A number of the states already have bureaus of municipal statistics. The establishment of a federal bureau of state and municipal information need not duplicate the splendid work which they are doing. The federal bureau should coordinate their activities and promote the use of uniform classifications and standard procedures. Eight of the states, which already have fair compilations of municipal statistics, contain one-third of all the cities of over 30,000 population. Were uniformity to become a fact in these eight states, the Federal Government could accept the state-compiled figures in such states and concentrate its energies on the states where the information is not so well organized. Mr. A. M. Hillhouse, Research Director of the Municipal Finance Officers' Association, has recently completed studies of state reporting in two states and the association is,

at the present time, in contact with two additional states where there is considerable interest in uniform reporting of municipal statistics.

Advantages

The establishment of a federal bureau of state and municipal information with an active program and using standard techniques would be of great assistance to the Federal Government in passing upon applications for grants to state and local units for relief, public works and other purposes, in passing upon applications for loans, in supervising such loans after they are made and in determining national policies—particularly those governing federal-state and federal-municipal relationships. It would also assist the state and local governments, in comparing their relative standing and in determining their policies—especially those affecting their relationships with the Federal Government and with each other. A coordinated program would also tend to reduce the flood of questionnaires which is annoying local officials.

There need be no fear on the part of the states or the municipalities that this program will invade their prerogatives or hamper their freedom of action. They have nothing to lose and everything to gain by encouraging the Federal Government to obtain complete information regarding their finances, their activities and their plans. The more information of this sort the Federal Government possesses, the more likely it is to understand the problems of the states and the local units of government and the less likely it is to take uninformed and arbitrary action detrimental of their interests. This program is, therefore, an effective bulwark against "bureaucracy."

I know of no group which should be more interested in the establishment of an adequate fact basis for these new relationships between our levels of government than those engaged in city, regional, state and national planning. For if these relationships are allowed to develop haphazardly, resulting in friction and misunderstanding, a highly emotional atmosphere will be created which will be most unfavorable for the success of the planning movement, based as it is upon an appeal to reason.

While a certain amount of misunderstanding and even controversy is inevitable, this process of adjustment can be materially facilitated if conscious development and design, based on complete knowledge of the facts, are substituted for mere accident and circumstance. And that, I take it, is the beginning and middle and ending of planning. It is for this reason that I feel that those who are engaged in planning have a substantial opportunity—and therefore a substantial

responsibility—for bringing this about. I commend this thought to your most earnest consideration.

DISCUSSION

MR. JOHN NOLEN, Cambridge, Massachusetts: We are grateful to Mr. Willmott and to the other speakers for what I think has been a very profitable and illuminating evening devoted to the subject, *Federal Activities and Urban Planning*. It is a sufficiently general subject and I believe we can profit from the experience of other nations, so I would like very much to hear the comments of Dr. Larsson who has had experience in other countries and wide observation in our own.

MR. YNGVE LARSSON, Stockholm, Sweden: There is a problem with which, as explained this evening, we have had some experience in Stockholm; not at all in the same degree, however, as you have had to deal with it in your big cities. It is the problem of slum clearance. We have had slums—dwelling places and tenement houses which were bad and did not correspond to fixed standards and which, accordingly, had to be demolished.

I think the point of this question is the one emphasized by Mr. Segoe. That is the fact we must look in the eye. We always have in big cities large numbers of poor people who cannot afford to pay an economic rent. After demolishing their old houses we can build others to replace them. We can build new houses but we cannot re-house these people without bringing another element into the picture: Costs of these new houses should be obtained on a basis of the capital. This problem can be met in two ways. We can try to cut down costs, although we cannot go very far in that direction. We have tried to do it at home—and I think many other countries have also tried it—through constructing buildings of lower type. These buildings, however, deteriorate quickly and will soon form new slums.

Now we are in a happy position in Sweden. The municipality itself owns most of the housing projects and it owns, on a large scale, the unbuilt-upon land in the city. Accordingly, we have leased this land to the individuals who live on it and in that way it has been possible for us to lower our rents about 30 per cent under the standard rent. This is, of course, one thing we have been able to accomplish, but I don't think it is enough. I think that in the long run we must face the fact that public authorities must pay a certain portion of the rent for their poorest people. I don't think it is possible to solve the problem in any other way. That is the trend in Sweden.

With regard to the problem which was the subject of the concluding paper this evening, conditions in Sweden and America are not comparable. Although we have in the Swedish municipality a commission which resembles the Federal bureau outlined a few minutes ago, the solution of the problem is much simpler in a country with a population of only six million than it is in a country which forms a continent.

From this meeting, as from many other experiences in America, I have the impression that you are going rather fast along the way we have been going. I think that in Europe too the state and municipalities are growing and their tasks increasing, and that the methods of meeting these changes of city and state are assuming new forms.

PLANNING ADMINISTRATION

THE PLANNING COMMISSION: ITS FUNCTIONS AND METHOD

ALFRED BETTMAN, President
American Society of Planning Officials

Planning has been talked and written about to such an extent as to give the impression that planning has a definite meaning in our minds, and that this meaning and its actual application in practice have become an established tradition. Those who frankly face the facts realize that we are still far from any such stage. The ease with which local planning commissions were mowed down in the early skirmishes of budget reductions, and the rather small extent to which state and national plans have been actually applied in the selection of public works may be evidence that planning, as a concept, is far from having either definiteness or the strength which comes from acceptance and deep roots. We are still in the period in which the meaning, the purpose, the justification, the function, the methods of planning are open to challenge and discussion.

The planning of which we are speaking, namely city, county, state, regional and national planning of the developments on and the uses of the land, contemplates the performance of this planning function largely by public action through public governmental instrumentalities. To be effective in attaining influence upon governmental conduct, any concept must be represented by some organism or agency in the governmental set-up. No amount of learning about contagious disease and the value of quarantine is effective unless the application of this learning is committed to some organism in the structure of the government, such as a board of health. In order that the theories and principles of planning can be translated into actual influences upon or controls of the uses to be made of the land of the city, region, state or nation, there must be organisms within the local, state and national governmental structure whose special function it is to nurse and apply these theories and principles. The challenge directed at the planning commission, as when, in the interest of so-called economy, the appropriation for the expenses of the commission are withdrawn, is necessarily a challenge to the planning concept to justify itself. If planning be a necessary functional or val-

uable activity, then the necessity for or value of the creation, preservation and strengthening of the planning agency follows as a matter of course.

What, then, is the special function of planning which none of the traditional governmental activities supplies and without which the other governmental activities will fail to produce effective results in terms of social welfare? Planning renders at least three types of service, none of which are or can be rendered by other forms of governmental activity.

One of these is in supplying the factor of adjustment or coordination among the multiplicity of ideas, activities, interests, specialties and emphases which, by reason of variations in fields of learning, experience, and economic or intellectual interest, the people and officials of any community possess, apply and press. Numerous examples will occur to any of us. For instance, the coordination between street location and the zoning system. In the case of any proposed street there are special interests, knowledge or enthusiasms concerning the street which cause an emphasis upon a proposed location of the street. These conflict with the views of those more intent upon maintaining the efficacy of the zoning. The result is likely to be uneconomic in terms of both material and social costs, unless there is an adjustment based upon some intelligent principle which is more than mere guesswork. It is the function of planning to furnish and apply the principles of adjustment among a multiplicity of conflicting interests and special municipal requirements which bear upon every proposal involving the distribution of the uses of the land within the corporate area.

A second necessary element in the making of decisions, without which the results will fail to yield the attainable social and material benefits, is that of foreseeing the future rather than allowing the decision to be based only upon factors which are immediately visible. We know the pressure which is brought upon legislative bodies, such as municipal councils, to treat the existing developments as decisive or to treat something new as valuable because it produces an increase of one item in the tax duplicate. A counteracting influence opposing this pressure is a necessity. Otherwise these problems will not be solved in such a way as to produce stable and valuable results. Many illustrations come to mind. One session of this Conference was devoted to the subject of the blighted district. The blighted district problem was treated exclusively as a housing problem. But the redevelopment of a blighted district cannot be solved intelligently without gathering and interpreting the data and making some decisions

concerning the future location and distribution of industry. How can one know whether the redevelopment of the blighted district should or should not be for housing unless one knows where industries are to be located. Consideration of the future as it relates to the decisions of the present is another necessary element furnished by planning.

A third service is that of gathering and studying data and information under conditions of freedom, and detachment from pressure for speed or compromise. Administrative and legislative officials are exceedingly busy. Each day's problems must be solved by them under time pressure. The environment furnishes no opportunity for what we may call research. In order that information which they should have for intelligent decision may be available to them, some agency must be free to engage in thorough and intellectually honest research. This is, of course, a function of planning.

The need for planning, therefore, the justification for it as a concept and as a method, arises from the necessity that these three elements or factors of adjustment or coordination, of injection of the thought of the future into the problems of the present, and of the free research into the facts of present and future; these three at least should be applied to the actual day-to-day decisions regarding the uses of the lands and the waters and the resources of our cities, regions, states and nation.

Planning principles apply to situations of what might be called tension; not necessarily open or angry tension, but the more or less conscious or militant tension which is produced by the fact that the individuals concerned in the making or results of each decision have different economic and intellectual interests, training in different fields, different enthusiasms. For example, the city or the state government has many administrative departments, each of which has a special knowledge in and enthusiasm for its own field. A proposed street location may conflict with a proposed playground or invade a park which the park department believes should remain free from the invasion. The very existence of administrative departmental subdivision tends to produce division rather than coordination. Then several governmental units may operate in the same territorial units. The state's highway system enters the territory of the city and is capable of interfering with the zone plan of that city. These conflicts of interest or enthusiasm or knowledge require that there be a planning agency with the position and information to qualify it as a harmonizing process.

Then there is in every question the conflict or tension between

the present and future. For instance, when a bad traffic situation has developed on a certain street, the traffic department is likely to see in that situation the present inadequacy of the width of that street and to press for a widening there. The study of the future, however, might show that inadequacy to be merely a temporary situation for which a future development at some other point is a better remedy. Pressure of unemployment relief might point to placing a housing development on a site visibly dilapidated where the practical details of getting that site and building new houses can be quickly carried out. A more careful study might show that conditions elsewhere in the city, together with discoverable trends, will speedily produce new blight of the proposed site and that, in the long run, more stable good housing and better municipal economy would be obtained by a slower and more thorough process of selecting the site by means of the methods of planning.

There is always present, at every moment of the day and night, in city hall, state house, national capitol and everywhere else, the conflict between political considerations and scientific or expert considerations. By "political" I do not mean "partisan," but the hearkening to the clamor of the moment, decisions made by easy compromise between pressure groups. In order that the mistakes in these decisions may be reduced, the factor of expertness of science needs to be injected to a greater degree.

The time available for the program of this Conference is too short to allow further elaboration of this analysis. Perhaps this brief statement of the necessity for and the justification of planning as a part of governmental activity has been sufficient to demonstrate that if we are to obtain from the administrative and legislative activities of our national, state and local governments results which, in terms of material or social costs and benefits, justify the expenditure of the monies and energies which go into the processes of government, there is a necessity both for the performance of this function of planning and for the creation and activity of special organisms within the structure of our various governmental units for carrying out this function.

This is of the greatest importance to all of us, at least to those of us who wish to preserve a fundamentally democratic method of conducting public affairs. The complexity of the problems of today, urban and rural, the capacity which all sorts of groups and interests have for making themselves heard and the tendency to treat each question as an emergency, will break down the democratic method of operation unless city councils, state legislatures, the national con-

gress, city, state and national administrations and the public are willing that the application of the principles and methods of what we call planning be injected into the governmental process. Planning, if recognized and accepted and given its place, will be a preservative of our traditional democratic political constitution.

The type of agency which has been developed for this planning function is the planning commission. It may or may not prove to be the best form in the long run, but at the present stage it is in most places, no doubt, the best form of agency. When a new type of activity is required, the older governmental agencies are not prepared, psychologically or technically, for its acceptance. But the development of its use as a custom and tradition can be promoted widely by means of a new agency. For instance, the Civil Service Commission was a necessity in the establishment and gradual acceptance of the merit system as the traditional and customary method of the selection of civil servants. Here and there this tradition may reach such a degree of permanence and strength that the commission form of agency is no longer needed, and the application of the merit system can be placed in the personnel department of the administration. But in the long period of recognition, acceptance, and developing of methods and tradition, this special commission type of agency is most practicable.

The planning department, as a coordinating agency for all administrative departments, obviously needs to be separate from these departments. There is seldom in the structure of any government a single executive who is the chief executive of all administrative departments and to whom the planning department can be attached and still perform its function. This may not be true in the Nation, for in the Presidency we have an office which heads all administrative activities. It is practically never true in the cities or in the counties and, of course, cannot occur in the region. For instance, the City of Cincinnati has a city manager form of government with an exceptional degree of centralization of executive authority; but even there some administrative departments are not under the manager.

