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In this issue, devoted to a discussion of city planning, we have attempted to bring together material which examines certain questions which seem to be central to the urban problem as we face it in the middle of the twentieth century. Our preoccupation, of course, is with city planning in America, where such efforts have in the past been generally less successful than in Europe. The reasons for this are many, and it is unfortunate that it is so, but the fact remains to mar our cities.

One key to the situation may lie in the fact that the relationship between architectural planning and the pattern of the lives of the people is a much closer one there than it is here. One has only to consider the vital part such a public square as Piazza San Marco plays in the everyday life of its city, and attempt to find a similarly vital relationship here, to realize that something of great meaning has been overlooked in the rapid growth of American cities. An element of richness and drama imparted to the daily routine of the city dweller by an architecturally potent environment, characteristic of many of the better towns and cities of Europe, is rarely to be found on the American scene.

With this in mind, it is especially interesting to include here a portion of a letter from a young American exposed for the first time to such an environment. In his reactions may be read the challenge faced by the serious city planner—the challenge to provide not merely a well-functioning city, not merely a pleasant city, but one that contributes in dramatic terms to the richness of the lives of its people.



ONE OF THE MOST PLEASANT THINGS ABOUT ITALIAN ARCHITECTURE IS THE SUCCESSFUL INTEGRATION OF BUILDINGS INTO THE LIFE AND FABRIC OF THE CITY. . . WE SAW SIENA DURING THE FAMOUS PALIO, A MEDIEVAL PAGEANT THAT TAKES PLACE IN THE CAMPO TWICE A YEAR. THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE WERE PACKED INTO THE PIAZZA FOR THE AFFAIR, AN INCREDIBLE RECREATION OF MEDIEVAL TIMES, FANTASTICALLY BRIGHT AND SPLASHY IN EVERY IMAGINABLE COLOR. LARGE COATS OF ARMS ON BANNERS, FLAG THROWERS, AND TWENTY TO THIRTY PIECE BANDS PARADED FOR TWO HOURS AROUND THE PIAZZA. . . A REVISIT TO SIENA FOUND THE CAMPO QUIET AND SERENE WITH A FEW MARKET STALLS AND CAFES OPERATING IN THE SHADE OF THE HOT SEPTEMBER SUN—A MARVEL OF FLEXIBILITY.

THIS PIAZZA IS ONE OF THE FINEST OPEN SQUARES IN ITALY. IMAGINATIVELY SHAPED IN THE CHARACTER OF THE HILLY CITY, IT FORMS A SHELL OR FAN-SHAPED AMPHITHEATER THAT COLLECTS MANY DIFFERENT LEVELS INTO ONE SPACE. WALKING ALONG A NARROW AND DARK STREET BEHIND THE CAMPO YOU LOOK INTO IT THROUGH AN ARCHED OPENING OR DOWN A RAMP, ALWAYS INTO ANOTHER LEVEL. THE PIAZZA IS NOT CHOKED BY TRAFFIC AS SO MANY OPEN SPACES IN CITIES ARE. PEDESTRIAN AND VEHICULAR TRAFFIC ARE MIXED SUCCESSFULLY BECAUSE CARS ARE FORCED TO KEEP TO THE PERIPHERY. THE HUGE GOTHIC TOWER LENDS A DOUBLE ACCENT TO THE SPACE. IT PROVIDES A VERTICAL STROKE, AND IS ALSO THE CONVERGING POINT FOR THE RADIATING PATTERN OF THE SURFACE.

THE PIAZZA CAN BE BOTH COMPARED AND CONTRASTED TO SAN MARCO. YOU GET A SIMILAR DRAMATIC IMPACT UPON ENTERING BOTH FROM SMALL STREETS. YET ONCE INSIDE, THE TWO ARE DIFFERENT. UNLIKE SAN MARCO'S BROAD AND PREDOMINANTLY HORIZONTAL LEVEL WHICH FLOWS THROUGH A SEQUENCE OF SPACES, THE CAMPO IS A SINGLE ENCLOSURE WHOSE EFFECT IS DERIVED FROM THE CONTROLLING OF SEVERAL DIFFERENT LEVELS. SIENA GOES BEYOND THE USUAL QUIANT ATTRACTIVENESS OF MEDIEVAL CITIES. HERE NARROW AND WINDING STREETS AND IRREGULARITIES OF BUILDINGS AND HOUSES ARE DRAMATICALLY CONTRASTED WITH THE STRONG, CONSISTENT PIAZZA. THE WARM HUE OF STONE AND ROOF TILES IS INTERRUPTED BY THE SHARP ZEBRA FACADE OF THE CATHEDRAL.

WE HAVE A GOOD DEAL TO LEARN FROM THE ITALIANS. WHILE OUR STANDARD IS BASED UPON HORSEPOWER, THEIRS IS INTERLACED WITH THE QUALITY OF THEIR ARCHITECTURE, THEIR PLANNING, THEIR ART TREASURES, ALL THE THINGS THAT EXIST IN THE CITIES, AND IS, CONSEQUENTLY, MUCH RICHER. IMAGINE A TOWN WITH A PUBLIC SPACE THAT APPROACHED THE CAMPO RATHER THAN A BUSY CORNER. IMAGINE A TOWN WHERE THE BUILDINGS AND THE CITY ITSELF CONTAINED SOME EMOTIONAL IMPACT, SOME THRILL. IMAGINE THE SCULPTURE, THE FOUNTAINS, THE MATERIALS.

THE ROUTINE OF DAILY LIFE REQUIRES SOME DRAMA, SOME ENRICHING AND SENSE-PROVOKING QUALITY THAT IT IS POSSIBLE TO ACHIEVE THROUGH ARCHITECTURE.

The above remarks and drawing are taken from a report by Edwin F. Harris, winner of the 1958 Lloyd Warren Fellowship (The Paris Prize) and 1957 graduate of The School of Design, North Carolina State College.

CITY PLANNING

THREE SPECIALISTS IN CITY PLANNING—A DESIGNER, A SOCIOLOGIST AND AN ECONOMIST—ANALYZE THE ROLE OF THE CITY PLANNER IN OUR CULTURE AND DISCUSS MEANS OF APPROACH TO THE TWENTIETH CENTURY URBAN PROBLEM.

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URBAN DESIGN

NORBERT H. GORWIC—SENIOR CITY PLANNER, DETROIT PLAN COMMISSION, AND SPECIAL INSTRUCTOR IN URBAN DESIGN, WAYNE STATE UNIVERSITY, DETROIT, MICHIGAN.

The half forgotten and sadly neglected art of urban design is vitally concerned with the shaping and reshaping of our physical environment. It brings together and tries to integrate the products of many professions. The city planner and the architect, the highway engineer and the industrial designer, the gardener and the artist, they all provide the ingredients of a distinct urban entity—the townscape.

By its very definition urban design occupies a position somewhere between city planning and architecture. It could and should have acted as a bridge linking two closely related disciplines, but instead, it became a no-man's land dividing two great powers engaged in a cold war. And like in any cold war there exists a kind of uneasy peace, a tacit agreement defining the respective zones of influence. In our case the agreement is a very simple one; let the city planner do all the master planning, let the architect busy himself with the individual buildings and the urban scene will have to look after itself.

The disastrous results of such an arrangement can be seen in every city, large or small. Our feverish building activities are perhaps impressive in terms of size and volume, but the quality of the end product is very disappointing. We have been fully effective in destroying old urban values, but we failed to create new ones. This is especially true in the field of urban design. We can, if hard pressed, name a few buildings, erected during the last fifty years, which are likely to take an honored place in the annals of architecture. But how many urban schemes have we created that can compare favorably with the outstanding examples of the past? The decline of the theory and practice of urban design has been very grave, indeed; and both the city planner and the architect must share the blame.

LEFT: PIAZZA DEL POPOLO, ROME.

City planning, as we know it today, is a very young profession; barely fifty years old. It owes its existence to a powerful reaction against the social evils and urban horrors of the industrial revolution. It was not the architect, but the social reformer and the sociologist who laid the foundations of modern city planning. The XIX C. architect was much too busy with overdecorating his pretty buildings to face the tragic and almost insoluble problems of the industrial city. His only contribution—the city beautiful movement—whereby a marble civic center could somehow redeem blight, poverty and disease, did more harm than good. It created a distrust as to the role of the architect in city planning, a distrust that still lingers on.

The profession of city planning is not only young but also ill-defined. There are even experts who think that city planning is not a distinct profession at all, but just the sum-total of a wide range of highly specialized occupations covering anything from sociology to traffic control. If and when co-operation is needed it should be presided over by a public administrator. This view, though very dangerous to the future of the profession, gives however a fair picture of the present state of affairs. The average city planner is at his best when gathering facts and figures. He feels really at home when dealing with a specific problem, expressed in graphs and tables. He feels and thinks about the city in terms of forces—social and economic; numbers—acres, persons or cars; and when he ventures to tackle buildings it will usually be in terms of height, use or blight. His is a two-dimensional world and even his vision of this future, embodied in the master plan, is still essentially two-dimensional.

The master plan, the last will and testament of the city planner, is handed down to posterity

in the form of a beautifully coloured map, which, when stripped of its trimmings, represents a rational land use and traffic pattern. This is a very important document without which there is no basis for any kind of sound development. Nevertheless it is still not the end; it is not even the beginning of the end; it is only the end of the beginning

All the beautiful colours of the master plan will have at a given moment to be translated into brick and mortar, roads and trees. The structures will vary in shape, size, colour and texture. They will form some kind of relationship with each other, and with the existing townscape. In short, life itself will add the missing third dimension. And the final result? Well, one has to pray and hope

The basic philosophy of the master plan correctly assumes, that if a hundred developers will, without any plan or guidance, choose at random a hundred sites for a score of different uses, the result will be functional chaos. Why then should one assume that when a hundred architects, without any overall concept or co-ordination, erect a hundred different buildings the final result will be anything else but aesthetic chaos? Nobody in his senses would expect an orchestra without a conductor, playing from a dozen different scores, to produce a musical masterpiece. But this is precisely what the city planner anticipates when he is putting the finishing touches to his cherished master plan.

The science of city planning has developed very rapidly during the last few decades. Some of its achievements are really impressive. We know about the city much more than ever before. We can state the illness and prescribe the cure. But a very basic lesson has still to be learned; that even the most functional city can be a deadly place to live in

The city planner must break out from his

two-dimensional prison. He must absorb the simple truth that cities are not made of coloured maps and, whether he likes it or not, the final result of all his labours will always be expressed in three dimensions. As the custodian of our cities he has a moral obligation not only to protect and preserve existing urban values, but prepare the ground for the creation of new ones. To fulfill this vital task he must re-discover, preach and practice the art of urban design.

Enter the architect. Here is a man whose whole professional life revolves around the third dimension and whose product forms the most important element of the urban scene. Does he at least fill this dangerous gap left by the city planner? The answer is no. The modern architect is neither willing nor technically equipped to deal with the crucial problem of urban design.

While the profession of city planning is still in its formative stages, architecture can claim a long history. During its great periods, and there have been quite a few, it displayed a scope and a depth unmatched today. Architecture was not just another form of art, but the very synthesis of all forms of visual arts. It dealt not only with the individual building and its construction, but embraced also city planning and civic design. And, last but not least, it provided a carefully planned home for painting and sculpture. It was a good home, where the three major forms of the visual arts lent strength to each other and fused together into one, happy family. It is hard to imagine a medieval cathedral stripped of its sculpture and stained glass. Or is it really possible to say where architecture ends and urban design begins in a Renaissance square? Is not



RIGHT, AND BOTTOM: PIAZZA SAN MARCO, VENICE.

the Campidoglio treated as an architectural interior, where the buildings form the walls, the patterned paving serves as a carpet, sculpture, lamp-posts and fountain acting as pieces of furniture, and the ceiling being provided by the everchanging sky?