The planning commission is an advisory or research agency for the legislative branch as well as for the administrative. There is no single governmental unit which has the entire jurisdiction over the development of any territory. Here where we sit today the land is more or less subject to control by a city government, a county government, a school government, a state government and a national government, and the coordination of their decisions through planning principles and methods is necessary. At the present stage of the planning movement and with the present governmental organization, the best struc-

tural arrangement would seem to be a planning department of the commission type and separate from any other department. It might be well, however, under conditions existing in special places to experiment with the single head type; that is, a planning department with a single head like other departments.

Time does not permit extensive detailed consideration of the composition of the planning agency. In the city or other local unit, the mixture of *ex officio* and citizen members is practical. The meeting place being within easy reach, the citizen member can be active, and the contact as between citizen and *ex officio* member fruitful. In the state, the problems of the composition of the commission is more difficult. The citizen members are apt to live at a distance from the meeting place and therefore to attend less frequently, thus giving *ex officio* members a disproportionate power. The state planning movement is still too young to have furnished sufficient experience for solving this problem. So far the national government has furnished in most states all the expert and staff services. The states have not been put to much of a test as to the strength of the recognition and establishment of planning as a regular part of their governmental process. For the time being, we must experiment with the planning commission composed largely of the citizen members with some *ex officio* representation of the administration and possibly of the legislature.

Without the public planning agency there can be no making of the plan. But the mere making of the plan, even if the community has sufficient wisdom and character to go that far, is not enough. The drawing up of programs is insufficient if their effectiveness is to depend entirely upon the willingness of others to read and use them. Something more must be a part of the process than the mere drawing up of the plans or the sending of advice when advice is sought. There is need for some process or system by which, with a considerable degree of regularity, the advice must be sought and considered. This is the purpose of those provisions of the model planning laws and of many actual statutes which specify that the legislative and administrative organs shall not have power to decide finally on locations of new public improvements or places or of zoning amendments or the like without receiving and considering the advice of the planning board.

The application of the state planning commission to specific projects presents greater difficulties than in the case of the localities. As yet there has not been sufficient experience upon which to base opinion and prophecy. The model laws which have been drafted and the

statutes which have been enacted define the scope of the state plan, but leave its application largely to the chance that, by reason of the personality of the commissioners and the moral and intellectual quality of their work, planning techniques will be sought and followed by the governors, the executive department and the general assemblies. An experimental beginning has been made in the field of state planning. It has produced the exceedingly valuable reports of the state planning consultants. There is still a stage of trial and error to go through in the matters of the composition, powers and methods of state planning agencies.

In the case of the Nation, the answer is simpler and is contained in the bill now before the United States Senate, which attaches the planning board to the office of the President and leaves to him the uses to be made of its reports and advices.

The provisions of the planning laws which require, before final decision be made on the location and extent of any public improvement or zoning change, that the report of the planning commission must be sought and received and a two-thirds vote of the legislative body must be obtained for over-ruling the advice of the planning commission, have been criticized as grants of administrative power to the planning board. Whether this accusation is correct turns entirely upon one's definition of the word "administrative," and if the accuser uses "administrative" to include the power granted to the planning commission, there still remains the question whether the grant is good or bad. However, where an agency does not possess the power of final decision, that agency's power is, in the last analysis, advisory. If a national planning board writes a report setting up a program for waterways development during the following fifty years, to which program the governmental departments which make the decisions as to what shall or shall not be built give such influence as they choose and no more; or if the planning board of, say Pittsburgh, advises that the ordinance which will be before the city council in the following week be amended so as to make Jones Street 60 feet wide instead of 50 feet, which advice the council is not required to follow—is not the function of these planning boards essentially advisory in both instances? The fact that the one board writes its fifty-year advice in one report, whereas the other board sends its advices weekly, does not disprove the essentially advisory nature of the performance of both boards.

The justification for the continuous, week-to-week advices must come from the fact that this additional agency, the planning board, has something valuable to contribute which is not possessed by and cannot, in the nature of things, be possessed by the other agencies.

That means that the planning commission should develop a comprehensive plan to serve as the basis upon which its specific pieces of advice upon specific projects are developed. If its data and its methods were the same as those of the legislative and administrative departments, then this additional agency would not be justified. If, for instance, in passing upon a zoning amendment it counts the neighborhood pro-noses and the neighborhood con-noses and possesses no general plan or planning standards, then it would be a superfluous duplicate. It should have upon its staff one who, by virtue of his education and experience, is a specialist in the planning approaches and techniques, as distinguished from the approaches and techniques usually present in and appropriate to the administrative departments. Comprehensive planning as the basis for the integration applied to many specific proposals, a planning staff equipped with special training, and a fund of useful and very valuable data, and all this set up as an advisory and informational agency negates the charge that the grant to planning commissions of the right to participate in the application of plans and planning to administrative decisions makes the planning organ just another administrative agency.

AN EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM FOR PLANNING

MARSHALL N. DANA
Chairman, District No. 11, National Resources Committee

The addition of planning to education and of education to planning has become a more emphasized necessity as experience lengthens and broadens. Education can, however, be a cooperative, contributive and creative agency in planning only as its instruction, student guidance and objectives are expertly harmonized with planning. As a training process it may well be a part of a planning process for itself and for its products.

The search for facts and the adventuring for truth that people may know and use knowledge in organizing materials, setting up the controls, and weaving government, business and trade into a mechanism sufficient for progress—these compelling incentives become inspiring expectations not only to the student in school, but to the student of life.

A program of education for planning ought to be the next step in the planning program. It calls for the planning of education. It argues for direct and definite inclusion of educational divisions in planning organizations. It should go beyond the school room and include the public. Careful distinction should be made between education and propaganda.

The education of educators and citizens to be planners is not enough. The education of planners to be educators is desirable. Planners ought to be freed from the impatience so often roused by the crass notion that research properly may be linked to application. They may even realize that the pure delights of graphic charts are legitimate parents to the dam and the riveting machine. Scientific investigation may suitably produce the water conservation program and the project of land redemption.

Planning must gain the common touch. In necessary sequence are public understanding, confidence and support, beyond which planners, no matter how eager, may go only far enough to mark the way. Only informed people can plan well and use well the means of abundance. To the National Resources Board a suggestion is therefore submitted. The National Resources Board has performed a work of commanding and historic importance, both to present and future generations, in its inventory of water and land and other physical

resources, and its studied program of development for the benefit of the American people.

Let the National Resources Board now set up an educational planning project. Let it be done on the level of the water inventory and land classification. Let it summon the best qualified persons in the country to prepare a program of education for planning, accurate pedagogically, but likewise alive and challenging to the mass mind. Let it be a program national in scope but intimately related to divisional and local needs.

An educational program for planning will infer that orderly development and use of physical and human resources have been made permanently a part of the processes of government and the practices of the people. It will mean that planning is more than a spasm or an impulse, and that the vitality of the idea today will live in the values of tomorrow. It will aid in the planning of government. It will necessitate the planning and coordination of education. It will help convince legislatures and other financing agencies of the practical values of education and educational institutions.

An educational program for planning will deal with tomorrow's users of the facilities created today. It will create in them an awareness of opportunity, reduce the abruptness of transition from school to life and give them less feeling of strangeness upon entry into the world of work. It will go farther. It will impart to the mature persons in the thick of action an understanding of the meaning and the inter-relationships of research and development.

It will present planning as essentially a community affair, protective of the home and the neighborhood as the primary groups upon which so much of the American tradition is founded. It may aid in the accomplishment of a necessity constantly more imperative in the view of those who seek an improved order not by scrapping, but by using the machinery of democracy effectively and in accord with original purpose. It may aid in reinterpretation of the profit motive to include recognition that the well-being of the individual may best be had cooperatively and by way of the well-being of others. Here is drawn in a modern community the distinction between truly civilized persons and barbarians wearing the trappings of civilization.

A program of education for planning would naturally suggest the production of trained leadership, but it ought to suggest another element equally valuable—an informed following.

It will support the effort to meet immediate needs. One of these is security. Another is defense against state and municipal graft. A

third is the coordination of agencies. Separate agencies may plan for themselves, but only public policy and controls can hitch all forces to the same end of the wagon of progress.

A planning project naturally evolves from scientific research and analysis into campaigns for accomplishment. A charted course will be clearest and safest. Basic and essential facts and truth will be more easily discerned. As a newspaperman I have found that if a thing is needed, if it is right, if the word about it is spread systematically and persistently, if one keeps his temper, refuses a house to skepticism and discouragement, if he employs the vital energy of enthusiasm and keeps at it everlastingly, it will be done. Effort at first seems futile, the public apathetic. But sentiment will be aroused. Then it will amaze even the crusader with its energy, its generosity and its momentum. That is when causes become vogues—and whether they are cast into policy, practice and institution will be settled by whether they stand the test of results.

An educational program for planning will be contributive not only in the school and college course, but in public understanding. It may train a few to be professional planners; it should train all to understand the value of planning. The prospect is then for comradeship in effort on the part of educators, scientists and laymen. And I speak again for emphasis of the value of designating the vocations most useful in studied research and development, as well as the approximate number of trained persons needed in each. An orderly technology ought to find essential work for every qualified person.

The Problem

A program of education for planning presents problems. Our teachers, many of whom were trained fifteen to twenty-five years ago, are called upon for revision of methods. The direct relation of education to life's activities is not always readily seen. Dr. John Dewey recently said that the correction of error and the prevention of repetition are duties that may be shared by the teaching profession. And he added:

> "Teachers have been slow to recognize this fact. They have felt that the character of their work gave them a special position, marked off from that of the persons who work with their hands. In spite of the fact that the great mass of their pupils come from those who work with their hands on farms, in shops and in factories, they have maintained an aloof attitude toward the primary economic and political interests of the latter. . . . the business of teachers is to produce the goods of character, intelligence and skill."

The texts of education for planning are yet largely to be written. Guidance of students is new, perhaps fortunately. Certainly

we will agree that the breadth of planning calls for broad general training in order to contribute to the instincts for coordination. To build specialization on a broad foundation will prevent the loss of wide view and tolerance.

The interweaving of planning with vocational training should produce positive values. The planners of today fall into their work mostly from engineering, architecture, landscaping, agriculture, city planning, political science and economics. Many planners will continue to come from these specialized fields, but they should come with broad knowledge of planning as a whole, and of its relationships to their specialties.

Educators must decide where planning fits best, but is there any reason for arbitrary delimitation? And should texts be restricted to pedagogical tomes? May they not include such reports as the National Resources Board has made, the record of planning conferences, surveys, briefs, newspapers, magazines, radio and every other form of the written and spoken word? How can education better meet its duty to present instructionally and create inspiringly an awareness of opportunity? And a text for planning may be a power dam in full use, a city well built, or a nation with a recovery program governed by plan.

Education Enters

Let me voice appreciation.

Education is beginning to give evidence of realization that planning is a factor in national, state and local government and economic and social programs. Its intrinsic purpose is not changed by planning.

The purpose of education is to prepare people for useful and happy lives.

The purpose of planning is to attain these ends by orderly processes applied to natural and human resources.

Very early in the planning program for the Pacific Northwest we were turned to the schools and colleges by our hope for successful research and development of the Columbia Basin States. There we found the men and women of scientific bent who had the disinterested public viewpoint, and who, if they did not have, would be the better for the common touch. There we found the boys and girls, the young men and women, hundreds of thousands of them, who would be the heirs and the users of the facilities to be created today.

To create in them a sense of familiarity with opportunity in its specific terms promised the human link necessary to close the gap between research and application.

And while seeking to accept idealism and altruism, it seemed desirable to impart to planning a meat, bread and butter appeal that would reach through to the man on the street. One reason I believe in planning and in education for it is to bring a simple diagram of effective and happy living nearer to plain people. It may be disarming to ruthless individualism, but children may begin early to understand the place that a noble and logical diagram may have in purpose and accomplishment.

> " 'Tis education forms the common mind,
> Just as the twig is bent the tree's inclined."

A Pacific Northwest Experience

We have had the cooperation of all the institutions of higher learning and many of the schools in Montana, Idaho, Washington and Oregon.

Colleges and universities have undertaken or discussed research projects. We are preparing to generate large blocks of power. Study of the effect of power upon general water and land use, forestry and mineral development, upon homes, and cities, upon industry and transportation—upon the area of individual opportunity—has become a most practical necessity as construction proceeds. Application for an industrial survey of power markets and general development was substantially premised upon college and university cooperation.

The planning of a city, a county, or a locality, the planning of a state, the planning of a region with state and federal cooperation, and the planning and organization of the people themselves—these were the initial duties.

Educational participation was admirably set forth in the statement by our regional consultant, Roy F. Bessey, in the report of the first year's work of the Pacific Northwest Regional Planning Commission. I recommend the reading of the whole, but quote two paragraphs:

> "In connection with planning in general, education must gauge the movement, estimate the needs of the present and the future, develop the indispensable arts and sciences, and furnish leadership. Assuming that more services and controls will be expected of government, education should aid in meeting the need for higher standards and more scientific and professional employment in civil service on all of the levels of government. Education must recognize in advance the trends in industries of all kinds, in agriculture,

in the fields of public welfare, relief, health and safety, in social and economic insurance, and in planning itself, and provide for vocational guidance and for the training of personnel.

"It may be that the Pacific Northwest is entering upon a new era of empire building, but it is not necessary that the industrialization process include the grievous social, cultural and aesthetic errors of the past. A raw empire can be built with less than the full man-power available. The basic means, human and material, are at hand for aesthetic and cultural progress to keep pace with physical and economic development. Much of the responsibility for such parallel movement rests upon education."

Homes of the Future

Through the Educational Committee, inquiry was instituted as to the effect upon the area of individual opportunity to be anticipated from the facilities and structures provided incident to the recovery and planning programs.

We asked what would be the place of the home in the future of the Pacific Northwest. It had been stated that the primary groups—home, neighborhoods and communities—are being dissolved under the pressure of modern civilization. That recent trends have been toward their dissolution. That scientific inventory of these groups, particularly the home, would be desirable, charting their values in relation to various economic and social changes and trends.

The extended outline of this project was sent to numerous study groups, women's organizations and schools throughout the Pacific Northwest. There were prompted, in turn, addresses, conferences and discussions that have tended to awaken understanding of the fact that the primary groups should be stimulated and protected by the program of construction and development if planning plays its proper part.

Pointing the Way

Today, it must be confessed that to teach planning well we must make more progress in planning in the schools and in our dealings with the public. We haven't the qualified teachers in necessary number, but we yet may have. We haven't full complement of leaders, but they will appear. We may emphasize geographic unity in the planning program. We may take up trade relationships and mutual needs. We may make planning education graphic. Education may enjoy its own benefits from well planned uses of the forests, the fisheries and the development of power. It may help bring about the needed law for public planning organization and for zoning, under the fine democratic principle that a man shall not be destructive to the rights and safety of his neighbor.

Lastly, a program of education for planning, beginning with professional planners, may lead to the popular conviction that real and lasting values are to be had; that planning is better than chaos, and that people can be happy doing the things that make happiness. We can show that deep desires of human beings are within reach. That water can be held from flood and erosion and made useful in sanitation, power, industry, transportation, recreation and domestic requirements. That land may be used for its fertility, assured by study and classification. That wasteful use of minerals and forests may be substituted by a sane policy nationally applied. That when public institutions are built, public works installed and facilities provided for industry, trade and commerce, these may function smoothly through coordination. That not to plan means losses in bread and meat, and that to do so means life at a higher level of subsistence and happiness.

An educational program for planning means a planning organization devoted to education. Each person on staff or committee must be an educator; hence each must constantly submit to educational and expansive processes. Planning may be fixed only in principle. It must be flexible in practice.

Closely associated with education in planning are the programs of research and the plans for use that go along with the building of facilities. Only planning can properly relate the uses and functions of plants and facilities necessary to the activities and satisfactions of the people.

Until planning is allowed its proper place in the educational program, we must plan more in the realm of theory than of practice, and the energy spent in planning must continue to be out of proportion to the results obtained.

And although a program of education for planning will command the sciences and technics, it is as simple and true in its goals as the most ancient hope of man. It deals with the instinct for home, the desire for a piece of good ground, the hope for a paying job, the ambition to be independent and secure, the resistance to monopoly and exploitation, the craving for change and play. It's the school room widened, the old friendly neighborhood broadened, the appreciation of beauty, and the love of kind expressed cooperatively. It is the inspiring idea that people are not helpless but may create the conditions that produce happiness and command destiny.

THE PLACE OF PLANNING IN MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION

HENRY B. STEEG, City Civil Engineer, Indianapolis

In this paper it will be my purpose to evaluate the benefits derived from and the necessity for proper planning in modern municipal government as evidenced by actual experience in the city I have the privilege of representing at this Conference.

Municipal government is each day growing more and more technical, and of consequence, more complex. A city is no longer a self-contained unit, having none but purely local problems to consider. We, who have interested ourselves in the practice of that science called "city planning," realized many years ago that, for the purpose of charting and guiding the growth of our communities, the area outside the corporate limits of our cities had to be investigated and studied in order that we might plan more intelligently for the future of that area within. Regional planning then, of necessity, had to come into being. Regions themselves bore definite relationships to each other; had problems that linked in with and were dependent upon the problems of other regions. And so, from the small nucleus of a few city planning commissions we have seen our country grow more "planning conscious." Today we have hundreds of local planning commissions, a growing number of state planning boards, and a national planning agency, all working together towards a common goal—that of giving to each citizen of this country a better chance to prosper, to live more comfortably, and to be happy.

In this growing planning program, it is, in my opinion, the local unit—the city planning commission—that plays the most vital role of all. It is this agency which comes into more intimate contact with the public; it is this body that is more closely associated with the daily life and habits of our citizens; and it is this body, more than any other, upon which the success of the entire program depends. Therefore, the local commission must be constantly on guard to prevent the alienation of public support by its own acts. It can spend thousands of dollars to make studies and prepare comprehensive plans for re-planning of old sections and the development of new ones. The final plan may be beautiful and well thought-out, but so economically unsound and expensive that the community will not be financially able to carry it out without bankrupting itself. The commission cannot for one minute overlook the capacity of the citizens to pay. Any idea suggested that cannot stand the light of

close inspection to prove its practicability and economic soundness will result in unfavorable publicity and the cause of planning in that community will suffer. The truth of this statement has been demonstrated in several cities.

No one questions the need for sound, practical planning in the make-up of our municipal governments. Its necessity is just as great as that of a Police Department. Any citizen, or group of persons, who permits the unplanned, haphazard development of a community is just as guilty of a crime contrary to public law and order as is a gang that raids a bank at the point of a machine gun. In both cases there is a loss—but which is the greater? The loss in the bank raid is trivial compared to the loss that is sustained by a community which permits slums to develop; that neglects to furnish proper parks and playgrounds for its citizens; that neglects to insure proper arteries for its ever-increasing burden of traffic; and that hesitates to adopt zoning laws for the safe-guarding of property values. The economic loss that would be suffered by such a city is one that no municipality possibly can afford. I believe that every city in this country, large or small, should have an active planning commission, maintaining if possible, a staff of one or more trained and qualified persons to prepare and keep up-to-date a sound, practical, comprehensive plan of long-range development, backed by the laws necessary to make the plan workable. It is vital that the membership of the planning commission be composed of intelligent, public-spirited men and women who can and must give liberally of their time, and whose only compensation will be the satisfaction of doing their duties so that all can say—"A good job well done."

The benefits of a sound, practical plan are too many to enumerate. Allow me to relate two examples which occurred in Indianapolis. We have tried to develop a planning program that would be within the capacity of the city to support financially. We have completed several projects on a basis of pay-as-you-go—all that the city could reasonably afford. Sometimes we were sorely disappointed that funds would not permit us to move faster, but we kept working on definite plans that would be available for immediate construction when and as circumstances permitted. Then one day came the announcement of the CWA program. On a Friday morning the Mayor announced that we would have to put 5,000 men to work on useful public projects the following Monday morning, and increase that number during the ensuing week until a minimum of 10,000 men were at work. The planning commission was ready. From our files we pulled complete plans and two flood prevention projects that were sorely needed which would give employment to more than 6,000

men. Other lesser projects were available and within ten days Indianapolis had taken care of her quota of men—most of whom were at work on projects that were of permanent value to Indianapolis, and were a part of the Commission's comprehensive plan. Indianapolis took advantage of CWA to do useful work and I believe that a large amount of credit is due the planning commission for having been prepared.

The second example that I would like to cite occurred the following year. The Chairman of our State Highway Commission called us together one day and announced that by the provisions of the Cartwright bill, which had just passed Congress, the Highway Commission was authorized to spend $750,000.00 within the corporate limits of Indianapolis. Could we suggest a program of construction? Could we prepare the program within ten days? Within two days the officials of Indianapolis not only had recommended projects utilizing the money, but had submitted complete surveys and plans on the most important parts of the work. As a result, the work in our city was started long before similar work in other Indiana cities. One of the projects completed has been universally accepted as the greatest municipal improvement ever undertaken in Indianapolis.

I am sure that every city having an active planning commission can relate incidents similar to the ones I have mentioned. Experience has led me to believe that sound, practical planning practice is an investment in the present and future welfare of the modern city, and that every dollar expended will return to that city dividends in the way of healthful living conditions, beautiful communities, cheerful working conditions and an efficient, economical administration.

THE PLACE OF PLANNING IN STATE ADMINISTRATION

WILLIAM E. O'BRIEN, Chairman
Wisconsin Regional Planning Commission

The object of government is to plan wisely the use of the generous gifts of nature to build for citizens a homogeneous state which will be physically, economically, and socially sound. Achievement of this result is dependent upon intelligent coordination of numerous factors affecting the social and physical development of the state. Coordination has long been recognized as a fundamental principle of planning.

Statesmanship anticipates the results that legislation will produce upon society. In order to enact comprehensive laws, the legislature should have all the available information as to the past and future trends of population, transportation, education, health, recreation, industry, taxation, and economic resources. It is necessary to have an inventory of these subjects, in order to produce recommendations which may be classified and known as city, county, and state planning.

The geographic background of the state includes studies relative to location, geology, climate, rainfall, fertility of soil, deposits of mineral, timber resources, water power, transportation, potential markets, and recreational facilities. In short, a complete inventory of the state should be made with a view to developing a potential wealth and the conserving of the natural resources.

Population studies are of prime importance in all branches of government. There is a constant shifting of the inhabitants of a district, public improvements, building of schools, highways, recreational areas, housing facilities, and all public enterprises which impose themselves for a long period of time, which necessitates not only an analysis of population trends, but the existence of such trends over a period of time. For example, in the case of schools, a study of the age-group composition of the population is essential so that we shall not arrive at a point where we have an abundance of schools and few pupils.

Information on occupational trends and relief requirements in districts, together with the economic status of the population, is necessary before public officials can comprehensively plan relief work and taxation, especially if the state relies upon income tax as a source of revenue.

Taxation

Government is a great operating agency supplying public service at cost. The administration of government is based on taxation-produced revenues with which to operate. Economic studies of taxation should be based on a financial analysis of the smaller units of government that go to make up the county, state, and nation. This type of investigation in Wisconsin reveals several interesting facts. The problem—the excess state moneys raised in a given county, as against the excess state aids received—was approached through the following factors:

State aids received: Highway, educational, charitable, and forest crop aids; poor relief aids from surtax; county fair aids; and the highway privilege tax.

State monies raised: Motor vehicle license fees, gas tax, based on the percentage of motor vehicle license fees in dollars, utility tax, inheritance tax, emergency relief tax, teachers retirement surtax, malt liquor tax, normal income tax and forest crop tax. In the compilation of the figures in the 71 counties of the state, 33 raised more state taxes than were needed for operation and 38 counties received the benefit of this excess tax raised in the prosperous counties. The survey also indicated that the lowering of the real estate tax levy was more prevalent in the counties receiving the greatest amount of state aid.

It should be the aim and object of the government to create self-sustaining smaller units. In order to do this it is necessary to make a further study based on the following three points: First, the status of the governmental cost. This can best be ascertained by a uniform reporting to the State Tax Commission. Information should be available as to the comparative basis for both receipts and expenditures of all work performed by each political subdivision. This should give the administrative officials of the smaller units correct knowledge of administration and should help to correct any errors or inequalities which may exist.

Second, are the smaller units now raising locally all the funds they can reasonably be expected to produce on an equal level with other counties not requiring aid? In answering this question the discovery was made that some counties had decreased their local real estate tax 57 per cent, while others had decreased the tax levy three per cent. From this we can draw the conclusion that either the counties with the large reduction were once extravagant or that they are not now raising enough money to meet their needs, thus depending upon state aids to carry on their government.

Third, what plan can be developed to make these counties, including all political subdivisions, self-sustaining? A county requiring outside aid may have a large percentage of dependent area. If the dependent area is segregated and plans made to develop it in the proper manner, the remaining portion of the county will immediately become self-supporting. If state-aid money is being spent in areas which are not self-supporting, it should be with a view to carrying out a long-time program which will produce the desired results. This naturally leads to zoning. Otherwise all newcomers, as well as young people now growing up, will face burdens which they have no chance of carrying. This subject will be discussed later under the heading of "Land-Use"; but as a general summation we might say that careful planning is the only method of putting these areas to their proper use so as to make them an asset to the state.