The modern architect has abdicated his responsibilities. He has no common language with the painter or sculptor. He has lost interest in the urban scene. The problems of the city are no more his concern. He has put on a pair of blinders and limited his vision to the solitary building. Even the construction of his single building has been taken over by the structural engineer. No wonder that architecture is ceasing to be an art and becoming just another branch of industrial design.

When at the turn of this century modern architecture took up the fight against the sham and sterility of the Beaux-Arts, each new building was hailed as a great victory in the battle of progress. And rightly so. The pure form and simple lines of such a modern structure have been most exciting when viewed against the background of the senseless, over-decorated XIX C. architecture. Fifty years ago modern architecture was new and revolutionary. Our society owes a great debt of gratitude to that gallant band of pioneers. They did more than their share. Have we done ours? What has been our contribution to the philosophy of modern architecture in its relation to the complicated problems of contemporary life?

Modern architecture is no more new, revolutionary or even very modern. It is simply commonplace. Some individual buildings are impressive in their intellectual integrity, others can be quite pleasing, but when viewed en masse, there is only too often an uneasy feeling of disappointment, a lack of fulfillment,

a sense of great expectations that have not come true. Consider the bizarre collection of giant glass boxes on Park Avenue, which have so successfully obliterated the character of the old street without putting any new urban value in its place. You can see how each building has been conceived and designed in total isolation, just like a vacuum cleaner or a washing machine. How obvious it is that no consideration has been given to the relationship with the other buildings or to the urban personality of the street itself.

We have embraced the gospel of functionalism in its most narrow, material sense. We have forgotten that spiritual values are part and parcel of any architectural function, and we are beginning to pay the price. Frustration is growing; the reaction is setting in. One can already detect the signs of a modern Baroque. But no ingenious screen or other clever gimmick will prove to be the salvation. There is a very real danger that modern architecture will degenerate even before it gets off the ground.

In order to save itself and stop the further mutilation of our townscape, contemporary architecture has to restate its role and its scope. We have to get back to fundamentals. And we have to start by coming to terms with the past.

Horrified by the blind imitation of the past, practiced so widely during the XIX C., the modern architect reacted in a rather adolescent way. He turned his back to the past and rejected it altogether. It's time to grow up. The only mature way of dealing with the past is to know and understand, to absorb, assimilate, and express the same basic problems in our own, contemporary terms. We are only too often the victims of technological progress. Because we are able to produce more, move faster, ascend higher than ever before,

we tend to forget that the essence of human existence and the measure of all things—man himself, have changed very little during the last few thousand years. There is still quite a lot that can be learned from the past and in the field of urban design it is a very salutary lesson.

Let us visit Venice and spend a few hours in Piazza San Marco. Let us try to find the answer to a simple question; what is the reason for this strong feeling of emotional and intellectual satisfaction, a feeling so seldom produced by contemporary urban schemes. Here is a square where each building is in a different style, yet there is a perfect architectural unity. One cannot find a single tree yet the square is not barren or empty, but alive and exciting. A dozen architects added their buildings over a period of 1,000 years, and yet, there is the impact of one unified, overall composition. The answer is a simple one. The architects responsible for this glorious square knew the theory and practiced the art of urban design. Each of them, when his turn came, not only erected a new building, but at the same time, made a significant contribution to the square itself. He started by taking stock of what was already there and was very careful to add and not detract. He didn't try to do it by imitating the style of his predecessors. On the contrary, he expressed himself very frankly in his own contemporary idiom, using solids and voids, contrast and harmony, colour and texture, the eternal elements of any successful composition.

Let us go to Paris, take a walk in the Champs Elysees and savour the urban quality of this beautiful street. Let us enjoy and analyze. And very soon we will conclude that it is not the architecture that makes the street. The buildings are quite mediocre and their only

saving grace lies in their unity. It is the proportions of the street itself, the relation between height and width, the landscaping, the Arc de Triomphe and the obelisk, that fuse so perfectly into one integrated urban composition.

We should visit more places and learn more lessons, and all of them will point to the basic truth that an individual building is only one of many elements in the urban scene, that it is like a musical instrument which can produce a sound of its own, but this sound is still only part of a larger, richer, and more exciting experience—a performance of the whole orchestra.

The modern architect faces a special challenge. He has to overcome both a habit of mind and human vanity. He must stop looking at his building as being the center of the universe. He must realize that the relationship among buildings is as important as the building itself. He must be prepared that for the good of the townscape his building will often have to act as a background or a foil and not always as a star stealing the show.

Our whole culture is a product of the City. Athens and Rome, Florence and Venice, Paris and London; those are not just geographical locations. The very names bring back to mind a culture, a philosophy and a way of life. Even today, during a period of its decline, the city is still performing the same function. In that respect suburbia does not replace it. There is something in the drama and tension of the city that creates the climate in which ideas can grow and culture bloom.

The city is fighting a grim battle for survival and needs all the help it can get. The architect cannot remain neutral. It is not only a matter of moral obligation but also enlightened self interest. When ideas die and culture declines, architecture cannot flourish.



THE CULTURE CONCEPT AND URBAN DESIGN

MEL J. RAVITZ—DIRECTOR, COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION DIVISION, DETROIT CITY PLAN COMMISSION.

In recent years, many American cities, large and small, have become concerned with their physical and financial renewal. Redevelopment, conservation, rehabilitation, workable program have become fairly common words in our everyday language. The Housing Acts of the last several years since 1949 have provided the legislative and financial possibility for large scale replanning and reconstruction of our blighted cities. Urban renewal, indeed, is just getting underway in America; it promises to be with us over the next century at least, as we begin to work at the processes of slum clearance, slum prevention, industrial redevelopment in the vast job of redesigning our cities and the structures within them.

Urban renewal with all its necessary design activity on the part of both planner and architect provides the contemporary possibility for achieving or at least reaching towards a new urban physical environment. I do not want to take the space to discuss here the various social, political, legislative, and financial roadblocks to renewal;¹ for the moment, I am willing to assume that these can and will be cleared away and then the full scope and effect of renewal will sweep across the country, permitting the rapid physical transformation of our urban communities. I make this assumption because I want to focus attention here not on the problems of implementing urban renewal, but on the problems of appropriate and satisfactory urban design.

When I refer to the urban designer, I mean both the architect and the planner, both he who concentrates on the design of separate structures within the city and he who deals with the design of neighborhoods and communities, civic centers and traffic patterns. Both are urban designers jointly responsible for the physical layout, the functions, the

"CULTURE . . . MUST BE ACQUIRED BY SYMBOLIC CONTACT WITH OTHERS."

aesthetics of land use in the urban area. In a most important sense, both are the planners of the urban environment in which we shall be living and which we shall be using over the next century. Certainly it is a minimum expectation from urban designers that the structures and environment they propose be able to meet certain fundamental values of the present and the future. Perhaps we can suggest that these fundamental values include: functional utility, flexibility, comfort and beauty. The interpretation and the achievement of these basic values cannot be left to the discretion of only the urban designer; past experience suggests that the skills and techniques of the urban planners cannot alone achieve these value goals.² These values can be variously construed and to leave their interpretation solely to the designer is to risk seeing them constructed in concrete or brick which cannot be easily corrected. The urban designer does not build for a day but for decades; he deals not with hundreds or even thousands of dollars but with millions; his errors of value interpretation cannot be easily erased; once they are built they will for years to come work their impact on those who use them.

As a sociologist I should like to call to the attention of the urban designers some few aspects of social science knowledge, mostly relating here to the concept of culture, which are either not clearly understood by them or which are completely overlooked. Recognition of even these elementary sociological perspectives plus the willingness regularly to involve the trained, professional sociologist in helping to analyse and solve design problems will result in planning and building cities of human scale more fit for present and future human living.

Let me begin this brief review of relevant

points both sociological and cultural by calling on urban designers to recognize that physical planning is not a separate, independent field, but is, indeed, a dimension of social planning. This may be appreciated more readily if we note that whatever is intended for human use is social, whether it is manifested in material or in non-material terms. Thus, a building, an expressway, a shopping center, a civic center, or a neighborhood unit are all distinct social entities within the larger social institution that is the city. All planning, therefore, that is designed for people, regardless of the medium through which it will ultimately express itself publicly, is social. All this is but another way of stressing that construction of the many material elements that constitute the physical city does not occur in a vacuum; it takes place within the larger social matrix that includes people and their cultural patterns; it is, therefore reasonable to assume that both planners and architects and urban designers generally will need to understand the nature of the entity for whom they presumably plan just as thoroughly as they must understand the nature of the material with which they build.

Now, it might be assumed that urban designers are familiar enough with those elements of man's social nature to permit them to proceed promptly to plan and build appropriately. Such is not the case; urban designers apparently need to be taught or reminded of the social consequences of what they design and then build in brick, glass and steel. All too frequently those who engage in the arts and techniques of the various aspects of urban design are so intoxicated by the models they make and the sketches they develop that they lose sight of the human purpose of their planning.³ Moreover, if they

do maintain their composure in the midst of ideal visions of the future city, they are often frightfully ignorant of the specie for whom they plan and build and of his guiding cultural patterns. These designers know well how to manipulate their materials, but they are often remarkably naive about human behavior and people for whom all the planning and building is intended.

To overcome some of these tendencies and to begin to develop some of the necessary correctives in contemporary urban design, it is fitting to acquaint the urban designer with the culture concept. This concept of culture as used by the sociologist and the cultural anthropologist is important for the urban designer for its implications about man and his nature.

Culture may be defined in a number of ways, but perhaps the classic definition is that provided by E. B. Tylor in 1889: "Culture is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society."

On the basis of this definition there are a number of dimensions of culture that must be noted: culture consists of three major elements: things and the skills and techniques of how to make and use them; rules, including law, custom and habit whereby people relate to people in expected ways; and ideas, including knowledge and belief whereby people explain and interpret what they make and do. The sociologist and anthropologist are professionally interested in culture to understand how it is structured and how it functions. They recognize that the essence of human behavior are its learned or cultural elements; they know that to understand man means to understand the culture that surrounds him. This must be

recognized by the urban designer too if he hopes to serve man with the products of his planning. There are a variety of reasons why knowledge of culture is important to the urban designer.

One such reason relates to culture's cumulative quality; no single generation produces its own culture. Culture is transmitted from generation to generation. Each and every generation of men adopts and adapts the culture that is here for it when it is born. Though each generation can and does modify the culture it inherits by adding to and subtracting from it, actually it adds or subtracts only very little from the culture base it inherited. Indeed, the very materials and techniques of the urban designer themselves are cultural products drawn from many ages and many places: glass from one time and place; smelted metal from another; the keystone arch from another; the greenbelt from still another. All of these bits of cumulative skill and knowledge come together today in the mind and hands of the competent modern urban designer, as he attempts to order the material world around him to achieve the maximum of human utility, flexibility, comfort and beauty.

Mention of the cumulative quality of culture underscores another of its important characteristics: changeability. Like other elements of the world around us, culture too, in all its aspects, is constantly undergoing change. This is significant, not only because it admits the possibility of new materials and techniques the urban designer may learn to use in his future planning of cities, but also because it implies that the restricting ideas and customs of a people may also change. As the elements of a culture exert their influence on a people as new elements are borrowed from afar, and as they are synthesized and

resynthesized a thousand times over into new inventions, the way is paved both for new possibilities in the application of the design arts and also for new possibilities in their acceptance and the establishment of a profoundly different urban environment. The urban designer must remain carefully attuned to the never ceasing pitching and tossing of the cultural stream.