As a general rule government is a large business which has not developed or kept pace with our social and business advances. Our system of township, village, city and county units remains the same as originally founded, but the trend is for the small unit to depend more and more on the larger unit of government for assistance. Now more regulatory authority must be invested in the state and county units in order to produce uniformity of records and expenditures. A centralization of the responsibility of administrative authority will result.

Education

From the planning point of view, population in its composition and movement and its effect upon the selection of proper school sites comes within the scope of the program proposed by engineers who direct or coordinate a city, county, or state plan. An efficient and economical physical plan is a primary requisite for a sound educational system. Information must be assembled on the subject and studies indicate that the matter of school aids, curricula, teaching needs, housing, and finance are problems of such moment that they must be boldly handled and analyzed without sentiment.

In Wisconsin the most troublesome problem centers around the rural district school and the high school without financial support. Present transportation facilities make it possible to combine many school districts with a considerable improvement in administration, teaching and educational value to the students. Enrollment and attendance at some of the schools is so small that excessive high costs per pupil are unavoidable. Investigation reveals the fact that an enrollment of from 26 to 35 pupils is most desirable. Consolidation of rural schools on this basis would reduce the number of units by

about 1,750 at an annual saving of approximately one and one-half million dollars.

The rural high school problem is most acute in the sparsely settled areas, again raising the question of population trends, land-use, and the planning of all types of rural education.

The Wisconsin Regional Plan Report of 1934 sets forth much valuable information on public school finances, teacher training, the supply of qualified instructors and school transportation, with definite ideas for the improvement of the public school system. In this country we have accepted the idea that school boards should be free from political influence, but there has grown up such a multiplicity of boards and officers as to produce an unwieldy body of doubtful value to the administration of the educational problem.

Quoting from the 1934 Regional Plan Report:

> "The Wisconsin public school system is organized into approximately 7,400 school districts having an average area of seven square miles, involving approximately 20,000 educational positions and administered by approximately 25,000 school board members. In only two other states, namely New York and Illinois, is the average area of school districts less than seven square miles. The types of schools operated within the local school districts are rural schools, state graded schools, high schools, village school systems, and city school systems."

The educational problem needs a great deal of study and must be solved along more simplified lines in order to give the same instruction with a decreased cost.

Public Health

Public health has a bearing upon every branch of governmental activity. Health officials have much to their credit in the past and now look to the future with confidence to solve new problems. A campaign of public health education, especially among those of school age, has been a practical program producing lasting results, inasmuch as it has promoted intelligent public cooperation with the efforts of the public health officials.

The present pressing problem in the health field is to control stream pollution by villages, cities and industry. The solution lies in a well-planned program with definite recommendations involving chemical analysis, capital expenditures for plants, construction of intercepting sewers, and sewerage reduction equipment. Other branches of government might well follow the example of the health officials in their educational campaign.

Industry

During the depression we have learned the value and position of industry in our economic life. This phase of our social structure is most interesting. The early history of Wisconsin shows that its industries were founded and built upon the vast resources of the virgin forests. Lacking a conservation program to protect the natural resources of the state, the forests were finally depleted and with them passed all the allied industries of lumber and wood-working mills. The citizens who amassed fortunes from the Wisconsin forests have nearly all left the state. The stumps of the once stately pines and oaks are monuments to the greed of men, and ignorance of the need and value of conservation of the natural resources of the state. The lumber industry was succeeded by factories using iron and steel as their basic raw materials, while the cut-over lands developed into dairy farms. Now Wisconsin is known both as an industrial and agricultural state.

The prime factors in developing industry are wages, cost of living, labor supply, industrial power, taxing policy, and the quality and aims of the governing body. A comparison of these factors in one state with a competing state gives a great deal of valuable information. For example, the states of Michigan, Illinois, Ohio, Minnesota, and Wisconsin are very much alike in their agricultural and industrial development; the only way to discover which is the most advantageous to capital for future investments is in comparing the factors named.

To follow this thought further: Wisconsin's constitution prohibits issuing bonds for anything except military purposes; therefore it has no outstanding obligations and its taxing policy is on a cash basis. Our neighboring state to the south, Illinois, can bond for public improvements, which it has done. The one state has no fixed charges; its neighbor has a large carrying charge of interest and principal to be paid. A comparison of factors such as these will show which future location is the best from an industrial standpoint.

Land-Use

The 1934 Regional Plan Report of Wisconsin describes the physical basis of Wisconsin agriculture very definitely:

> "The play of geological forces has made Wisconsin a most varied state. Unlike the Corn Belt where there are large areas of similar soils and physical conditions, our State has many and sharply defined areas. The glaciers overran the northern and eastern parts, producing soils, topography, river systems, lakes and swamps peculiar to a glaciated region. On the other hand they avoided the southwestern part. Here geological forces were permitted

to operate undisturbed and the 'Driftless Area' stands out in sharp contrast to the rest of the state with its plateau-like 'ridges,' steep hillsides and deep-river valleys. Other features are responsible for the central plain, glaciated at both the eastern and western ends, but the central portion once formed the bed of 'Lake Wisconsin.' The northern part, which is merely a projection of the Laurentian Shield of Canada, is a highland region sloping southward. In the north central part lies the Highland Lakes region which is the source of seven rivers and, with only three other places on the globe, shares the distinction of having more lakes to the square mile than any other area. Finally there is the small Superior Lowland with short drainage basins sloping northward."

In Wisconsin the land has been graded into four distinct classes: Grade A has a range of 75 to 100 per cent of the assumed highest value. The soils are in a limestone area where the growing season is from 130 to 170 days and comprise 20 per cent of the area of the state. Grade B has a range between 40 and 75 per cent of the assumed highest value—the growing season is approximately 100 days—and comprises about 25 per cent of the area of the state. Grade C has a range between 10 and 40 per cent of the assumed highest value with a growing season of 110 days and comprises 30 per cent of the state area. Grade D land is non-agricultural, but has variable values for forestry, recreational and other uses.

Using the above comparison, further studies show that the Grade A and B areas contain 58 per cent of the land in farms, 68 per cent of the crop value, and 60 per cent of the farm population. On the other hand, the poor area is almost 4,000 square miles larger than the best area and has 12 per cent of the land in farms, seven per cent of the crop value, and 11 per cent of the farm population. In other words, if 18 million acres of poor land in Wisconsin were vacated and restored to forests it would affect less than 12 per cent of the farm acreage, seven per cent of the crop value and 11 per cent of the population. Wisconsin has approached this problem by county zoning, setting up two classifications; namely, agricultural and forest lands. This zoning ordinance prohibits establishing farms except in the areas suited for farming, with a view to solving the highway, school and taxation problems.

Transportation

Transportation which we know in terms of highways, airways, waterways, and railroads is an important factor in our planning development. The waterways and railroads are established and must remain in their present locations. Highways, however, will become more and more an economic factor as means of freight and passenger transportation. The highway problem is dependent upon popu-

lation studies and industrial expansion. The loads to be carried, the centers of population to be served and the future trends should govern the designs as to type and width of highway construction. The advent of the higher speed trains will also have an effect on highway locations and act as means to safeguard the citizens.

Leaving out law enforcement and the administration of charitable and penal institutions, I have tried to review briefly the major functions of government in order to bring out the vast number of problems facing the state administrations. It does not seem reasonable that the newly-elected legislator or state officer, who ran on a platform drawn by a sub-committee of the last convention, can be familiar with all the ramifications of the subject matter presented in a vast accumulation of bills proposed to be enacted into laws. Most of our lawmakers at heart are honest in trying to do a good job and are grateful for information bearing on proposed legislation.

One can review the past and speculate as to the future and cannot avoid recognizing the necessity for a keen perception of the accumulated facts and principles which come from research; but instead of speculating it is more logical to plan for the future.

Every state should have a trained planning staff, independent of all other departments and administered by the chief executive, which will furnish coordinated information on all departments of government, pertaining to the resources and conditions of all parts of the state. Newton Baker said in an editorial that "to govern is to foresee." Successful administration depends on action based on concise knowledge of all phases of problems confronting the government. A properly trained and constituted planning staff is free to think in non-political terms, to face all the facts and to make intelligent recommendations along with studies as they are required by the executive office. The successful continuation of a plan-policy from one administration to another can only be obtained through this method, where the same objective is being sought year after year with regard to state development.

THE PLACE OF PLANNING IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

CHARLES B. WHITNALL
President, Milwaukee Planning Commission

To speak to you on the subject assigned means to relate conclusions arrived at through experience plus a few anticipations for the future evolution of our Milwaukee plan.

Public administration covers all phases of public welfare, but we have been accustomed to think of "city planning" as pertaining to the physical development of the city only. While we still consider the physical plan fundamental, we realize that for the human value of a city plan, social and economic factors must be included. Therefore, our plan involves the coordinated responsibility of every official of an administration. From the start we have been as much interested in the social and economic development as we have been in the physical.

It occurs to me that to relate our experience quite briefly will be more apt to disclose a few points of interest to you, than for me to attempt to deliver a professional discourse, which would be rather inappropriate from me.

About thirty years ago our city government created the Metropolitan Commission, with appointed members, of which I was one. The express purpose of this Commission was to lay out a boulevard system. After a few months of deliberation, this Commission became convinced that boulevards should bear some relation to other features of a city's development. This induced a traffic study, which led to a plan for a civic center. Before final approval of this civic center plan, we invited Mr. Olmstead and Mr. Nolen to criticize the same. Later, when we were working on "zoning" we called on Mr. Bassett and Mr. Comey for assistance. The wisdom absorbed from these four gentlemen has been cherished, and as we continue in our local endeavor we appreciate their contribution more and more.

We became impressed with the menace of congestion, not only because of its obstruction to physical activities, but on account of the inflated land values which it created and the large indirect tax which it imposed, and which is borne unconsciously by the community. The incentive for this increase of the unearned increment, so much cherished by landlords and real estate brokers generally, had produced

many clusters of skyscrapers in our modern cities, which are a civic burden. But they have developed legally and cannot be counteracted by prohibition. However, the growth of zoning ordinances is an encouraging indication that the bad effects of congestion have been recognized. But we have not reached a "zoning control" that prevents non-conforming uses, which create extensive blighted areas. This means that planning has not, as yet, a secure position in public administration.

We had fixed our building height limit at 125 feet. Soon after, there came a high pressure demand for an additional few feet to permit the erection of a much-talked-of hotel, which would not be erected if the height limit was not increased. We finally amended the ordinance to permit a greater height than 125 feet, if the building area on the ground is decreased, or, to state the matter more accurately, if the cubical contents of the building are no greater than the 125 feet multiplied by the dimensions of the lot. We felt there might be some justification for a higher building if it were afforded an appropriate setting in the landscape.

We realized that to stem the tide of avarice for the unearned increment involved a tremendous task, largely because so few people comprehend the dilemma we are in, as everyone has become accustomed to the land values increasing under pressure of congestion, augmented by advertising.

Regional planning offered an escape, and we determined to make every effort to rescue the regions beyond our city and guide their development, if possible, so as to conserve human values, and at the same time afford greater efficiency in the conduct of business. We made a study of the human value of our natural landscape, and found the comparison something to ponder over, and presenting a problem in social economics which convinced us that we must save our natural landscape where it has not already escaped. It did not require much of a survey to convince us that there is a serious waste in the destruction of our natural landscape by the process of cutting and filling in, which is the engineer's usual mode of exercising his cleverness in providing as many lots for sale as possible at a price far in excess of their real value, due largely to the cost of destroying natural and wholesome contours.

This determination resulted in legislation which provided for a County Park Commission. As we already had a law providing for rural planning boards, the park law was made to provide that in counties where a County Park Commission was established, it was also to function as a rural planning board.

Shortly after this move, the City of Milwaukee concluded to keep its sewerage out of Lake Michigan, which is the source of its water supply. That necessitated intercepting sewers to prevent pollution of the rivers. This work was no sooner begun than we realized that all of our streams came into the city from the regions beyond and carried the regional sewerage into our streams. So we went to the Legislature again for a law creating the Metropolitan Sewerage Commission, with jurisdiction over all the county drainage that flowed into our Milwaukee rivers. We have three rivers and four creeks in Milwaukee County, all but one of which flow through the City of Milwaukee. Naturally enough the sewerage engineers decided upon the stream valleys for the location of their trunk sewers, while the County Park Commission immediately advocated the use of these valleys for a parkway, and claimed that the acquirement of land necessary would cost less than it would cost to build storm sewers.

Our arguments were convincing, and now by cooperation between the County Park Commission and the Metropolitan Sewerage Commission the trunk sewers are being laid along the stream valleys, of which there are 84 miles.