A second point about culture that bears emphasis is that it is learned. It cannot enter the human being unless he learns it from others who are themselves cultured creatures. That human who is unfortunate enough to have been reared apart from other humans, even in semi-isolation away from at least one socialized member of human society, that human is uncultured and therefore cannot be human in his behavior. Culture neither descends on people like rain nor is absorbed like air; it must be acquired by symbolic contact with others. Thus, the urban designer himself is the cultural product of those who taught him the principles of design; he, too, is bound by the limitations of his cultural background and his learning. Whether he is a follower of LeCorbusier or of Wright or of Geddes, the urban designer is the product of the cultural influences that in a variety of ways were internalized in him. His convictions about design, about order, space relationships, beauty, efficiency, harmony, all these as well as his particular ability to master his materials and apply them, are cultural products which he cannot legitimately be expected to exceed or entirely overcome. Thus, too, the values and customs of urban residents are learned from others and from the urban designers of past and present generations. The attitudes people hold about the possible and practical patterns of new cities, about slums

and their possible eradication and prevention, about experimental architecture, about modern functional design, about comprehensive planning for regions rather than cities, all these attitudes are the results of long years of contact with prevailing attitudes about these things. People cannot be expected to be more than their culture permits them to be, whether in the sphere of private morality or in the sphere of urban design and its acceptance. This is important to underscore because it suggests a significant possibility: that attitudes and values that have been learned can conceivably, with appropriate teaching and motivation over time, be unlearned and that new, fresh ideas and ways can be substituted for outmoded ones. There is hope for the possibility of change of outlook by the urban resident; if the urban designer himself has courage, imagination and a deep appreciation of human purpose and potential, he can modify the level the urban resident is now willing to settle for. In part he settles for this level because he has not been shown much that is better and therefore does not appreciate it; in part he settles for the current level because he has been taught to believe it is good. Those who think otherwise, and there should be many in the field of urban design, should draw from their knowledge of culture the understanding that man is not an inflexible, biologically bound creature whose anatomy or genetic traits dictate his values and attitudes; these come from outside people, from the culture surrounding them, from other people themselves including the designers, who are the only carriers of culture. The only significance of man's distinctive anatomy and genetic structure, as Clarence Day years ago made clear,⁵ is that these traits set certain limits to what man can naturally do; they also dic-

tate in a general way a range of possibilities that man as a physical creature can utilize. Thus, were man anatomically different from what he is, the physical contrivances around him might well be differently shaped: doorways might not need to be so high or they might need to be higher; we might not need chairs or tables; we might need to use larger coins to fit fingerless hands. All these however are relatively unimportant limitations. Essentially, man's biological and genetic nature are insignificant in determining what man needs or will accept in the way of urban or other design. Essentially these needs and the level of acceptance are determined by the culture, and this, as noted before, can be modified, though only slowly.

Another dimension of culture is that it is varied; that is, not all peoples have the same culture. While all people do build their culture over the years to meet the same or similar human needs such as for food, shelter, order, play, religion, defense, reproduction, health, transportation, not all peoples work out the same patterns or designs to meet these needs. Architecture and city layout for example vary from place to place. The teepee and the tenement are both structural products of cultures seeking to house people, but the cultures are vastly different. The American Indian culture which produced the teepee could not have produced the tenement; the American Indian culture base did not contain the ingredients in the way of architectural skill or suitable materials and knowledge of how to use them to develop so sophisticated a structure as the tenement. On the other hand, our society can produce the teepee, but chooses not to do so because it has developed the skills, the suitable materials, and the knowledge to produce the tenement, a more durable type

of construction consistent with our culture's more permanent industrial base. Another example may help clarify the point: the simple unpaved, grid-iron street patterns of the nineteenth century were sufficient to cope with horse and buggy traffic of that period; we had neither the designing skill to suggest any different arrangement nor the need to do so, nor the materials to build expressways had we wanted them, nor the knowledge of how to do so if we had had the materials. Today we have the skill, the knowledge, the understanding of materials and the materials themselves, and the basis of transportation has so radically changed that there is the need for some drastic revision of transportation pattern in the urban community. This change is beginning to occur now that our culture permits and encourages it.

I want to stress this matter of difference in cultures both from time to time and from society to society because failure to appreciate these differences may lead to grave errors of design. One such error was reported by President Eisenhower a few years ago in welcoming a group of educators to the Capitol.⁹ He told them of his amazing experience in once visiting a deserted housing project in Africa. When he inquired why the project was deserted he was told that the people preferred their thatched roof huts to this modern, well built structure simply because the architects had installed private plumbing and laundering facilities and had overlooked the prevailing folkway of these people who preferred to gather at the village waterhole and do their washing there.

This is doubtless an extreme example of neglect of cultural factors, but it serves to illustrate the point that whoever plans for people must understand the particular cul-

ture that has shaped their values, attitudes, customs. This holds whether designing a house or a neighborhood. One may overlook cultural factors at one's own risk.

In addition to the rather easily discernable cultural differences that distinguish different societies, there are the less spectacular cultural differences that exist among groups within the same society; here it is usually necessary to look carefully and closely to appreciate the cultural differences, but they are there to the eye of the trained observer. Differences between and among social classes, religious categories, ethnic groups, are of importance. The various cultural groups of any society will tend to emphasize one or more of the following nine value factors. Although described originally as values to be noted in regard to housing, they are likewise applicable in regard to other units of the physical environment, such as the neighborhood or community.

1. Economy. This value orientation is found in people who primarily emphasize thrift and an economical way of living.
2. Family centrism. This value is found where there is close unity among family members.
3. Physical health. This value emphasizes physical well-being and safety.
4. Aesthetics. This value is found where people emphasize simplicity, orderliness, harmony and beauty.
5. Leisure. A person holding this orientation tends to emphasize freedom of opportunity afforded by exemption from business and work.
6. Equality. Where this value is held, people tend to give a major consideration to the rank, rights and privileges of others.

7. Freedom. A person holding this value wants to make his own decisions. He does not want to be regimented or held down by dictation or authority.
8. Mental health. This value might best be defined as being found in people who seek peace of mind.
9. Social prestige. This value comes into play in individuals who seek to move upward socially; who seek to obtain "status."

Though these values have been posed as individual values, I would suggest that they can also be viewed as broad cultural values. It is at least possible to see groups of people who have much leisure, retired persons perhaps, and here other groups with low incomes, and still others with important social ambitions. These values can and should be taken into account in designing the buildings and environment these different people will presumably use.

Though there are certainly other values that people seek in both housing and their general environment, and though there may be groups with innumerable combinations of these values, it is sufficient here merely to remind ourselves again that when planning or building for human use, it is important to understand first both the positive and negative values people hold. This will help guide us to what they seek and what they will accept.

In suggesting that it is important for urban designers to understand the culture of the several sub-groups of the society, it is also suggested that they seek to understand in some intimate detail the structure and functions of the contemporary family in whatever society they happen to be working. If any house or neighborhood is to be actually used with convenience and enthusiasm by those for whom

it was intended, those who design these things must be attuned to the living values and activities of these people. We must recognize not only that families differ from group to group, but that all families undergo a normal cycle of living which dictates different spatial and design needs at different times. In our society, for example, the cultural pattern of family life, suggests that at maturity and after suitable academic preparation, each young man will seek a wife and then together they establish their own separate household, after perhaps a brief stay at the home of one of the two sets of parents. This is quite different, for example, from the extended family pattern of the past where the several sons brought their respective wives to the family homestead and where all these couples, their children, and the older generation lived in domestic serenity. Each pattern requires its own kind of functional design and in both cultural situations attention must certainly be paid to the various family stages in the cycle, and housing sufficiently flexible to meet the needs of most stages of the cycle should be planned. Indeed, one ideal might be the flexible house that can be expanded or contracted at will, depending on the needs of the occupants. Short of that ideal at least some greater degree of flexibility than now obtains would be desirable, unless of course we recommend that families pull up stakes each time they pass from one stage of the family cycle to another.

It is an oft quoted truism attributed to Sir Winston Churchill that we shape our buildings (and cities) and then they shape us. This is another way of phrasing the sociological axiom that though man is an agent in the creation of his culture, once in existence the culture creates man. And in the instance of urban design the cultural elements are houses, fac-

tories, shopping centers, schools, churches, roadways, parks, libraries, hospitals, neighborhoods and cities. If we accept the validity of Churchill's remark, grounded as it is in sociological theory, then we must of course view the present type of building and environment offered to the American public with much alarm. If Americans are in any way to be the cultural products of the type of hastily built, mass produced, unimaginative, cramping housing most now have, then there is more cause for profound alarm from this insidious threat to our social psychological development than from whole battalions of missiles and satellites. Though it is perhaps exaggerated to some degree, the bitter indictment of suburbia and exurbia presented by A. E. Spector⁸ and John Keats⁹ in their recent books ought to help awaken us to the terrible and debilitating danger partially produced by the deadly bleak design and initial overcrowding of so many of these "new development" houses and neighborhoods.

All this is written with the simple hope that some recognition of the culture concept and its implications for urban design will prove helpful to designers in planning houses, buildings, communities worthy of twentieth century man with his vast technological capacity. Certainly the power of design as it reacts upon man and is thereupon a cultural influence itself cannot be dismissed as unimportant. As social creatures we live not only among people but within a physical environment that is man-made. The nature of that humanly contrived environment plays no small part in our social development.

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ECONOMIC CONSIDERATIONS IN CITY PLANNING

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When you arrive at your office on Main Street on a lovely morning in late Spring to find the street closed and men with air hammers tearing up the old pavement, your first reaction is probably one of acute chagrin at the noise, dirt and inconvenience you are going to have to suffer for the next several weeks. The chagrin is usually tempered after a little reflection by the anticipated pleasure of driving down a nice smooth Main Street free of the old chuck holes that threatened to tear the bottom out of your car. At any rate you soon become reconciled to your immediate fate and assume that it is all for the best. That may not be a safe assumption. This disturbance in the street which makes you close your window and shut out the lovely spring day is a very complicated piece of business seen through the eyes of the economist. It raises several questions in his mind. By reviewing these questions briefly, we can get some idea of what the economist is thinking today as regards city planning and, for that matter, architecture.

First of all, when they repave Main Street it means to the economist that somewhere along the line a decision was made by society as to the utilization of resources. Land that the street occupies, the labor of many men, and capital in the form of expensive and ingenious machinery, all of which could have been used to produce other goods and services for the benefit of mankind, are being consumed to make a broad, smooth Main Street. The economist is concerned with how this social decision was made. He is also concerned that resources be used efficiently, that is to say that maximum benefit result from their use. For example, last year about \$3.3 billion were spent on such things as paving Main Street—capital expenditures by city governments. This represents only eight tenths of one per cent of all the goods and services we produced.

LEFT: SECTION OF PLAN OF PARIS
(MICHEL TURGOT, 1739) ILLUSTRAT-
ING UNPLANNED URBAN CONGESTION.

Why is the figure 3.3 billion and not something else? Would we have been better off if we had spent more for this kind of good and less for others or vice versa?

Through the centuries we have developed a very complex set of machinery for making social decisions. City Planning as a process is part of that machinery. The function of the city planning process is to aid us in making these decisions and, of course, we must know its function in order to be able to understand or evaluate it. When society develops new and better devices for making corporate decisions, the economist is delighted. Most of his efforts, after all, are directed towards inventing and perfecting these tools. The economist is interested in city planning as a part of the much larger body of decision-making machinery, but he realizes it is a far from perfect tool at its present state of development. He is anxious to see it become a better device and is willing to do what he can to make it one. The economist's attention today is focused on three different but related aspects of this problem. He is concerned about the conservation of capital, the general economic effects of city planning measures and with the implications of alternative spatial organizations. Let us consider these in more detail.