The Parkway plan, following these 84 miles of streams, was at first considered quite impractical by many, and too costly, and it required some educational work before we got started. But after the first two-mile unit paralleling our Menomonee River was completed, the plan became very popular and we have proven our point that it is cheaper to acquire this parkway land along the shores of the streams, and let the streams take care of the storm water, than it would be to construct storm sewers costing millions of dollars.

The parkways, with park areas along the streams, have created the most attractive residential areas out of lands that had but a trifling value for other uses, and the streams which had been used for the disposal of all sorts of rubbish have become beauty spots, with a charm that only a stream can claim.

About this time the county arterial traffic plan was introduced. It was a plan to establish certain widths for the important arteries of the county, and we made a special effort that the plan be understood by everyone interested, and for this purpose we undertook a real educational program.

For two winters we spent several evenings a week in conference with the various political units within the county, before the project was really understood and agreed to by the many officials interested on behalf of their small communities. However, this care and patience on our part has proven its value, for we have encountered no

opposition or antagonism and the widening of these various roadways has been progressing for the past ten years. As soon as the various road widths were adopted, signs were put up at intervals along the road, explaining the future width of the road and the action of the county Board was recorded and became a part of the record of the real estate affected, so that all purchasers of land were thus notified, and realized that no building could encroach upon the portion eventually to be taken for highway purposes.

The plan has been highly successful, and because it is quite well understood by everyone in the county that the arterial plan, as well as the parkway plan, covers the whole county impartially, there has been none of the jealousy and obstruction in their development that are so often found in undertakings of this kind. We consider it a most valuable feature of the undertaking that although there are nineteen political units in Milwaukee County, they are all harmonious in relation to parks, parkways and highways. They all pay a county tax, including the City of Milwaukee. In fact the city contributes 80 per cent of the county taxes.

The regional county development has been of greater benefit to the city than the accomplishments of the city itself—in fact the county plans originated in the city hall, and the city and county planning departments are neighborly.

One feature of the county parkway plan is proving to be extremely important, so much so that a determined effort will be made shortly to extend the same enterprise all the way into the city. I have reference to parking facilities.

Wherever there are attractions sufficient to induce the congregation of people, such as swimming pools and athletic sports, or nature study trails, adequate parking spaces are provided. They are screened by trees and shrubbery so as not to mar the landscape—they are a relief to people. We have no trouble in prohibiting parking on the main driveways, for we have provided something better. It has been extremely gratifying to note how naturally the auto owners take to this arrangement.

The City of Milwaukee was originally established in three units, divided by water courses—there was Kilbourn Town, Juneau Town and Walker's Point. Therefore, the city has never really been confined to one "down town." After the feuds of the early settlers died out, one local business area predominated, but since the planning board has existed we have encouraged these subsidiary centers; more particularly since we have studied zoning enforcement and growth

of blighted areas. We have now conceived the idea of making a blight-clearance close to each one of these business areas and of establishing an automobile park, ample in size and attractively landscaped to screen the residential area at one side, and facilitate business on the other.

It must be understood that the success of the first venture of this kind will create a demand that will necessitate the establishment of eight more auto parks in rapid succession. We are quite firm in our conclusion that it is the obligation of the city to provide space for autos standing still as well as when in motion, and the makeshift of parking at the curb defeats the utility of the auto.

We felt that we had done a pretty good job in Milwaukee County, but soon realized we could not stop there—that we must reach out beyond the county line.

Our Milwaukee River comes to us after flowing through three other counties, and when we found that our authority ended at the imaginary county line, we became convinced of the need of state autonomy. So we went to the legislature once more and asked for the creation of a State Planning Board. This we obtained, and the law was recently amended to conform with the suggestions of the Federal Government for State planning boards. In the state plan we also put forth the claim that the river valley should be the plan unit. A city is a part of a county, a county is part of a state, and the state is composed of valleys, with their natural water system.

All of the natural forces on which we are so dependent for our welfare function with reference to political boundaries of village, town, city or county. Important projects cannot always be confined within the limits of these political boundaries, and as projects of this kind usually benefit a large area there must be an autonomy that is greater than that granted to small communities. It is the responsibility of the state to accomplish that which its small subdivisions are unable to do, but in which the smaller communities can cooperate. Our State Planning Board is still in its infancy, and while it is organized and is busy preparing surveys and reports, there is little that it has actually accomplished. But we are hopeful of its future work, and feel certain of its value.

Our Planning Board's responsibility is more inclusive than is usual. It is known as the Public Land Commission, and includes in its personnel of five commissioners, our City Engineer and our Commissioner of Public Works, who are *ex officio* members under the law. Among our employees are the City Real Estate Agent, and his assist-

ants. This very naturally broadens the comprehension of city affairs. We have also had splendid cooperation from the Building Inspector, and his department.

Milwaukee is governed by a Mayor and a Board of Aldermen, the latter being composed of 27 aldermen, one representing each city ward. Although the Common Council retains its own committees, as it did before the creation of the Public Land Commission, every item that pertains to the city's physical plan, such as the sale or purchase of property, care of city property, zoning and platting, is referred to the Public Land Commission for advice before the Council Committees give it consideration. But they may either approve or reject our recommendations.

The Public Land Commission does not build bridges, roads, parks, or furnish materials or equipment, yet all these tangible things are inefficient and haphazard unless by proper planning they have been placed where they will function efficiently and harmoniously.

We have found that public officials, with an impulse towards economy, usually carry out that impulse by attacking the most vital spot of good city government, and begin by cutting down the financial support of the planning department. It is as reckless for a city government to weaken its planning department for the purpose of economy, as it would be for a sea captain to sail without a compass to save the expense of the instrument. If permitted to function coordinately the planning department should be the directorate of the city's physical, economic and social development.

Milwaukee was originally an agricultural center, but later developed into an industrial center of note, largely because a large number of skilled mechanics from Europe were attracted to it and settled there to make their homes. It is today the home of many mechanics, who are unusually skilled and intelligent, and we trust that by a careful adjustment of land-use in the city and its regions beyond, the future generations of Milwaukee's citizens will not only inherit the skill, intelligence and vigor of their forefathers, but, in the congenial environment, made permanent by careful planning, will advance to still greater achievement which should naturally follow the higher standard of living which the right environment will give them.

We have found that there is a greater economy in exerting our efforts towards providing a wholesome alternative than simply in prohibiting an existing menace. We are about ready to attack a prob-

lem of this kind in asking the completion of our arterial traffic system. We have provided arteries, and have said that:

(1) They save enormous traffic expense.

(2) They save wear, tear and noise on residential streets.

(3) They save time, and the burdensome cost of inflated land values due to congestion.

But by merely providing the arterial traffic system, and making no provision for the parking of autos, we are defeating the very purpose for which we provided the arteries. With parked cars filling both sides of the artery lines traffic is impeded; there is danger to through traffic from cars turning out to enter the traffic stream, and the width of the artery is lessened by the parked cars. We have reached the conclusion that any plan for arterial highways that does not provide adequate and convenient parking areas will be lamentably incomplete. We must provide some place for the auto when it is not moving. Most of our parking ordinances are an acknowledgment that the arterial plan is incomplete.

Our encouragement of decentralization during the past fifteen years has made Milwaukee more definitely a city of subsidiary business centers, of which there are now eight besides the original "downtown." Autos are constantly parked in front of residences for a block or more surrounding each of these centers, and are an annoyance and a cause of blight. These conditions indicate what should be provided for in the future, and should be heeded by those in authority. It was a lack of foresight not to recognize some years ago that the automobile not only had come to stay, but would grow increasingly popular both for business and pleasure; and that provision would have to be made for it both when moving and when stationary.

The time is rapidly approaching when we will find that we have to meet the same kind of problem with reference to air traffic, unless we heed our experience with the auto. We have a plan in Milwaukee that provides for a long distance railway terminal which will function intimately with an airport, accommodating both amphibian and land planes, and also with water traffic from Lake Michigan and the interurban terminal.

As I have stated before, I feel that we should now undertake to provide ample auto parks at each of our local business centers, and our Commission is about to propose this.

There will, doubtless, be much spirited discussion—especially about the expense. But we must keep in mind that there is no use having

parking ordinances unless conveniences are provided which will make it possible to observe desirable rules. Inasmuch as the community supporting the local business area will pay the cost eventually, why not now? This means actual auto parks in some places, and buildings in others. The "Motor-in" markets of Los Angeles are suggested. Where people congregate there will be autos, and to keep them off the highway means that there must be provision for a convenient auto park close by.

How shall these auto parks be financed? Shall they be financed by the Highway Department out of a gasoline tax? But however it is done, the community should not be put under interest-bearing obligation. I feel very keenly that our bonded indebtedness is a real menace to our communities, and I also feel that as planners we should discourage such bondage. We should realize that the human energy absorbed by the money lender is an indirect burden on a community, as destructive to its tranquillity as was the old superstition of witchcraft.

In Milwaukee we have done our part towards overcoming the burden of interest-bearing obligations—whether we will meet with success I do not know, but we have sown the seed, and it seems to be germinating. Two years ago the Common Council appointed a special Committee on Taxation and Financial Problems. A member of the Public Land Commission is on this Committee and is its chairman. The surveys made by this Committee have been intensely interesting and have dealt largely with the city's financial problems. It has sponsored the formula for the creation and use of Municipal National Currency and at our instigation 29 other municipalities have memorialized Congress, urging its adoption. The idea has also been taken up by the National Monetary Conference, Inc., recently organized, of which Robert L. Owen is the president. This organization has a following of several million thinking people who defend monetary equity. This plan for Municipal National Currency would do away with interest-bearing municipal obligations, and would save many millions a year in interest.

The Committee on Taxation and Financial Problems has also been studying the inter-relation of the various city departments, and from its findings it is fair to assume that administrations almost invariably direct the functioning of their various departments without any plan. While we, of course, recognize the importance of specialization, we are fast nearing the conclusion that no department of an administration should function as a little government of its own.

A city administration, or a regional administration, has an individuality of its own which it should maintain, all departments within it being subservient and functioning coordinately to make the city itself greater as a whole, rather than to boost a particular department. And only if, by coordination, each department head strives to perfect the mechanism of the whole administration can a city be truly great.

This Committee also concluded that with good and complete planning, whether it be physical, social, or economic, an administration should provide for a careful dissemination among the people of the facts and pertinent data touching the administration. A successful democracy, we feel, is dependent upon a more universal understanding of the matters which touch community welfare. When we completed a report on taxation a year ago, we planned to print it. We arranged with our Water Department, which is municipally owned, to make the distribution. This department furnishes water to more than ninety thousand users at an unusually low rate, and out of its surplus earnings contributes about $800,000.00 annually to the general city fund. The meter readers were to deliver these reports when they made their quarterly readings. But our Common Council was too economically inclined to appropriate the money to cover the cost of printing the reports. This is the sort of economy that perpetuates inefficiency, and has no place in an administratoin of community affairs.

CLOSING DINNER SESSION

STATE PLANNING

PAUL V. MCNUTT, Governor of Indiana

About a decade ago, Ferrero, eminent historian of Rome, in an amazing volume entitled "Words to the Deaf" wrote: "There have been epochs more uncouth, poorer, and more ignorant than our own, but they knew what they wanted."

"What do we want?" he asked. And then went on to say, "That is the essential question. Every man and every epoch should keep this question constantly before them, just as a lamp is kept burning day and night in dark places."

Ferrero is right. This is the essential question. To know what we want and need and to want what we need are the beginnings of statesmanship.

Do we know what we want and need? Do we want what we need? Ferrero thinks not. "On the contrary," he wrote, "our will is in a state of complete confusion. Sometimes it splits in twain, at once desirous of good and evil, or of benefits that are mutually exclusive. Sometimes it cloaks itself in agreeable falsehoods, persuading itself that it desires one thing, while all the time it desires something different or even antithetical. Sometimes it entirely strays away from reason and reality, lured on by a chimerical mirage."

Ferrero is a pessimist. I am not. Rather than choose the words of Ferrero, or Spengler, or Henry Adams or any of the host of major or minor Jeremiahs who are around us, I would choose the words of the man who stood at Valley Forge, amidst hardships no one of us could ever know, and kept his faith; kept his faith in his men, in his God, in his nation which was to be. Washington said then, and his words are particularly applicable now, "The game is yet in our own hands. To play it well is all we have to do."

To play it well we need a planned economy. We have it in the National Resources Board, the State Planning Boards and in the City Planning Commissions. I wish to speak on a state plan.

It is evident that the fundamental objective of a state plan is the provision for healthful, convenient, pleasant living conditions in

situations affording abundant opportunity for the proper utilization of the talents and ability of all individuals in a manner profitable to each. It embraces basic social and economic relationships, the details of which must be thoroughly understood before conclusions recommending future developments may be reached.

During the life of the Republic collective thinking and the resultant activities of the people have figuratively ascended into the mountains where the outlook was bright and difficulties faded into the distance, and then have descended into the valleys, where vision has been limited and the future obscured. At times inflated optimism has dulled human thinking upon social and economic needs. It has been succeeded during depressions by fear, which has focused thought upon social and economic ills, often in a frenzied manner which has produced not only remedies, but evils as well.

Calm and deliberate thinking upon the needs of the entire population is essential. The false influences of periods of prosperity and want must both be avoided. A vast amount of erroneous thinking prevails under situations of abnormality. In one instance vision is limited by self-satisfaction and a false sense of security. In the other, acute needs for bare essentials prevent a great portion of the population from seeing clearly, and leaves the solution of the problem to those who have the courage to rise above the apparent difficulties, where the problem in its broad aspects may be seen and the influence of frantic and often bitter thought avoided.

The economic security of the individual and the family must be established in a manner which will withstand the exigencies occasioned by the false and limited thinking prevalent in both booms and depressions. In other words, the American family must be basically self-sufficient. Such self-sufficiency is far different from the self-satisfied complacency which exists when everyone has plenty of money. Moreover, it is a far cry from the want and woe prevalent during periods of depression or the ability barely to balance the family budget during such times. The more enlightened understanding of self-sufficiency embraces absolute conviction that the provision of needs must be accompanied by the opportunity to progress in proportion to the intelligence, ability and talents of the individual. In no other manner is it possible to construct an economic and social structure which will be proof against the onslaughts of prosperity and depression.

As a primary step in the path to conclusions it is necessary to survey the various factors which aid or which retard the establishment of a situation wherein the self-sufficiency of society, in all its

branches, is a natural result. The underlying stratum affecting the activities of individuals engaged in all kinds of gainful occupations is the great mass of natural resources. These resources are of two kinds: Those which exist below the surface of the ground, including rocks, minerals, clays, coal and oil; and those existing above the geological deposits, including soils and the native growths thereon. The assembly of existing information showing the location and extent of geological and soil deposits and natural growths and forests, is the first step to be taken.

The collection of information as to the quantity and quality of natural resources must be followed by a technical study of the possibilities for development of each and the role which each may play in the struggle for self-sufficiency. This analysis will not only reveal the potential value of each resource, but will also bring out the lack of minerals which are essential to a well-balanced society. A potentiality scale may be set up to rate each particular resource. The clay deposits of a state, for example, have not been developed to their greatest extent. A critical examination of their value for the production of different articles may point the way to increased industrial development. In certain sections of a state the soils are not being utilized for their best purposes. Technical investigation will show what are the best uses of each soil type. Such studies will furthermore determine what areas are submarginal in character due to the deficiency of the soil itself. Such regions should be withdrawn from agricultural development, unless the intelligent application of the principles of soil management may improve soil productivity at a cost which is not excessive. Fundamental analysis of natural resources, simple in character, but requiring technical skill and a vast amount of study and investigation, will result in the division of a state into three great regions, each split into numerous large or small areas. These regions are the mineral region, the farming region and the recreational or public use region.

The mineral region will be divided into areas producing, or capable of producing, different types of natural products, such as building stone, gravel, pottery, clay, oil, coal, etc. Following the designation of areas, consideration must be given to the potential value of each, and conclusions reached as to the utmost use which can be made of each type of material. Obviously, this study will involve consideration of distribution of the raw product, including markets; methods and costs of removal from the ground and transportation to markets; labor required for mining and handling; seasonal aspects of operations, especially as to working days during the year and average annual net income of employees; and determination

of the value of the product as a replacement for an import into a state. By comparison with agricultural land studies, conclusions may be reached as to the wisdom of allocating land to mineral development or to farm use.

Agricultural lands are divided into regions based upon types of farming. Soil characteristics are a basic consideration in the determination of the boundaries of such regions. Some regions are largely of submarginal character. Others are almost devoid of poor or worthless land. There are varying degrees of submarginality of land. Soil type is not the only factor. Lack of understanding of the possibilities of the soil, or of its proper management, or unwillingness to follow progressive methods, contributes in great measure to the fostering of submarginal conditions on individual farms or groups of farms. Distance from markets, inadequate transportation facilities or the absence of proper marketing methods may result in poor farms in regions which are not otherwise submarginal. High taxes, resulting from inefficient or extravagant government, or from the lack of a well-planned, long-term public works program, are often sufficient to turn the net profit of the farm into a loss. Obviously, land which is submarginal because of the basic deficiency of the soil, and incapable of improvement by wise management, should be withdrawn from agriculture and assigned to the reservation region. Education, resulting in increased understanding of agricultural operations, is the remedy for lands which are capable of improvement. A knowledge of marketing and distribution will contribute to the recovery of land which is deficient because of lack of markets. The development of sound methods of government, and especially the formulation of long-term programs for public works will counteract the load of taxes which has made otherwise good land unprofitable.

The classification of lands as good or submarginal involves an understanding of social and economic factors. The degree of submarginality may be evidenced by the existing social conditions and by the state aid which is required for the maintenance of schools, roads and other facilities. Careful consideration must be given to idle time which might be utilized for part-time local industrial operations to supplement the income of farm families. This sort of aid to rural families would be especially valuable to a state as a whole, and to the community, if the operation utilized local natural resources, such as forest, mineral or farm products, and particularly if thereby an import were replaced.

The reservation, or public use region, broken up into many areas scattered over a state, is formed from land unsuitable for farming

on account of soil deficiency, topography, erosion, or poor drainage, or because of surpassing scenic advantages. Public use areas may be devoted to recreation of various types, forests, water storage, catchment areas for flood prevention, game preserves and wild life refuges, and may include lakes and rivers.

It is evident that a wise use of natural resources of a state will result in a greater degree of self-sufficiency for a large portion of the population. Proper allocation of land to the uses for which it is best adapated will eliminate the struggle for existence now being waged on many farms wholly incapable of yielding a consistent profit, sufficient to maintain a reasonable standard of living. Education and the adoption of improved methods of farming and marketing will be helpful to many who are now unable to farm profitably. But these considerations directly affect only a portion of the population. The great group of industrial employees and those engaged in business and trade require assistance in the solution of their problem of self-sufficiency. The old idea of self-sufficiency, applicable to the early settlers presupposed the ability of the family to produce everything it needed for its living and support. The pioneer was able to live in that manner, but the march of civilization has produced a change from which a return is neither possible nor desirable. The farmer must buy much to supply his needs, for no longer does he make his own cloth or his implements, tools or equipment. The industrial worker or the business man must buy his food, not directly from the farmer as a rule, but after it has passed through several hands, each of which exacts a profit but each of which provides employment. A disturbance of the balance between the prices of manufactured articles and farm products seriously affects the self-sufficiency of one group or the other. Now, the measure of self-sufficiency is the ability of the individual to utilize or sell his services and to produce a return from which he may purchase the supplies which are needed to maintain himself and his family in a proper standard of living.

Manufacturing, absorbing the third great section of the population in its activities, depends upon natural resources for its raw materials. These elements may come directly from the ground or in the form of crops or livestock grown on the ground. The character of manufacturing of a state usually reflects its natural resources. The growth of manufacturing has not always made fullest use of local native materials. Herein lies the greatest opportunity for industrial development. A thorough study of the potential use of stone, minerals, clays, coal and products of the farm will undoubtedly result in the establishment of new factories for making articles not now in trade, or which are imported from abroad. Lists of manufactured articles

should be compared with articles sold within the state to determine those for which there is a demand and which could be made locally in a profitable manner. Research to develop the possibilities of native materials and products for manufacturing should proceed diligently. Such thought and activity will be a great factor in the decentralization of industry. Decentralization does not mean, necessarily, removing industry a long distance from cities. The diversification of industry may take place properly within the city or near its borders. The establishment of many new factories, to make entirely new articles which will be valuable to people, and to utilize natural resources, is the ideal solution of the problem of employment for industrial workers. The combination of manufacturing of this nature with part-time farming is sound and would be of great value in promoting economic security and the self-sufficiency of both the urban and rural populations, as well as those engaged in mineral operations. Many examples can be cited of the development of entirely new industrial processes using native materials. There are more opportunities. Research should be encouraged so that natural resources may be utilized to their fullest extent.

Transportation and power are two great factors in the development of a state. The first cities in the Middle West were established on the rivers, followed by others on the canals. The advent of railroads encouraged the founding of more cities, where transportation and power, dependent upon coal, were available. The extension of superpower lines over the state and the building of highways, affording routes for trucks, will be strong influences to encourage decentralization of industry and population. Transportation presents many problems. The different types, rail and trucks particularly, are in direct competition with each other. The railroads have been a great factor in the upbuilding of the state. Trucks serve a very useful purpose. All transportation should be coordinated and unfair competition eliminated. Tax burdens should be adjusted and equalized and each form of transportation utilized for the purposes for which it is best suited.

The development of a ten-year program for public works is a matter for serious consideration. This program would be for a state as a whole, and for each of its political subdivisions. It must be based upon intelligent consideration of needs for the future, accompanied by accurate estimates of cost and the setting up of a financial program to meet the needs. Annual review of the program should be made to extend it one year and to adjust it to the changing situation.

The primary consideration of State Planning is the development

of human resources. Natural resources and human endeavor contribute to the main objective and require understanding in order that they may be coordinated as a substantial structure.

"The game is yet in our own hands. To play it well is all we have to do."

DISCUSSION

MR. FREDERIC A. DELANO, Washington, D. C.: I might say on the subject of planning, which I hope has a widening interest with every one of you, that it is generally conceded that planning may have, properly speaking, three different departments. First, the department of investigation. Second, the department for interpretation of the results of investigation. And, third, the carrying out of the plans. I don't have to tell you that the man is rarely found who possesses the qualifications necessary for all three. The executive of a great corporation is really the man who will take the time to investigate details. He usually has on his staff men and women who will analyze and sift the facts for him. And even when it comes to interpretation he is glad to consult men of wise judgment on whom he can rely. But we sometimes find men of the go-getter type who resent the delay that arises from the necessity of investigation and interpretation. I hope that by successful and wise planning we can convince men of that type that the time taken to investigate and interpret is not wasted. And, of course, it would be worth very little for any of us to take the time to investigate and interpret were there not men to carry out the projects.

The next speaker is a man of that type. It is due to him that 45 states in the Union have set up planning boards. It is due to him that the Federal Government has loaned to each of those states one or more consultants to help them with their problems. It is due to him that other routines were set up, in which a group of four or five or six states were studied as a group in order to determine whether we could find useful data in that way.

So I have the very great pleasure in presenting to you the Chairman of the National Resources Board, the Honorable Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Harold L. Ickes.

MR. HAROLD L. ICKES, Washington, D. C.: There died yesterday in the City of Chicago the world's greatest woman, one of the finest citizens of this or any other country, Jane Addams.

I refer to her on this occasion because when she was in Washington some three weeks ago she called my office and asked if she might come to see me. I went to see her. During all the years I have known her and had the privilege of being associated with her I have never failed to respond to any call from Jane Addams.

What she wanted to talk to me about was slum clearance, particularly with reference to our projects in Chicago.

To me it would be an inspiration to know that the last talk I ever had with this great spirit was with reference to this subject that is so near my own heart, and I am sure, is equally near the hearts of all of you.

I am sure you will not regard it amiss if I ask you to rise just momentarily as a tribute to that woman, the like of whom we have never seen and the like of whom we will never see again.

GOVERNMENT AND HOUSING

HAROLD L. ICKES, Secretary of the Interior

I am glad tonight to renew a happy acquaintance that I made two years ago when I had the pleasure of attending your session at Baltimore. My recollection is that on that former occasion I wandered more or less all over map, touching points of common interest here and there. It is great fun to stand before an indulgent audience and casually redress all the wrongs and reform all the abuses from which our social order is suffering. If one really concentrates on post-prandial reform, he can accomplish wonders in fifteen or twenty minutes and sit down with that feeling of smug self-satisfaction which comes to a man who has been able to make the world all over again. But tonight, by confining myself to certain phases of the subject of better housing, I shall demonstrate that when any proposition of social or economic reform is considered in detail, it is found not to be such an easy matter to overcome the habits and prejudices that have been ingrained over the course of centuries.

I have said on other occasions that slum clearance is nearer to my heart than any other phase of the PWA program. I went to Washington to be Secretary of the Interior and I was all eagerness to attack the many human problems that make that Department more interesting and attractive to me than any other in the Federal Government. Later, when I was named Public Works Administrator by the President, I discovered to my delighted surprise that under the broad powers with which I was invested, it would actually be possible to start on a comprehensive plan of slum clearance in the cities of the United States. Since that discovery, one of my major interests has been the matter of clearing out reeking pestholes in which fellow human beings like ourselves have been permitted to live in squalid and unhealthy surroundings, and replacing them with decent homes that would offer an opportunity to those who most needed them, to live in a decent and healthful environment.