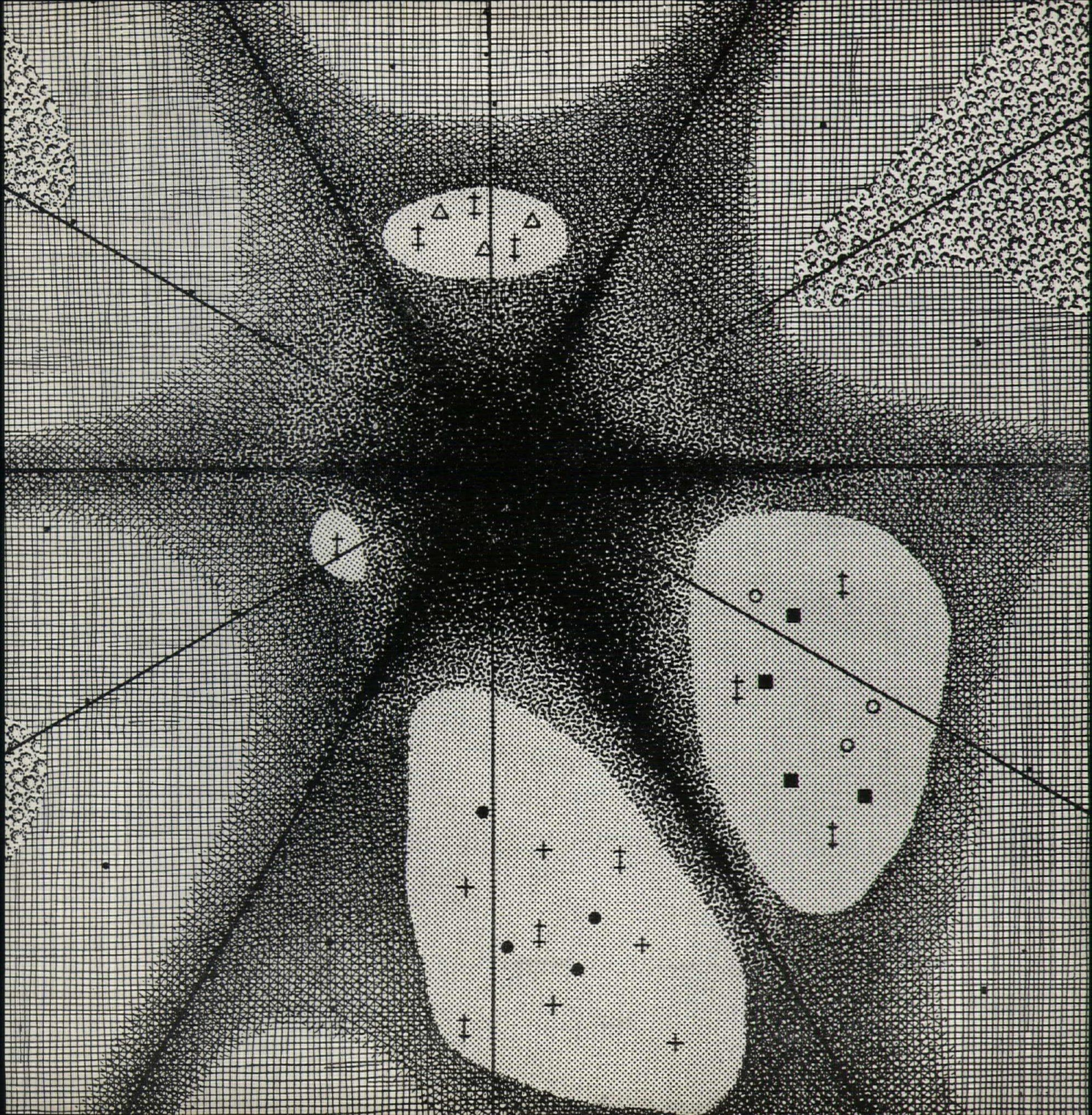
Return to the example of repaving Main Street. Suppose that it costs a total of \$500,000, including carrying charges, to do the job. The city budgets, let us say, \$50,000 a year to pay off the loan in a ten year period. But suppose we citizens use up Main Street at the rate of \$100,000 a year. That is, the street has to be torn up and repaved at the end of five instead of ten years. We obviously are in trouble. We are "living off capital", or using up capital faster than we replace it. Suppose the same thing were happening with all the capital investment of the city—schools,

sewers, water pipes, sewage and water plants, public buildings etc. The city facilities would be getting worse each year with no hope of improvement. Actually, something of this sort seems to be happening in the housing market. This is what is meant by statistics which tell us that the average age of dwelling units in the United States is increasing. This is what is meant by statements to the effect that the housing market is barely keeping up with new family formation, and that the replacement market in housing is almost non-existent.

Much capital waste such as we just described can be avoided by better planning. Our present planning methods, if properly used, could save a great deal. However, even if every city planned its operations by the best methods we now have, there would still be considerable waste. We need to develop better tools. This is a very important problem the planner must face. But it is not his problem alone. The capital investment of local governments represents a very large sum of money, but it is comparatively small in relation to total social capital. This includes all the products of the construction industry, which in turn includes all the products of the architectural profession. Houses and buildings of all kinds are included in this category. Last year \$36.5 billion were spent on new construction, public and private. This represents 8.3% of all goods

RIGHT: A TYPICAL LOSCHIAN LAND-USE SYSTEM. FOUR INDUSTRIAL DISTRICTS, GREATLY DIFFERING IN SIZE, ARE SHOWN IN LIGHT GREY SHADING. WITH SYMBOLS INDICATING PRODUCERS OF VARIOUS COMMODITIES. COMMERCIAL AND SERVICE AREAS, WITH GREATEST DENSITY ADJACENT TO PRINCIPAL ROUTES OF COMMUNICATION, ARE SHOWN WITH HEAVY GREY SHADING. RESIDENTIAL ZONES ARE INDICATED BY CROSS-HATCHING AND SURROUND PARK AND RECREATIONAL AREAS.

ILLUSTRATION REPRODUCED FROM "LOCATION AND SPACE ECONOMY" BY WALTER ISARD, PUBLISHED BY THE TECHNOLOGY PRESS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY AND JOHN WILEY & SONS, INC., NEW YORK.



and services produced in this country. The architectural profession has a job to do also in its role of leading the construction industry. Greater flexibility in structures would permit their adaption to rapidly changing conditions and prevent much premature obsolescence. The development of more economical building systems would mean that capital investment dollars would go farther and could lead to more rapid amortization. Faced with increasing indications that our social capital is not being properly conserved, the economist looks on these as the two great challenges architecture is presented with today. A student of human culture cannot conceive of a real aesthetic that does not reflect the needs of its society. The economist feels that greater flexibility and more efficient building technology are the overwhelming needs from which a new aesthetic must emerge.

When the city put the Main Street job out for bid, it was obviously competing in the private market for the use of a certain amount of labor and capital goods in the form of machinery for a certain period of time. But not every decision on the part of local government affects the allocation of resources in such a direct and apparent manner. For example, take zoning which the architect comes in contact with daily. Because of the way in which it is zoned, it may not be possible to use a certain piece of land for the purpose which the private market would dictate in the absence of regulation. Sections of a given property may never be used for building purposes at all because of area regulations. This is a clear-cut case in which the way resources are allocated to various uses is affected by social decisions in the form of government regulation. Many other devices exist, the most pertinent of which for the construction industry are codes of various kinds and subdivision

regulations. Most of these regulatory measures were put into effect to remedy various evils the people of the community recognized and wished to do something about. The net effect of such regulations is supposed to be the achievement of that allocation of resources that is best for the community as a whole. Does it really work out that way?

Just because we have pure hearts and good intentions does not by any means guarantee that the results of our actions will be either pure or good. This is just as true of public bodies as it is of private individuals. We need to have ways of measuring what the real effects of our actions are. The economist, in general, feels that city planning has a great deal of work to do to develop ways of finding out what the total effect of regulatory actions are. But the planner is the agent of the community, and it is not his task alone. A real responsibility rests with the other members of the community who have a chance to see firsthand the effects of regulations to communicate this information to the governmental body concerned. After all, in most communities the code restrictions that exist were drawn up by local professionals. And in communities where there are local chapters of professional organizations these groups usually have committees on zoning, codes, etc. If the best social decisions are not being made, it is the responsibility of every member of society, but most especially those with most knowledge of the facts, to see that the situation is corrected. The economist has a big job to do in developing better tools so that the effects of decisions of this sort can be determined with greater precision. Without such knowledge we cannot be sure we are choosing the correct policy. If a fraction of the time and energy that have been spent complaining that we are not making the right social decisions had been de-

voted instead to finding out how to make them we would be a lot farther along.

There is still another consideration. Main Street is a space. It is a space which is used for the purpose of going between two points of activity that are separated in space. Obviously, the more they are separated, the more Main Streets you need. While Main Street represents resources in itself, land and labor and capital to keep it passable, using Main Street requires yet more resources—time and energy. Decisions made both privately and publicly as to how we distribute ourselves and our activities through space have important implications concerning the way resources are allocated to various uses. For example, streets of all kinds are the second largest use of urban land. Of the land covered by cities it is estimated that about 28% is devoted to streets. The ratio in individual cities generally ranges from about 20% to about 35%. What would be the best ratio? We could, of course, design our cities so that either more or less land was devoted to streets. What does it cost to use our streets? The average family spends about 13% of its total expenditures for goods and services, after taxes, for automobiles, gasoline and transportation. Estimates of what we spend as a nation for streets and roads and their upkeep, vehicles of all kinds and fuels to operate them, and other transportation costs range up to 25% of our total product. This does not count human time spent in just getting from one place to another nor other costs of overcoming distance separation such as the mails, telephone and other communication devices. Is this the best kind of situation? Again, we could design our spatial relationships so that either more or less was required to overcome distance.

We do not really have any very satisfactory way of finding the answers to these questions.

Spatial theory needs much developing. We know that to some extent we enjoy spreading out and avoiding overcrowding. We do not really know what the effects of overcrowding are, nor do we really know the costs involved in spreading out. Various authorities complain about the desecration of the open countryside that accompanies urban sprawl, and other authorities warn us that social disintegration will be the result of congestion. The spatial economist must develop better tools of analysis to help the planner guide society towards the right decision. Here again there is a place for the architect. What would be the effect, can we suppose, if architects played a larger part in the selection of locations for their projects than they generally do now? Frequently, at present, the location of a building project is chosen in a sometimes mysterious and quite arbitrary way by an inexperienced client before the architect is engaged. The architect, if he knew more about location criteria, could offer important services to his client as a professional. He would be functioning in a higher role than that of professional with respect to the client-contractor relationship. He would serve as a professional with respect to the relationship of the client to society as a whole.

From the point of view of at least one economist, which at this moment is a panoramic one over hundreds of square miles of magnificent Bay Area urban concentration and sprawl as a jack hammer thunders tirelessly beneath the window, these are the major challenges facing both city planning and architecture today. He is confident that some planners and architects will find satisfactory answers to these questions, and that society will incorporate them into the main stream of its progress. Others will come up with unsatisfactory solutions, and these will become the fascinating by-ways of history.



THOUGHTS ON ARCHITECTURE AND CITY PLANNING

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These somewhat hasty notes, and they can claim to be nothing more, are intended to record thoughts about architecture and city planning in the fall of 1958. They are inevitably insular and limited, because you join the struggle as it goes along, with inevitably second hand impressions of what went before and what is happening in other parts of the battlefield.

To look forward one must also look backward, but how does one review, assess, or evaluate recent history? For history is littered with historians who have tried and have either got it all out of focus or have focussed on the wrong things, and there is always the danger of being superficial and of seizing on the bright shining objects and missing out on the really significant ones because it is harder to see them. Then, too, where does one start?

I will begin where I first joined the struggle. The ideas which came to us in the early thirties as architectural students were roughly these. First, there must be a destruction of old outworn concepts which caged in architecture and city planning within tight conventional limits; a sweeping away of worn-out but universally held ideas. Then there must be a new architecture, creating new forms from new techniques, something to get in line with the twentieth century, with the automobile and with the airplane. Linked by town planning the new movement joined up with the broad progress of social reform, the century of the common man, of new cities and new towns, and a square deal for all the people in terms of housing and schools and green spaces; in fact the possibility of a new environment which only needed a vision sufficiently powerful and widely enough held to bring it to reality.