So the Housing Division, with the enthusiastic help of that fine citizen of Cincinnati, Col. Henry M. Waite, was set up under PWA, charged with the responsibility of carrying out this so worth while social enterprise. Our object was to build decent housing at a price that would make it possible to rent apartments and houses to those in the lowest income groups for what they might be able to pay. It was our ambition to make this new government housing self-liquidating in the belief that the taxpayers of the country would more enthusiastically support it if they could be assured that they would get

their money back. We wanted to be able to rent at approximately five dollars a room if we could possibly do so. But we soon found ourselves in difficulties. Even figuring in the thirty per cent grant which PWA has been allowing on non-Federal public projects and taking into account a low interest rate and a long period of amortization, how could we possibly get rents down to a point within the ability to pay of that class of our fellow citizens whom we sought to benefit? After all, slum clearance meant, or at any rate was regarded as meaning, the demolition of the human kennels that exist in practically all of our cities and the building on the sites thus cleared of our low-rent housing projects.

It did not take us long to discover that, aside from the legal difficulty of acquiring title to the parcels of land comprising the sites on which we wished to build, the prices asked for the land and the pitiful buildings occupying it were sometimes excessively high, added to which the additional high costs for labor and materials created an almost insuperable task. We found out that adequate housing constructed on a profit basis could not compete in the price field with obsolete fire traps or the shacks of shanty town. But there must be some way out and we sought to discover it.

The word subsidy has always been an objectionable one to me, but dodge the issue as I might, I finally could not avoid the conclusion that if we were to build housing for those who most needed it, government would have to provide a subsidy. Perhaps the lexicographers, after the good old American fashion, might discover or invent a term which, while meaning subsidy, would have the appearance of being something else, but there is nothing to be gained from trying to fool either ourselves or the people. Speaking for myself, and with no slight intimation even that I am committing the National Administration to a policy on housing, I am prepared for my part to accept the issue, and frankly avow my belief that government should subsidize low-rent housing to the extent necessary to make it available for those in the lowest income groups.

On looking into the matter, I find that, without realizing it, we actually have been subsidizing objectionable slums in generous fashion, as I shall endeavor to demonstrate to you in a moment. That makes it a horse of an entirely different color. If, consciously or unconsciously, we have been subsidizing slums, why not execute a right about face and subsidize slum clearance instead? No reasonable human being, knowing the facts, would continue to support a policy of government which, while denying financial aid to slum clearance, would, year after year, continue to dip into the treasury in order to

help maintain the noisome slums that are a mark of dishonor to our American civilization.

Now to answer the question that undoubtedly took form in the minds of at least those of you who have not studied the question, when I made the statement that, wittingly or unwittingly, we have been stupidly subsidizing slums. Let me give you a few demonstrable facts.

In 1933 the Illinois Housing Commission made a cost analysis of a square mile in Chicago, covering an area of moderate blight that was predominantly residential. The Commission used 1930 cost and income figures for specific reasons: first, we were then only entering the depression, and, second, tax collections three years after the date of levy could be expected to be reasonably complete.

This analysis showed that the city of Chicago paid out approximately $3,200,000 to provide routine municipal services for this area —that is, for schools, police and fire protection, street maintenance, garbage removal and the like. On the other hand, the taxes levied in this area could have returned only $1,191,352.28 but, three years after the due date, had been collected only to the extent of $586,061.23. In other words, to service this area cost the city two and one-half times the potential tax income, while actual tax receipts, after three years, amounted to no more than one-sixth of the sum paid out.

In Boston, the City Planning Board made an exhaustive survey along the same lines, but based on the more spectacular figures of 1934. The cost and income statements of six typical districts were compiled under various analyses. These were designated as follows: business district, industrial district, high-rental district, suburban residential district, miscellaneous residential district, and low-rental residential district. For the purposes of this discussion I shall confine myself to the facts relating to the last two districts.

The miscellaneous area contained average urban housing without extremes of good or bad. The low-rental area was a slum, composed of buildings of a type so familiar that I forbear to reiterate the description of them. To service the miscellaneous area, the city paid out $469,178 and received in taxes $816,400. To service the slum area, the city paid out $310,624 and in return received $44,800. In other words, while the city made a profit of approximately 70 per cent on the miscellaneous area, its loss on the slum was seven times the income.

The comparison of cost per capita between these two districts is of interest. In the miscellaneous area this cost was $65.10; in the

slum it amounted to $92.30. A final comparison is found in the net deficits per capita for the whole city and for the slum. The city lost $3.40 per capita on its services to the whole city. Yet each slum dweller cost the taxpayers $79.00.

These are not isolated instances. In Minneapolis, it was found that the average cost to the city for a fire run was $800. At this rate the cost of fire protection for an area we had under consideration for a housing project totalled $70,000 in 1932, for runs alone. Compared to this, the total taxes assessed against all properties in the neighborhood in 1932 amounted to $30,835 and in 1933 to $28,937. The conclusion is obvious.

The same results were found in Cleveland. In one area surveyed, municipal expenditures amounted to $1,357,000 annually, with tax returns yielding $225,000, leaving a debit balance of $1,132,000 for the other taxpayers to foot. Analysis of the figures showed that each family living in that section was subsidized $333 annually out of tax and private funds.

From a purely esthetic standpoint, the elimination of slums would be an asset to our cities. Yet I am constantly amazed at the apparently exclusive importance this consideration assumes in cities that have filed applications with the Public Works Administration for projects. Applicants from a large percentage of cities have based their pleas for funds almost entirely on the argument that the slums are an "eyesore," ignoring entirely the financial factors involved. Yet it is to be hoped that this valid, although inconclusive argument for slum renovation may, in the course of time, be met to the satisfaction of those whose eyes, if not their hearts or pocketbooks, are affected by the continued presence of misery.

Nor is the cost of a slum area to a city confined to the extra expense involved in servicing that area. There are indirect financial, as well as social and moral costs, which in the aggregate far exceed such differences between taxes collected and cost of services as I have recited. The slums offer a fertile field for communicable diseases, and, by the same token, due to a lack of adequate sunshine, fresh air and open spaces for normal recreation, those living in the slums have such a lowered resistance, as compared with people who dwell in healthier surroundings, and their ability to combat disease is distinctly subnormal. Our slum areas are natural breeding grounds for vice and crime and every anti-social tendency and activity. People reared in the slums are not able to pull their weight in the boat, thus throwing an undue burden upon their fellows who are required to lay to with extra strength. These intangible costs may vary but their

total is large when reckoned as part of the aggregate subsidy for which society is charging itself in order to maintain slum areas that, from the point of view of esthetics and humanitarianism, ought to be abolished even if they were capable of earning a money profit.

Having considered the heavy indirect subsidy that we are blithely paying to maintain these areas, let us now look at the other side of the ledger and frankly consider the question of a direct subsidy, open-mindedly and deliberately paid, in order to make it possible to eradicate the social festers that we know as the slums.

A study by our Housing Division of a slum clearance project in a large city shows that three per cent interest, an amortization period of 44 years for the building and no amortization for the land, plus a 30 per cent grant on construction costs, would apparently make it possible to provide decent quarters at a rent of $9.91 per room per month with all services, or $6.97 per room per month without services. The same project, figured without interest, with an amortization period of 50 years for both land and building and without a grant, would rent for $8.37 per room per month with, and $5.43 without services.

The rooms for which these rents would be charged would be of ample size, arranged for that privacy which is now not known in our slum areas, and with a maximum of light and air. The interior walls would be plastered and the apartments equipped with bathrooms, sinks, electric stoves and refrigerators. The services referred to would comprise hot and cold running water, steam heat and electricity for lighting, cooking and refrigeration.

Compare these figures with those now paid by citizens condemned by an unheeding social order to live in the slums. For the services for which we would charge $2.94 per room per month, the slum tenant, if he had them, would have to pay in the average northern city approximately $3.58 or an excess cost of 64 cents. Slum tenants in such cities now pay approximately $5.00 per room per month for badly-planned, poorly-lighted and fetid dwellings without any open spaces except streets and alleys and areaways. This rent cost, plus the $3.58 per month they would pay for adequate services, makes a total of $8.58 a room. Under a plan to amortize the cost of land and construction, without interest, over a period of 50 years, we could furnish decent accommodations and services for $8.37 a room. But, in addition to dwellings and services, we would furnish, without extra cost, ample natural light, plenty of air and open spaces because according to our plans for slum clearance projects, the area to be covered by buildings would not exceed 30 per cent of the total land.

Under present slum conditions, the built-over area is often as much as 70 per cent of the total.

There are respectable precedents for a government subsidy for housing, but it is necessary to go to certain countries of Europe for them. And so to Europe we will briefly go even if the facts to be cited once again will make us realize how far behind some other countries we are in providing for the social needs of the people.

England has had a housing policy for some 70 years. There a public works loan board advances money to municipalities at from four to five per cent interest, the money to be amortized over a term of 60 years. In addition to this, there is an annual grant on rent from the government at the discretion of Parliament which is conditioned upon a further rent grant from the municipalities. This total grant varies in amount from year to year, depending on local and national economic conditions. At times it has amounted to as much as one-third of the rent necessary to make a project self-liquidating under the general financial policy.

In Germany money is advanced by the government on a second mortgage at one per cent interest. The fund out of which this loan money comes is maintained from a special tax on old and outworn housing. First mortgages at a higher rate of interest are secured from semi-public bodies and private agencies. The actual work is done by municipalities or semi-public organizations. It should be noted that in Germany, as distinguished from England and the United States, the cities own a tremendous amount of land on which housing is built without figuring in land costs. Berlin, for example, possesses a total area, including that owned outside of the city limits, equal to one-third of its total holdings within the city limits. Thus in Germany there is a combination of land subsidy and interest subsidy to help out private capital.

In France and Belgium special funds have been set up to subsidize interest at varying rates on housing projects. Social insurance funds that have been earmarked for housing purposes have been in existence for more than 45 years.

In Vienna low-cost housing is built by the city itself. It is paid for out of taxes so that there is no question of amortization or of rents necessary to meet amortization.

While the Federal Government, as a part of its recovery program, is not only willing, but glad to carry through its present plans for slum clearance projects which will soon be rising in all parts of the country, it would be unreasonable to expect us to carry this burden

for an indefinite length of time or for an indefinite amount of money to be expended. States and cities and even private organizations of citizens should and must do their part. We are willing to point the way and we might even be willing to continue in this most worth while social enterprise on a cooperative basis. At the moment we are not only interested in the social benefits of the program; we are concerned about putting men to work. To encourage our continued interest, it would be well for states and municipalities to show a willingness to fall in line with the Federal Government in order to carry on the program after this depression is a thing of the past. I should like to see a national housing conference called to which the governor of every state and the mayor of every city would be invited, this conference to pay serious attention to this most pressing social and economic problem, with a view to adopting a program that would have as its ultimate aim the clearance of every slum area in every part of the United States.

In the meanwhile, the cities should cooperate with the Federal Government because the present program is primarily for the benefit of the cities where it is proposed to build slum clearance projects. They should approach this question not only from the point of view of the social good that will result from cleaning out their slum areas, but having in mind the actual financial profit that will follow the discontinuance of the indirect subsidy that they have been paying for slum maintenance.

The cities can help materially in this movement by establishing and maintaining small parks and playgrounds, by providing adequate school facilities and by aiding in the solution of the important and pressing problem of utility facilities so that we may be assured of gas, water, electricity and sewage services at rates which will make it possible for us to accomplish our objective of providing dwellings for those in the lowest income groups.

A sympathetic and actively cooperative local attitude is absolutely essential if we are to make conspicuous headway. I should like to cite as an outstanding example of such cooperation, the case of Cincinnati. This progressive and well-governed city has given evidence of its faith in the program of public housing. To aid in the effective solution of its housing problem, it has set aside $1,000,000 for the establishment of parks and playgrounds in connection with the Federal project that will soon be under construction here. It will also install all major utilities and take care of necessary street changes. The Cincinnati project rests on the firm foundation of local interest and support. The city has not accepted it as the product of a distant and unfeeling bureaucracy; it has entered into it as the joint

enterprise of local and Federal governments that are pulling together in perfect harmony.

I wish that other municipalities could show the same tangible appreciation of our program. New York, Milwaukee, Miami, and Birmingham, to mention only a few, have welcomed it to the fullest extent of their present financial abilities. I am aware that many cities are hard pressed at the moment and can offer little in the way of substantial financial participation. But there is much that they can and should do at little cost to aid in this work. The vacation of streets, the waiving of fees, the establishment and maintenance of community and recreational facilities, the enforcement of building and zoning ordinances (a corollary activity that is essential to a check of slum growth) are among the inexpensive yet vital contributions which every city can and must make if this movement is to be successful.