But there were enormous difficulties: the

LEFT: SHOPPING CENTER, COVENTRY.

movement was still small in most countries and carried little weight, and in Britain the number of 'modern' buildings could be counted on the fingers of both hands. Even then, too, there were the shadows of controversy (which have since killed C.I.A.M.) as to how the new architecture should be achieved. One theory, for instance, was that you could get results by just redesigning buildings without the stylistic encumbrances of the past but otherwise in the same way, i. e. each building individually designed and custom built by craftsmen, so making each one a potential monument to its architect. My brother calls this 'renaissance in modern dress', and it still goes on here in large quantities.

Another theory came through the development of in-situ reinforced concrete, which enabled exciting new forms and new ways of enclosing space to be discovered. So much did this idea gain a hold on the imagination of architects that modern architecture (springing essentially from industrial roots) and in-situ reinforced concrete (fundamentally a craft technique) became almost synonymous, a contradiction that is still not wholly appreciated.

This does not mean that there were not architects like Gropius and Neutra who were thinking and designing in terms of mass production, of pre-cast components, and of dry fabrication techniques, but they didn't have either the opportunities or the know-how of gearing in to the building industry or even to the right clients, and their studious matter-of-fact approach didn't catch the imagination of the younger architects. Of the men who actually achieved this distinction Le Corbusier stands head and shoulders above the rest. In the thirties we were fired by his books (even in translation) and enormously stimulated by his buildings. The problem was, and still is, with

Le Corbusier as with Wright, to sort out the significant ideas from the gimmicks, but his undisputed contribution has been in the vision of cities—the Ville Radieuse, which for the first time incorporated the new technological developments of skyscrapers, automobiles, and even airplanes, into the idea of a city for tomorrow, with multi-level communications, enjoyment of the humanized landscape right in the city, enjoyment of the city itself, robust belief in the big city, and even belief in the possibility of man making cities fit to live in. As distinct from Hugh Ferriss, for instance, who was just carried away by the vision of skyscrapers.

It was when the new ideas were tried out in relation to existing cities that they showed up the enormous gaps between paper diagrams and their realization. Le Corbusier himself in the Vousin Plan for Paris, in Buenos Aires, and elsewhere, and CIAM Groups (notably the MARS Group in their plan for London) made deep but momentary impressions in men's minds but not in their cities. Like Geddes in India, many hours of brilliant thinking produced practically no three dimensional changes.

Just before the War our ideas were considerably modified and broadened by the arrival in this country of Lewis Mumford's **Culture of Cities**. Even if Mumford is not sufficiently recognized in the United States, he will be for long respected and admired here as the first real philosopher of the movement who reminded us forcibly that architecture was the stage setting for the drama of life and not the drama itself, and that cities were organisms of hitherto undreamt of complexity which required designing in time as well as space. He also reminded us of the works of Geddes and Lethaby, two pioneers who were

in real danger of being forgotten in their own country.

Then came the War and its physical and emotional upheavals, particularly for our generation. Unfortunately the opportunities which were created by it were only grasped fragmentarily, as modern architects and city planners were still only on the fringes of society, or at least that part of society that got things done. There were, however, a few landmarks in Britain. In London there was the County of London Plan (a document of fundamental importance) followed by the Greater London Plan (by which the city plan was integrated with the regional plan) and then after the War by the revitalizing of the LCC Architect's Department, largely by MARS Group members, some of whom like Arthur Ling had worked before the War on the MARS Plan for London. In the last ten years the Department has produced a whole series of official projects for Comprehensive Reconstruction Areas,* and a programme of housing and schools that is one of the largest in the world.

Then there was the small city of Coventry, to which a group of us went just before the War to start a new kind of official Architectural Department under Donald Gibson. The payoff came somewhat unexpectedly and indeed melodramatically when the city centre was destroyed, but I have endeavoured to describe this story elsewhere (*Listener*, April 17, 1958).

Another planning achievement was the legislative and research work done in the new Ministry of Town and Country Planning during and just after the War. Here a real contribution was made to the national framework of planning; beginning, as these things must, by changing the laws of the land. It is partic-

* SEE ARCHITECTURAL DESIGN FOR MAY 1956.

RIGHT, TOP: PEDESTRIAN MALL. ROTTERDAM; BOTTOM: COVENTRY.



ularly sad that the history of the U. S. National Resources Board seemed to repeat itself with the British Ministry.

In architecture there was school building, not the few 'one-off' jobs that have caught the eyes and cameras of visitors, but the hard, painstaking, coordinated thinking in terms of user requirements, industrial techniques, cost studies, and all the other factors adding up to a comprehensive 20th century approach, which was started in the Primary Schools Group in the County Architectural Department of Hertfordshire, was guided into a national movement largely by members of the same group who moved to the Ministry of Education, and is now spreading all over the country, with an especially brilliant development recently by the Nottingham County Architectural Department. Elsewhere there has been some valuable research on hospitals by the Nuffield Trust, the LCC work already referred to on large scale public housing, and here and there some excellent one-off jobs by a number of private architects. But the architects and planners are not yet in the right positions, research is hopelessly inadequate, and the Schools of Architecture are years out of date.

Across the Channel there has been Holland, of inter-war planning and housing fame, and now more specifically Rotterdam, reconstructing its centre comprehensively but not always looking far enough ahead. It has however evolved new forms of building to meet new programmes—the Lijnbaan pedestrian shopping centre, matching Coventry's Precinct, the high-rise apartments in the centre, the Groothandelsgebouw commercial complex, flatted factories, and other experiments.

In France—but it is very difficult to talk about France, the world cultural leader for so

long, except to say that for us the French scene has been rather dominated by Le Corbusier, although both the great Unites at Marseilles and Nantes seem to me to be dynamic experiments in apartment building, and not by any means total solutions to the problem of urban living, and incidentally antedated in use and even in general form by such buildings as Whitehall Court over 70 years ago (there must be parallels in America from the 19th century as well).

Here you are probably thinking "what about Italy and Nervi, Mexico and Candela, Brazil and its exciting movement, and of course the United States with half of Europe's men of genius and hundreds of bright young (and not so young) Usonian architects now getting incredible scope compared with before the War?" Well, I can only say that countries like Italy and the Latin American Republics are in an earlier stage of industrial development than the US and NW Europe. Some of their architects are brilliant enough, but they have not yet been faced with the same problems of designing for the whole community within a highly industrialized economy. They are still in a somewhat 'hot-house' atmosphere.

As for the United States, and here I must speak carefully as one who has not yet completed his Grand Tour and has therefore only second hand knowledge, it is to many of us a puzzling enigma. On the one hand there are enormous resources in land wealth and people, with sublime capabilities (and we are never tired of hearing about the TVA), but every advance seems to meet an equalizing frustration, at least as seen from this distance. Superman gets tied up every time. You get the UN building, which looked as though in planning terms it was going to spark off a more

intelligent approach to high buildings in the city (or at least in Manhattan), followed by the Lever building, full of exciting possibilities, followed by—what? Is Seagram really going to solve any planning problems? Today we need not only a knight in shining armour, but a horse too. And then there is Gruen's remarkable Fort Worth project—but can it get off the ground? In fact, can any of the bold and intelligent projects I have seen for half a dozen American cities be realized, for they depend for their success not on the completion of one or two fine individual buildings, but for the realization of the totality of their conception in terms of offices, hotels, apartments, shops, piazzas, multi-level communications, and so on, which needs a new conception of city organization to carry through—in time as well as space.

Here, just as I am about to start, I must stop, with a quick what now. What is significant, what will lead the way into the future? History so often records that it is the things with humble and unnoticed beginnings that eventually dominate the scene later on. There is much talk today of form and style, as though we can create a new architecture overnight with the work of a few geniuses (we forget that a style is the historian's classification terminology, and should be kept there), or a new city with one or two brilliant essays in space by globe-trotting consultants.

I see the modern movement, having successfully smashed the old false concepts, now slowly realizing that it was not a movement that began with a man in the '90s or even with a few men ten years later, but as some-

thing that has been struggling into existence for 150 years. For its future it depends on a large number of things besides the imagination of architects, although without imagination nothing much can happen at all that is really worth while. If, for instance, there is an opportunity to tackle the total environment, what will be of importance in the public mind is not this or that individual building, but whether the architects and their colleagues can deliver the goods in terms of thousands of living spaces, hundreds of schools, of whole areas of worn out cities replanned **and** rebuilt, of achieving in fact a successful vernacular over the whole urban scene. It is a tough proposition.

If they are to deliver the goods they must no longer act in isolation, but must join in, both with public agencies and with a new kind of building industry where the roles of architect, landscape architect, structural designer, planner, building manager, estimator, component designer, and others are much more closely integrated than they are now. And this means that they must be educated together, and for 15 years I have been advocating a new kind of University Faculty of Building and Planning, * which would embody many of the good ideas from the Bauhaus and other intelligent institutions, but would offer educational opportunities at University level for the whole building and planning team, and at **all** ages (send them back when they have grown moss). I close with this educational need not as an afterthought but as something vital to the creation of the total environment of the future.

* ARCHITECTS JOURNAL, JUNE, 1957.



LOOKING AT CITIES: AMERICA VERSUS EUROPE

GRADY CLAY—ARCHITECTURAL CRITIC, LOUISVILLE COURIER-JOURNAL; WRITER AND LECTURER ON ARCHITECTURE, CITY PLANNING AND RELATED SUBJECTS. THIS ARTICLE IS A DRAFT OF REMARKS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, NOVEMBER 11, 1958.

During the past 12 months I have been doing what, to a newspaperman, comes naturally: looking, walking and talking in cities, both large and small. A series of reporting assignments has taken me to a dozen American cities from Philadelphia to New Orleans; and then on through London, Copenhagen, The Hague, Rotterdam, Amsterdam, Antwerp, Liege, Brussels and Stockholm.

My chief mission in most of these places has been to use my own eyes and legs as much as possible; to get out and look at cities, to experience them—as a tourist of course, but also with the help of local architects, planners, landscape architects—in somewhat the same way as the local residents experience them.

No tourist or wandering newspaperman can ever see fully beneath the surface. But the surface of cities, their shapes and artifacts, often reveal quite clearly the major premises by which their citizens' lives are organized. Man's attitude toward his environment is hard to conceal, even from tourists. A city whose residents have a reverence for the site, a feeling for the landscape, a love of Nature—this city shines in the memory of all its visitors, and even its worst mistakes cannot overshadow its beauties.

In the beginning I carried a camera on these trips as a kind of visual notebook, a rather expensive but also indispensable shorthand for this kind of reporting. In the end, I found myself photographing as much as looking; and depending on film even more than paper and pencil for recording my impressions. This, I feel, was a mistake, for one's feelings and reactions to a scene quickly fade away, can only be preserved in an extraordinary memory, which I do not have, or in notes which are essential.

I have been looking chiefly into the past:

LEFT: JACKSON SQUARE, NEW ORLEANS.

at those **spaces** which have withstood the tests of time; those public squares, parks and plazas; those pedestrian precincts or shopping malls which seem to have qualities that endure. In the beginning I was rather singleminded about this. I remember walking slowly around Memorial Circle in Indianapolis, filling up scores of 3 x 5 cards with notes on Street Furniture, Circulation, Land Uses, 100 percent locations, Architectural Enclosure and the like. But, having neither a Fellowship nor unlimited time, I gave up this Seed-Catalog approach for the more casual and workable combination of a camera and notebook, the latter chiefly for quotes, figures and first impressions.

My first and last impression remained the same: that the large cities of America and of Europe as well are in a state of ferment and great change. Here, a combination of great wealth, automobile ownership and a fantastic Federal highway construction program makes the ferment and change more visible. But in Europe the ferment is also staggering.

Vallingby is the most famous of Stockholm's new "town-sections," and now is nearly finished, with a population of more than 30,000. Between the time work began in 1951, and most of the major buildings were finished in 1956, the automobile population of Sweden increased by 100 per cent.

All over England—you can see it from the air, as well as in the reports of the New Towns corporations—new neighborhoods as well as old are being cut open to provide garages for an increasingly mobile population.

Elsewhere in the world, those persevering scholars of UNESCO tell us of the amazing urbanization which is taking place, even in non-industrialized nations:

The rate of urbanization is higher today in Japan, the Soviet Union and Puerto Rico than

it ever has been in Western Europe or in North America.

Even in the older cities of Europe, there's as much debating over **shape** and **shapeliness** as if they were all a bunch of adolescents, fascinated with, and disturbed by these outward manifestations of inner change.

In the city planning offices of America a visitor hears such questions as these: Will our cities become stringtowns along these new umbilical cords of concrete, the Federal interstate highway system? How long before Christopher Tunnard's predictions about "one great urban region" for the Atlantic Coast, one for California, another for the Great Lakes, come true?

In Europe, the debate often centers around such questions as "How can we keep automobiles OUT of our cities?" (Of course, this is quite un-American and therefore has been most seriously debated in the Republic of Texas where plans of the Vienna-born architect Victor Gruen have fallen into friendly hands in Fort Worth.)

Another big question in Europe today is: "Where shall we put the next New Town?" (A New Town is like a new expressway; everybody wants one, so long as it doesn't occupy his own favorite open space, or come too close to his own back yard.)

Sweden, which was spared the excesses and the horrors (as well as having missed some of the rewards) of the Industrial Revolution, is now determined to avoid the excesses of the Automobile Revolution. Stockholm's planning director Goran Sidenblad told me of his visit to the U. S. with a delegation of Swedish planners to study our mistakes and our triumphs in handling the movement of people in cities. "We decided not to make the mistake of providing parking space for everybody who says they want to drive downtown," he told me.

"For we could see in America that you will soon have no downtown left to go to. Everything will be parking lots."

To return from Europe to America is to be plunged again into a society devoted to **projects**. My own home town of Louisville, which is neither San Francisco nor Middletown, is bursting with projects all of which will re-shape the city. We've got a new Medical Center project, a Western Redevelopment project, a Southwick Redevelopment project; and down the middle the State Highway Department, with all the money in Christendom at its disposal (but not enough to provide a sufficiently wide right-of-way) is plunging a major expressway through the edge of the central business district. The Mayor wants to build some new downtown apartments over in one place; Mr. William Zeckendorf is casting eyes at the waterfront as a site for his apartments. But the State Highway Department proposes to build a riverside expressway directly across the future waterfront view (and if this sounds like the San Francisco Ferry Building controversy all over again, I wouldn't be surprised).

A fantastic number of projects in America involve the automobile and highways, which is appropriate to the Age of the Automobile Revolution in which we live.

This revolution has created a culture in which *Holiday Magazine* is the Bible (the New Testament is now called *Sports Cars Illustrated*); Duncan Hines is the Prophet; and Mecca is a new drive-in 25 miles out of town.

This revolution is changing the shape of our cities; it has set our stores, shops and factories in the midst of asphaltic deserts we call parking lots. It has put miles between

RIGHT: PIAZZETTA SAN MARCO, VENICE. SAN GIORGIO MAGGIORE IN BACKGROUND.



our bedrooms and our workrooms. It has made it possible for us to eat breakfast and dinner 500 miles apart with little damage except to our digestions.

This revolution is shifting land values all over the map. New fortunes are being made around every new interchange, where fortunate landowners are getting the unearned increment which society, through its automobiles, dumps in the vicinity of these new cloverleaves. In my own community, the rise in potential land value around the cloverleaves has produced a flurry of zoning suits. You can hardly swing a subpoena without hitting a witness.

Last winter Ian Nairn, one of the editors of *The Architectural Review*, came to Louisville (as he did to San Francisco and a few other choice American cities) to see what the automobile revolution is doing to us. In the October issue of the review he writes:

The results in the last ten years have been fantastic. New York to Washington is already very nearly one city; medium sized towns such as Louisville, Kentucky, have a penumbra fifty or sixty miles across that is an endless Scotch mist of alternating housing subdivisions, scrubby fields, drive-in cinemas and sandwich bars. You can never be quite out in the country; equally, you can often never be quite in the town, because the center is full of parking lots, or may never have grown up at all, like Los Angeles.

Here in America, we still devote more money to re-shaping our cities for the automobile and its driver than ever before. We are caught in the commitments of the Federal Interstate Highway Act with our cities unprepared, our city plans incomplete. The Act itself is being administered and interpreted, and the new highways designed and built by auto-oriented

engineers. The pedestrian, the park-lover, the defender of open space is a second-class citizen.

But man cannot live on wheels alone, nor can he live by every new and perfect gadget which comes to us from Detroit.

While automobiles grow longer and wider, the rest of us must still struggle along with the same two eyes and ears, the same arms and legs and other appurtenances which we can neither trade in nor get re-treaded. We enjoy the same old pleasures which include peace and beauty; we are repelled by the same annoyances as our ancient ancestors: dirt, confusion, danger, sudden noise.

In short, since there's not going to be a new-model Man out in 1960, we should learn to shape our cities in the present-model man's wishes and desires.

Our cities are not only great collections of structures which we label architecture. They also are great combinations of spaces between structures—spaces in which people share unforgettable experiences, and from which, I believe, people get their chief impressions of a city.

These spaces give the city its character. They stamp it with whatever "genius" the place may have: Washington with its great malls and vistas; Paris with its wide boulevards; Boston with its tight and narrow streets which open suddenly onto the incomparable and certainly uncommon Boston Common; San Francisco with its gridiron street pattern which defies gravity while it provides cross-sectional views of a rare quality.

Shapely cities always have attracted man's interest, his love, his fortunes and his warmest

ACROSSPAGE: LEFT TOP, PIAZZA DELLA SIGNORIA, FLORENCE; RIGHT TOP, MILE HIGH CENTER, DENVER; LEFT BOTTOM, SAVANNAH; RIGHT BOTTOM, AERIAL VIEW, SAN FRANCISCO.



memories. Last summer the greatest exodus of Americans in peacetime history went flocking to such uniquely shapely cities as Venice, Stockholm, London, Rome, Copenhagen. Thousands, pulled by the magnetism of the International Exposition, experienced as I did the great thrill of suddenly coming, or even stumbling, upon the magnificent Place de la Ville of Brussels, which secures its power over the bystander as much from the fact that it is first of all a **place** as it does from the surrounding framework of handsome 17th and 18th century buildings.

Of course it is not space alone which has beckoned to us over the centuries. But it is the moulding of exterior space into a recognizable pattern which gives to so many towns and cities their visual quality which can stir men's souls, and recall them again and again to stand in wonder and admiration.

Earlier this year I was in Savannah, Georgia, that lovely old city which still retains its 23 squares laid out by General George Oglethorpe in 1722. After walking through the city, I discussed it with the metropolitan planning director, Harold Taubin, whose office is located in one of the most unique collections of urban shapes, both external and architectural, in America, Factor's Walk. When Taubin took the job, he gathered together his staff and went on a pilgrimage to that architectural and social center for the South Carolina seaboard, Charleston.

"We came back discouraged," he told me later. "We knew we didn't have anything like the Charleston architecture to capitalize on. They have blocks and blocks of fine town houses. Ours are scattered. But the more we studied Savannah, the more we realized that our unique quality is a series of open spaces, and the connecting links of open space in between. Our intrinsic values are in space."

Open space, for all of us, is not something merely given. It was fought for. And like individual freedom, it is something to be gained through expensive sacrifice, long range planning, and the liberal application of expedient practicality and civic genius.

At the moment, most American cities have their greatest opportunity for generations to create new urban spaces; to re-shape themselves into a better, more handsome, livable, workable and recognizable pattern. This opportunity is provided not only by Federal, state and local redevelopment laws, but equally by the processes of growth and change. We are all in a fever to demolish and rebuild; to remodel and repair. Each of these operations offers a chance to re-shape our urban environment more to our heart's desire, and our eye's delight.

I must leave it to the scholars properly to codify and cross-index the many kinds of urban space which the older cities of Europe and America offer as examples for the future.

Of this I am certain: the essential act is one of walking and looking. Only when one begins to walk around and around, looking and then looking away, to look again—only then can one begin to appreciate the varieties of urban spaces.

And climbing, too. From a newspaperman in California I once got this piece of advice: Get up on the highest building in town, first thing. Carry a map with you. And possibly an old-timer who knows the town intimately. Spend a couple of hours if you can—looking, just looking.

From such a place, the tower of the City Hall in Copenhagen, one can quickly see two of the most significant urban spaces in Europe. One is typical: the City Hall Plaza, with its two blocks of paved open space, surrounded by a varied collection of buildings: city hall,

Palace Hotel, the main newspaper office, and other offices and stores. Here the major trolley lines of the city converge; here one emerges from the tightly packed Old City into the more spacious New City. And on the plaza itself are benches, flowers, and a variety of snack stands.

The second space here is unique: Tivoli Garden, surely one of the finest ornaments any great capital could wish. Here is a 40-acre pleasure-garden: part Central Park, part Disneyland, part Coney Island. Operated since 1843 by a private company, Tivoli contains 28 restaurants, 57 concessions (snack bars, dance halls, Ferris wheel, 20 roulette wheels, shoot-the-chute); a lake, and a succession of lovely walks and vistas which make promenading a universal pastime. More than 1,000,000 people each year pay to enter Tivoli; last year the management paid the City of Copenhagen \$193,000 in ground rent.

The third type of urban space is the Narrow Street common to old European towns. Here the qualities of intimacy, and of activity, prevail; shopping is a pleasure. One wanders from side to side at will. The crowd jostles and pushes. No automobiles intrude. (I heard stories of a driver in The Hague whose car was dented from front to rear by angry shoppers when he tried to enter a pedestrian street.)

Arcades can be found both in America and in Europe; and the tradition has been revived recently with the great central air-conditioned mall of Southdale shopping center near Minneapolis. This is a uniquely successful urban space, a protected, glass-roofed promenade where shopping is fun; and, as in Naples, Milan, Brussels, eating at an arcade sidewalk cafe is a rare combination of comfort and visual pleasure.

We are pikers so far, compared with Euro-

peans, at exploiting land in the interior of city blocks for shopping and other human experiences. Most of our interiors we treat poorly. Alleys, we call them, and leave them to rats, garbage cans, delivery trucks.

Above all, open space seems to me to reach a peak of delight when it serves to define the major portions of a city. Lakes, rivers and canals perform this function dramatically in Rotterdam, Amsterdam, The Hague, Copenhagen, Stockholm and other maritime cities. But the "finger parks" of Amsterdam and Copenhagen serve the same purpose; so do the new creek-valley parks opened up in the bombed areas of Berlin and Hannover. (So, too, will the dramatic rocky slope zones of Pittsburgh once they've been redeveloped according to the old Olmstead plans brought up to date.)

Finally, a warning about open space: don't let it go dead. Many a fine old square in an American city has been allowed to be sold off for stores because it went dead; the benches had been removed because all the Right People said "Only bums sit there." (One moral here: bums need parks, too. A city with sufficient parks, squares, and plazas for all its people need never worry about "invasions" by antagonistic groups into another district.)

Elsewhere I have suggested "Plenty of Action" as a handy formula for insuring that public open spaces, especially in mid-city, be always dear to the hearts of the public. These are the places where City Hall must unite with private businessmen to build-in plenty of activities: new automobile displays, fashion shows, disc jockeys (they're essential to the "action" in Northland and Eastland shopping centers, Detroit); pitchmen, snack stands, newsstands. Here, in mid-city, is the place for the city itself to "make its pitch," and to help re-establish its character. The place to begin is in the open.