In my judgment slum clearance is the most worth while social enterprise on a large scale that is being actively undertaken in the United States today. Let us justify it and commend it to future generations for its continuance and completion by doing as fine and worth while a job as, collectively and in association with each other, we are capable of doing.

NATIONAL PLANNING IN PRACTICE

CHARLES E. MERRIAM
Member, National Resources Committee

This report of the President's National Resources Board brings together, for the first time in our history, exhaustive studies by highly competent inquirers into land use, water use, minerals, and related public works in their relation to each other and to national planning. The report lays the basis of a comprehensive long-range national policy for the conservation and development of our fabulous natural resources. If the recommendations are put into effect, it is believed that they will end the untold waste of our national domain now, and will measurably enrich and enlarge these national treasures as time goes on.

This program contained many detailed recommendations, but, speaking broadly, the following were perhaps the most important:

(1) A land-purchase program providing for the retirement of some five million acres of sub-marginal land yearly for some fifteen years, with administration through a permanent land-planning section, cooperating with state and local boards and authorities (with many collateral recommendations).

(2) A permanent water-planning section to proceed with detailed engineering, social, financial, and legal studies of seventeen major drainage basins, and the preparation of constructive programs for their development (with many collateral recommendations).

(3) In mineral industries, permanent regulation of competition, adequate to control production, capacity, surplus stocks, and protection of the workers. Consideration of retirement of marginal mines was also indicated. Scientific research to foster mining technology was recommended. For all these purposes, a permanent mineral policy committee is suggested. A further report on this subject is in preparation, and also a report on hydro-electric power.

(4) A permanent public works administration, preparing a six-year works program, operating through lump sum appropriations by Congress, and assuming the leadership in cooperation between national and local public works authorities.

(5) Continued encouragement of and cooperation with state and regional planning boards.

(6) Collection of basic data for planning, including a financial balance sheet for the Federal Government, a mid-decennial census of population and employment, completion of standard maps of the United States, basic scientific studies of land and water resources.

(7) A permanent advisory national planning board to serve as a general staff for the President. It was suggested that this board consist of not more than five members appointed by and responsible to the President, with a rotating panel of consultants and a skeleton staff made up of government personnel and others brought in for special inquiries.

There are three outstanding considerations in looking at plans for planning:

(1) The necessity and value of coordinating our national and local policies instead of allowing them to drift apart or pull against each other, with disastrous effect;

(2) The value of looking forward in national life, of considering in advance rather than afterward, of preventive measures as well as remedial;

(3) The value of basing plans upon the most authentic collection and analysis of the facts.

Down to the turn of the nineteenth century, no country had done more extensive national planning than the United States. Our program, first of all, was based on the greatest heresy of the time, namely, that governmental arrangements or constitutions could be planned and made. The program included the abolition of hereditary government and the substitution of democracy, the adoption of the federal system through the Constitution (itself a piece of economic-political planning), a land system reaching from the abolition of primogeniture and entail to the homestead act, the American system of tariff. After the Civil War, the United States led in large-scale business planning through powerful industrial combinations.

It is an error to conclude that all planning involves regimentation of a deadening nature. I am not referring now to the objections of those who think of regimentation as an interference with their robber-baron privilege of private exploitation and oppression, but to those who sincerely believe that there is danger of sacrificing something that is valuable in civilization. Dr. Wesley C. Mitchell has discussed President Hoover's identification of planning and regimentation in the December number of *The Political Science Quarterly,* and I have done likewise in the February issue of *The American Political Science Review.*

Wise planning makes provision for decentralization as well as for unification, for territorial and individual decentralization, for independent criticism, judgment, and initiative, for preserving and creating free areas of human activity. The zoning of power is as important in political as in economic organization. We may plan indeed, for fuller liberty—and indeed are now so planning.

Sound planning is not based on control of everything, but of certain strategic points in a working system. Control of these points holds the system in balance, reconciling order, justice, liberty. These points change from time to time, sometimes peacefully and sometimes violently.

At various times, political societies have found it necessary to deal with landowners, with slavery, with army authorities, with the church,

with labor or industrial captains, with racial groups, readjusting the power system of the new interests and values of the new time. This is of the essence of political cohesion and function.

The best planning will find these strategic points, shown by the social directives of the time, with least delay, and seize no more points than are necessary for the purpose in mind.

What often happens is:

(1) change is too long delayed;

(2) the readjusters violently seize more than they need; and

(3) eventually the readjusters restore what they would not have taken if they had been wiser.

We cannot have freedom if men tamely submit to what they believe is dangerous and wrong. There can be no greater threat to liberty than absence of free and full discussion of opposing views, political, social, and economic. Already consideration of public questions, and, if democratic states adopt the same policy, a new era opens—an era when we abandon discussion for clubs and guns, hoping in the rhythm of the club and the statistical sputter of the machine-gun to find a better guide to action.

I am not unmindful of the complexities and difficulties in the way, but dangers lie around as well as ahead, from non-action as well as action. We cannot proceed as if nothing had happened in recent years, or could ever happen again. Our doctrines of liberty, equality, and democracy are not to be regarded merely as legal phrases to be paraded and celebrated on memorial occasions.

No modern social structure is secure that does not promise more to the body and soul of those who feel themselves disinherited by the present order of things.

Every man is entitled to his own opinion, and I have no desire to thrust my views on others, but perhaps I may be permitted to say quietly as a student of government for a disgraceful number of years and not by nature an alarmist, that especially since returning from Europe last summer, I do not share the complaisance of those who look forward to a world but little changed. But the way is open for us to reconstruct a finer type of life, if we can pioneer our way through, over, and around difficulties as nobly as did our fathers.

It is important accordingly that the scientific developments of the present situation be fully and vividly portrayed, in order that mankind may be made aware of what lies ahead, assuming that adequate

social engineering can be found and can be supported by the masses with whom the ultimate power of disposition lies.

A new world is well within our reach if we can organize and act to obtain it. Men do not believe this; they do not see it; they do not heed, perhaps, even the words in which such a picture is developed before them.

If the coming generation can be equipped for the performance of its social functions in the light of the opportunity in human organization, the future of the world is bright with rich possibilities. The obstacles that stand between us and the realization of men's dreams are those of social attitudes and social and political management. Of the great burdens of humanity, pestilence, poverty, war and famine, two have been driven back into their caves. Poverty and War stalk abroad, resisting the nets thrown around them.

But there is no longer a valid excuse for poverty since the forces of nature have been subdued, and the brutality of war is a surviving witness reminding the human parvenu of his primitive origins. The stream of scientific invention will roll on, in all human probability, and if the devices of social invention are able to keep pace with the scientific organization of nature, the new world may be a fairyland of human achievement. The burdens of hunger, disease, toil, fear, may be lifted, the book of leisure may be opened, and treasures of human appreciation and enjoyment may be made available to the mass of mankind.

This is true not only of the mechanical contrivances which minister to our enjoyment of life in many ways, but also of the inner life of the personality, so long filled with vile broods of haunting fears and doubts and dreads. Science and social arrangement will conquer these jungles also, and open them to the sunlight of happiness, hitherto unattainable no matter what the mechanical device or the pecuniary success of an individual. Miracles have already been wrought, and others are on the way, beyond any question of doubt. Science will bring life and light and healing on its wings.

In moments of industrial insecurity and bitter distress, the possibility of an infinitely richer and finer life for the mass of mankind may seem a mocking mirage. But the continuance of ancient burdens is impossible if the faculty of social and political contrivance is utilized as it might be by a generation sophisticated in the modern world and prepared for entering into the kingdom. If there is affliction and bitter distress, it is because we will not reach out and take the gift of the gods in our day. There is food, shelter, clothing, adornment,

relief from physical and mental disease, leisure for the appreciation, enjoyment, expression of the human personality in richest form, if we are ready to reach out the hand and take them, through the social economic, political arrangements that condition them.

And to produce the will, the skills, the attitudes and aptitudes, adequate to the achievement of the promised land, is the supreme challenge of civic and social education.

If we can look the facts in the face and not deny what we do not like; if we can consult our fears less and our hopes more; if we can think more in terms of the present and future and less in terms of the past; if we can show inventive ability in social and industrial arrangements equal to that developed in technology advancement, we can realize the promise of American life more fully than even the prophets have ever dared to dream.

RESOLUTIONS

I

The Conference on City, Regional, State and National Planning, held in Cincinnati on May 20 to 22, 1935, closes with the consciousness of having had particularly valuable discussions of vital problems affecting the fields of activity of the participating organizations, in sessions held in a city noted for its sense of civic and social responsibility. The Conference acknowledges its gratitude to the excellent leadership of Alfred Bettman, to the contributions of those who have participated and to the arrangements for the Conference made by the City of Cincinnati, and by the various cooperating public and private agencies, and directs its Secretary to extend to all these an expression of the appreciation of the Conference.

II

The recent death of J. C. Murphy of Louisville has terminated the life of active service of one whose quiet, effective leadership has made an excellent contribution to the development of his community. He was a member of the National Conference on City Planning since its organization and was the first and only Chairman of the Louisville City Planning Commission. The Conference on City, Regional, State and National Planning, meeting in Cincinnati on May 20 to 22, 1935, records its sorrow at his passing and extends its sympathy to the City which he served and to his bereaved family and friends.

III

The work of the National Resources Board has advanced planning to a place of recognition in the Nation and in the states and their local communities, which offers hope for the accomplishment of the objectives of the agencies participating in the Conference on City, Regional, State and National Planning, meeting in Cincinnati on May 20 to 22, 1935. At the same time, the National Resources Board has taken the effective first steps in a competent evaluation of our national resources, rural and urban, toward laying the foundation for orderly national development which shall be socially and economically sound. This Conference hereby expresses, first, its gratitude to the members of the National Resources Board who have directed this work and to the Staff who have conducted it, and, second, its confidence in the effective national leadership which is thus being provided in this field.

IV

The Conference on City, Regional, State and National Planning, meeting in Cincinnati on May 20 to 22, 1935, and representing the National Conference on City Planning, the American Society of Planning Officials, the American Civic Association and the American City Planning Institute, has devoted

its sessions to a consideration of the future of American cities in our national life. The Conference is conscious of the inability of the multitude of agencies, public and private, whose interests are bound up in this problem to approach it competently in the absence of data derived from comprehensive research in the broad field of the place of urbanism in the economic and social structure of the Nation. The Conference urges the National Resources Board to undertake such research as a study urgently necessary and with the broadest implications in the national well-being.

V

The Conference on City, Regional, State and National Planning, meeting in Cincinnati on May 20 to 22, 1935, has separately expressed its appreciation of the efforts of the National Resources Board in the advancement of planning and toward an orderly national development.

This Conference believes that the ultimate success of these efforts is dependent upon the establishment of a National Planning Board as a permanent agency of the Federal Government through appropriate congressional legislation; and urges its participating organizations to endeavor to secure the adoption of such legislation.

VI

Broad plans of development for cities, counties, states, and regions are essential to the execution of sound public works programs, and to the satisfactory development of such areas. The full, practicable, social and material utility from the expenditure of public works funds cannot effectively be attained except on the basis of competent and comprehensive planning; and the wise use of these funds depends upon the devotion of a reasonable portion of them to the collection of the necessary data, and the preparation of effective plans. The Conference on City, Regional, State and National Planning, meeting in Cincinnati on May 20 to 22, 1935, and representing the American City Planning Institute, the American Civic Association, the American Society of Planning Officials and the National Conference on City Planning, urges that an allocation of funds under the Work Relief Act, in an amount of from $25,000,000 to $35,000,000 be definitely allotted for such planning projects as the National Resources Board and its agencies may approve as suitably organized and competently directed. It is further urged that the regulations governing these projects be so drawn as to permit the provision of suitable direction and technical supervision.

VII

Housing which is socially adequate and economically justifiable depends, not alone upon satisfactory project design, but upon competent neighborhood planning and the sound relation of the project to comprehensive considerations of land utilization, population distribution and the desirable structure of the community. Projects not taking these factors into account are not likely to

succeed in the accomplishment of the objectives of the housing program of the Federal Government and are in danger of perpetuating, in an initially pleasanter guise, some of the unsound features which have produced slums and decadent areas in American cities. The Conference on City, Regional, State and National Planning, meeting in Cincinnati on May 20 to 22, 1935, and representing the National Conference on City Planning, the American Society of Planning Officials, the American Civic Association and the American City Planning Institute, believes that the desirability of and the possibility for success of housing projects to be accomplished under the Federal Work Relief program depend upon their formulation and evaluation in the light of planning principles and urges that more adequate provision be made for this in the organization, and procedure of the various Federal organizations dealing with housing. The Conference offers the services of its participating organizations toward the accomplishment of this purpose.

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