OHIO CITY CENTER: A PROPOSAL FOR CLEVELAND

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Premise

The premise of this study is formation of a coordinated **Urban Community** with ample facilities for living, working, shopping, education, health, recreation and transportation, located a few minutes from the heart of a downtown area. It is envisaged as a major opportunity. This study suggests goals and indicates steps toward this transformation. It analyzes existing conditions, studies needs and objectives and proposes plans for future land uses, vehicular and pedestrian circulation and the broad visual form character.

A plan such as this does not, of course, represent fixed decisions, but rather is a preliminary physical ("architecture") guide to action. It attempts to set down all basic ingredients of a well developed future environment but not its fixed detail. It is intended that future discussion and depth of future detail studies will produce modification and refinements.

Background

This report is a part of the commission received from the Ohio City Planning Sponsors in June, 1957. The studies follow the general work outline specified by the Cleveland City Planning Commission which stated in part: "The plan must be one which can be accomplished in the foreseeable future. It is to encompass proposals for the preservation of sound facilities, the rehabilitation of those facilities which are deteriorating or functionally obsolescent in their present use or condition and the clearance for appropriate re-use of those facilities which are deteriorated or obsolescent to the extent that rehabilitation is economically not feasible. The proposals of the plan are to serve as a suggested guide for the creation of a more efficient and satisfying commercial, industrial, institutional as well

LEFT: MODEL OF PROPOSED 20-YEAR PLAN.



INDUSTRY

RESIDENTIAL

lakeview terrace

INDUSTRY

res.

shoreway

detroit

retail

lt. indus.

NORTH

RESIDENTIAL

park

CENTER

parking terminal
& commercial

INDUSTRY

franklin

blvd.

w 29th

w 25th

river cd st.

INSTITUTIONS

RESIDENTIAL

lutheran
hospital

elementary
school

park

greenway

park

RESIDENTIAL

bridge ave.

rapid
transit

columbus

w 38th

retail

INSTITUTIONS

buffer
zone

SHOPPING

res.

rapid
terminal

RESIDENTIAL

retail

CENTER

lorain

fulton

RESIDENTIAL

monroe project

chatham

w 25th

abbey

as private and public multi-family residential development served by safe and adequate traffic, parking and recreational facilities."

MAJOR PROBLEMS AND POTENTIALITIES

The Ohio City Area is bounded by the Cuyahoga River to the east and north, Columbus Avenue and Monroe Avenue to the south. To the west the project area runs to West 38th Street.

It is an area of great potential usefulness, situated as it is directly across the Cuyahoga River Valley from the Public Square-Central Cleveland area. However, it has grown in a random fashion and has produced some major problems: mixed land uses which interfere with each other, such as residence and industry; widespread physical deterioration of structures and accompanying social and economic problems; it is pierced by substantial through-traffic movements which conflict with local vehicular and pedestrian activity; there is a great lack of space for parking.

EXISTING DETERIORATION

Its potential for future growth stems principally from its geographical characteristics and its nuclei of healthy businesses and institutions. It is situated on a plateau which overlooks downtown Cleveland and Lake Erie, and both its proximity to, and its visual prominence from downtown produce strong developmental possibilities.

LEFT: LAND USE IN PROPOSED 20-YEAR PLAN. AREAS LINED WITH WHITE INDICATE MAJOR CLASSIFICATIONS OF LAND USE PROPOSED IN PLAN. PRINCIPAL FUNCTIONAL RELATIONSHIPS AND CHARACTERISTICS OF PLAN ARE SEEN.

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

Urban Community

The development of an area for living, shopping, work and recreation in a park-like environment.

Lutheran Medical Center

Growth of the hospital into a medical center with related offices, housing, nurses' education and recreation facilities, parking and landscaped environs.

Automobile Deposit System

A new North Center to both provide additional parking for local businesses and institutions such as Lutheran Hospital, and at the same time function as a part of an efficient metropolitan traffic system, in which shoreway traffic could park and transfer to downtown loop bus. This parking facility would be combined with future commercial, recreational and transportation uses.

Shopping Center

Development of the Lorain-25th Street center into an efficient, pleasant shopping center with pedestrian malls and ample parking.

PLAN ELEMENTS

Much is said these days about the decay of cities and the flight to the suburbs, and very little about the opportunity for variety and richness of life which cities have offered those who chose to live and work in them for centuries. Cities have become battered by various forces; old age and physical deterioration, chaotic growth, economic and social ills, and now the automobile which brings man a new

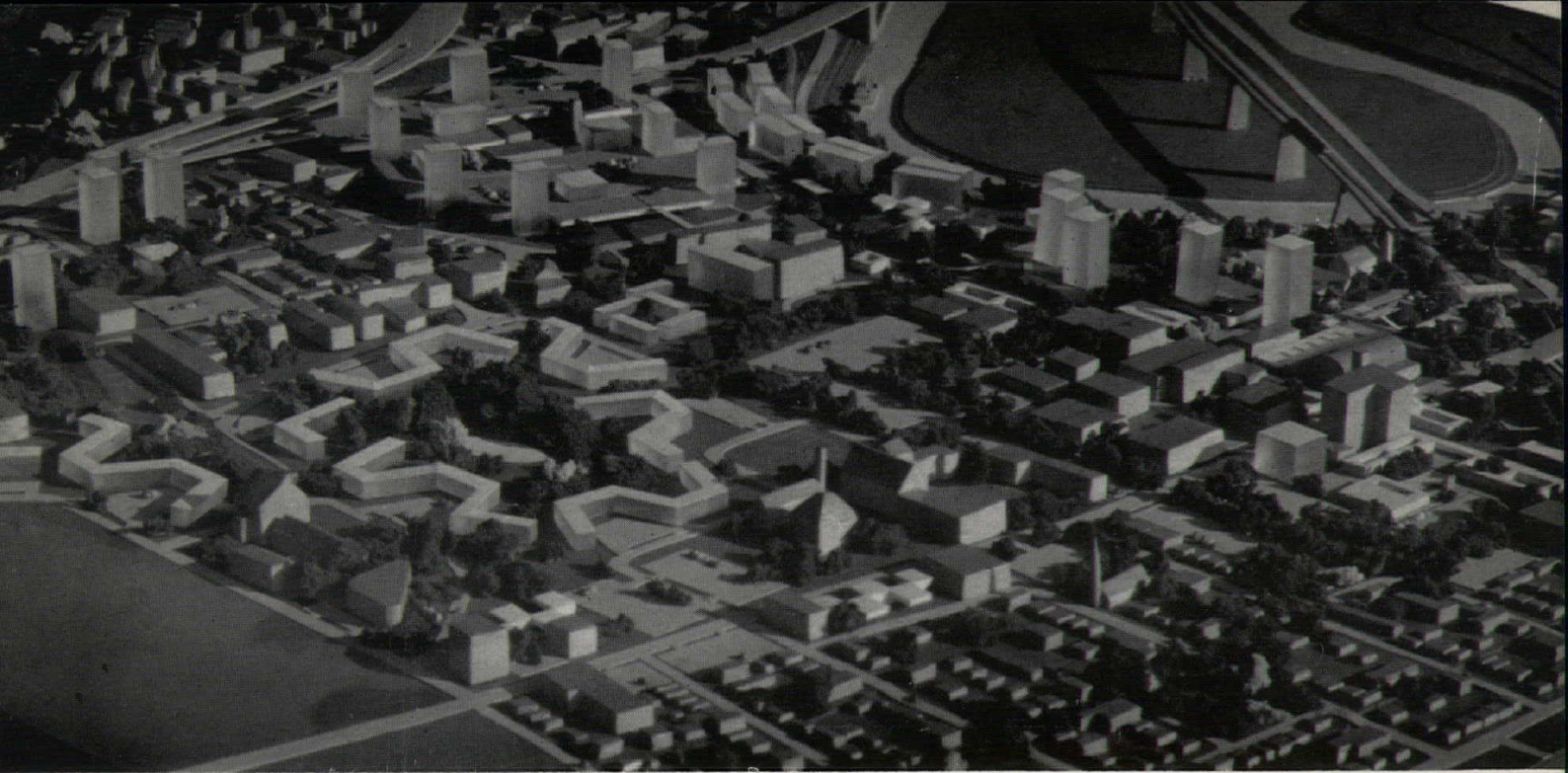
mobility threatens to add the threat of strangulation. The proposed plan is based upon the thesis that the values of the centers of large existing cities will continue to grow so long as two principles are maintained. The first is that problems are tackled on the scale required to overcome the basic roots of the problems, which are social and economic as well as physical; the second is that in the process the baby is not emptied with the bath; the vitality and character brought about by the nearness of varied phases of life, together with the dynamic intermingling of past with present and future, mean a kind of life quality which the spanking new town or suburb will take a long, long time to achieve. The plan which follows attempts to take advantage of the existing strengths and the innate area potentials while meeting its major problems.

1. To provide for such uses of the land as will produce utmost advantage of particular site conditions in consideration of existing patterns and future needs of both Ohio City Area and Cleveland.
2. To allocate adequate land area to each use for its ease of functioning. Separate incompatible activities, trucks and hospitals, etc.
3. To so locate functions with respect to each other that the maximum of beneficial interrelationships are achieved.
4. An adequate system to handle the major traffic movements which must pierce the area as well as location of internal service roads and adequate off-street parking facilities for all activities.
5. To so structure the environment that zones of pedestrian pathways or "greenways" together with malls, plazas and parks are allocated free of encroachment to provide a sense of pleasurable moving about and resting in the area for persons on foot.
6. The Ohio City Area is so prominently visible to people traveling to and from downtown Cleveland that its visual appearance should be transformed into one of beauty.
7. To stage the project over approximately 20 years so that changes may come soon or gradually depending upon intensity of need and available resources.

Future Land Use

The fundamental policy is that maximum possible advantage be taken of existing strong nuclei of commercial and institutional activity, and of the unique topographic possibilities inherent in the area.

The Ohio City Area forms the apex of a plateau pointing northeastward toward Lake Erie and Downtown. Land to the North and East drops off some 80 feet rather abruptly. The proposal is that a two-way advantage be taken of this fact. One is that the land along the borders of this apex make use of the dramatic views afforded instead of turning backs on it as is generally the case at present. Also the opportunity to provide Cleveland with a dramatic skyline and cliffside is proposed by a rhythm of forms of buildings which punctuate and follow the cliff top and others which emphasize the contours. The prominence both with respect to its visibility from downtown and from the bridges and the shoreway and the opportunity for significant dramatic views from the apex strongly point to uses of the land which are active and which many persons can share, which lend themselves to dramatic three dimensional emphasis. The proposed use for this fringe and cliff is residential, with parks and paths along the cliff. As with the New York elevated River Drives, the elevated portion of the Shoreway effectively blocks a dramatic view up to a height of approximately 35 feet. The plan proposes the gradual de-



velopment of parking structures to this level with a newly formed roof land level high enough to provide sites for a number of potential new activities.

Commercial Space Needs

Today's 330,000 square feet of shopping space are appropriate for the total market now and five years hence. However, there is somewhat too much space devoted to shopping goods, not enough for convenience goods.

The twenty-year picture requires additional shopping space. Purchasing power will rise as real income rises to a level equivalent to about \$7000 in today's money. And, while 5600 dwellings will be demolished in the market area, they will be replaced in econom-

ic terms by 5100 new dwellings occupied by families with much more money than those displaced. In addition, 800 new public dwelling units near the shopping area will add a substantial dollar volume, especially for food and clothing necessities. Any private tower apartment units built in the area will add to the anticipated market since they were not included in the base estimate cited here.

Twenty years from now, Ohio City Center's market potential will be about \$25-million a year. This will require 380,000 square feet of retail-commercial space—50,000 more than today.

Since Ohio City Center is only minutes from downtown by car, bus or rapid transit, additional construction of rental offices space

might well be a profitable venture.

From 100,000 to 250,000 new square feet of rental office space for non-medical lease tenants seem potentially justified on the strength of today's need and in view of the renewed attractiveness being planned for Ohio City Center. Right now, some major firms are seeking new office space of the close-in type Ohio City can provide. Others, especially those with port and harbor interests, may well be doing so very soon.

Commercial Proposals

The plan proposes the gradual evolution of a convenient, attractive and pleasant urban shopping center from the existing nucleus of economically and structurally sound commerce now centered on West 25th and Lorain.

There will be a need for ample parking competitive with outlying centers. Within five years there will be a need for a total of 2000 nearby parking spaces to serve just this retail-commercial area, if modern parking needs are heeded. Before twenty years have passed, a total of 2500 spaces will be needed to serve the shopping center alone.

Early stage commercial adjustment will require some retrenchment in provision of comparison shopping facilities for clothes, furniture and similar items. This will be offset by additional space for convenience goods sales of food, drugs, hardware and personal service plus the development of new restaurants and wholesome entertainment places.

Ultimately, as incomes and population rise in concert with changed shopping habits, there will be a need for about 380,000 square feet of floor space in Ohio City Center's retail-commercial core. With such growth in the offing, sound commercial structures can be fully utilized. Only deteriorated ones would be demolished, to be more than replaced by new

development.

Busses would be the only vehicles moving on today's West 25th Street. One bus line would be a new downtown loop circulating between this shopping area, its new parking zone, and Public Square, just across the River. Otherwise, West 25th Street would be reserved for pedestrian shoppers.

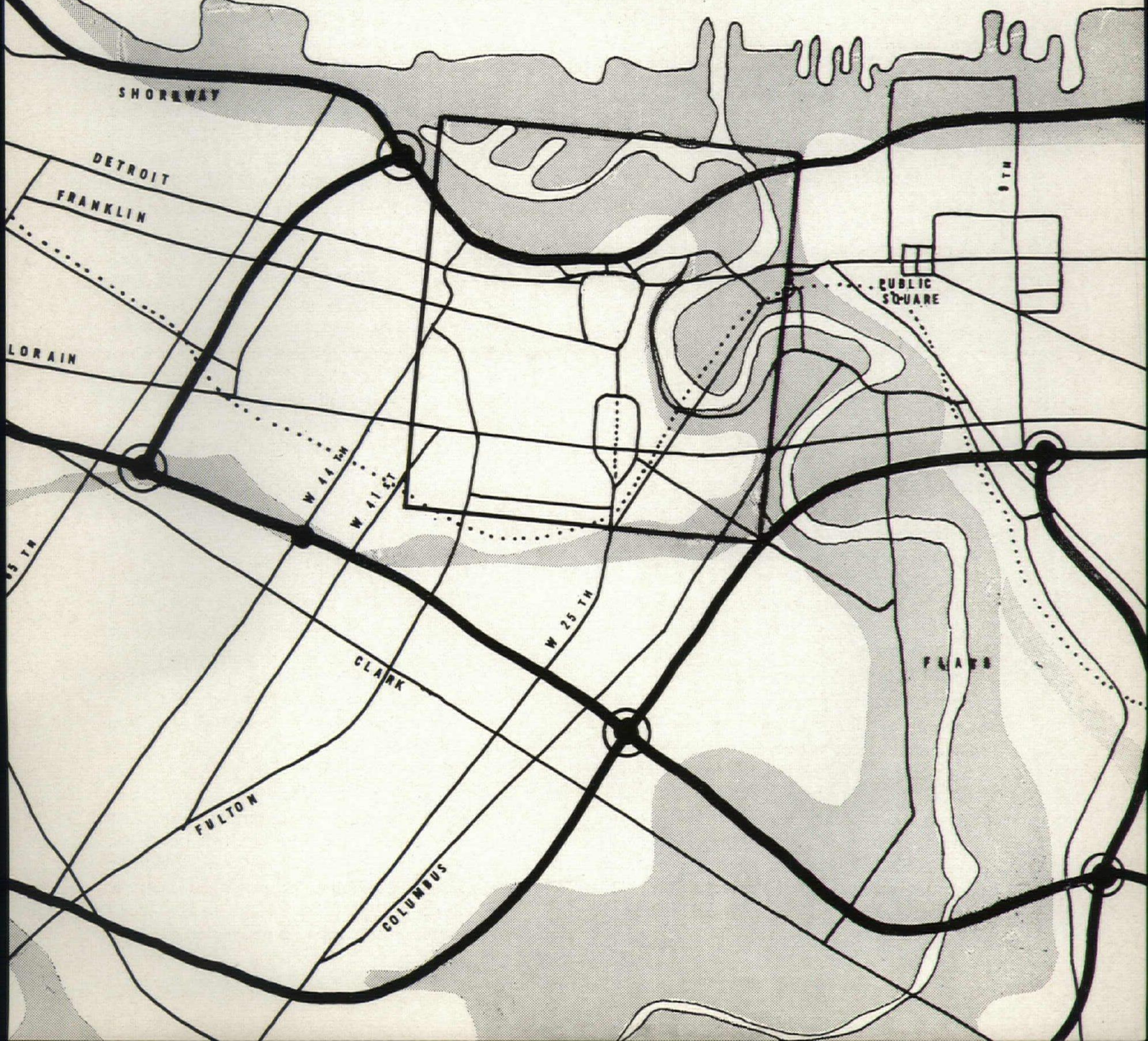
For local circulation there will be a central pedestrian mall to interconnect stores, offices and market. And there will be two pedestrian overpasses to integrate the shopping area. One would be along the line of the new shopping arcade leading from the pedestrian mall to the Rapid Transit station. Another would carry the central shopping mall over Lorain Avenue's continuing traffic flow.

At the West Side Market the following proposals are made: the provision of new open air market stalls to the North of the market to replace the ones along Lorain Avenue and provide for the possibility of expansion; the connection to various parking lots by uninterrupted pedestrian ways making additional parking spaces and access available; the development of a more open park-like atmosphere with trees and landscape elements adjacent to the stalls, to recapture some of the spirit of unhurried pleasure which characterizes some of the fine European markets today. The Rapid Terminal and the park at the end of the Lorain Carnegie Bridge are proposed as other means of improving the qualities of this key shopping area.

Rapid Transit Terminal

A new Rapid Transit Terminal is proposed connecting directly into the heart of the shopping center along a new pedestrian shopping arcade. This combines the ability to make a clear and strong pedestrian link to the shopping center with ready access between the

RELATIONSHIP TO PROPOSED METROPOLITAN TRAFFIC
SQUARE INDICATES AREA INCLUDED IN PROPOSED PLAN SHOWN ON PAGES 37 AND 39.



Rapid Station and the proposed housing areas. A Terminal Market Restaurant is proposed to take advantage of a dramatic northeast view toward downtown and the Lake.

At present there are approximately 17,000 persons living in the study area, and it is proposed that the long-range plan provide for the same number.

The proposed plan sets forth an independent urban community one stop by Rapid Transit from the Public Square, adjacent to the Shoreway and Inner Belt Free-way, with adequate parking for all activities, providing residential units for families with children and single persons—many units with fine views of downtown and the Lake and the industrial valley, with parks and recreation facilities, schools, a shopping center, a medical center, areas for light industry, adjacent to areas for heavy industry, with a variety of religious and general institutions.

It is proposed that new residential developments of both private and public types for a wide range of income levels be constructed in the Ohio City Area. The potential dramatic views together with its ease of access and proximity to downtown, and the redeveloped character of immediate surroundings, will make this a highly desirable area in which to live in the future.

At the present time land is being assembled between West 25th Street and the River to meet the need for public low income housing, at the same time providing an early opportunity to demolish blighted structures and provide a new and dramatic vista of the cliffside from downtown. To take further advantage of this desirable dwelling site, we would propose additional development of private enterprise housing for higher income groups. Such development would be feasible in the Franklin

Hill area if favorable private financing becomes available before construction of the scheduled public project begins. Private residential development for people desiring a view and proximity to downtown offers an opportunity to create a mixed-income community benefiting from the real values of the site. Other areas now in residential use are substantially deteriorated and were slated for redevelopment in the General Plan of Cleveland of 1949. The design principle is the consolidation of small open spaces, which provide little real spaciousness, around the typical garden apartment development on flat land into a five-acre park with surrounding apartments facing it.

The area between Franklin and Detroit is deteriorated only to an extent where piecemeal clearance and rehabilitation are appropriate. The plan indicates areas substantially deteriorated developed into new apartments, certain areas as at present and some fingers of light industry provided for, such as research laboratories, etc., which are at home with residences.

LOCATION OF INSTITUTIONS

Lutheran Hospital Medical Center

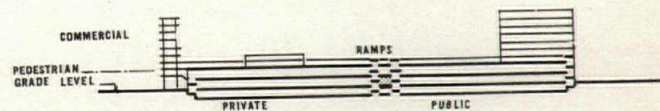
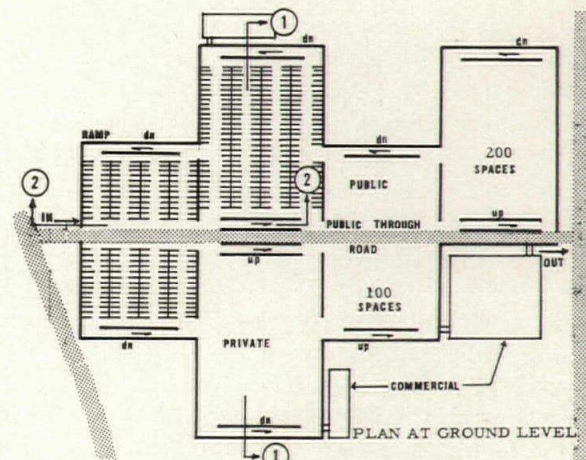
The Lutheran Hospital has grown continuously over the years and if it is to serve its role in the future to meet the enlarging and changing character of health needs of greater Cleveland as well as its immediate area it must have more land to grow on and a better environment in which to function. It is now building a wing along Vestry Avenue and is substantially revamping its inner functional order. It is acquiring land to the north for parking. It has pressing needs for expanding facilities for education of nurses, residences for nurses and interns, office facilities for doctors. The plan proposes expansion of Luth-

eran to the south and west for its medical treatment and school for nursing. It would border on the proposed park and residential redevelopment. It would have ample parking to the north.

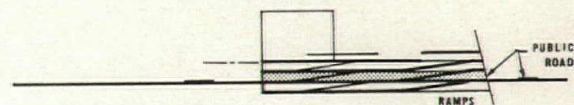
It is proposed that Lutheran have control over the parking spaces which it requires north of Franklin Avenue. This can be achieved with cooperation with the City in the planning of the new automobile deposit facility.

Housing needs could be met both adjacent to the hospital and in the nearby new housing developments. It is proposed that Franklin Avenue be off limits to truck traffic, that West 28th Street be abandoned between Franklin and Bridge and an institutional crescent which exists in fact but not in visible articulation become an element in a continuous form of roads and relate to the proposed park housing development.

Major public transit lines have stops in the area. The CTS Rapid Transit line stops at Lorain Avenue near 24th Street. Its station is difficult to find, and is at present a temporary wooden structure. From a major traffic movement standpoint, the Ohio City area, sited on the west bank of the Cuyahoga River Valley, functions as a funnel for three traffic streams moving east-west to and from downtown Cleveland. Automobiles move through the area as a means of getting from downtown to and from the southwestern sector of Cleveland via 25th Street and Pearl and Fulton Roads. There is a Shoreway interchange going in both directions at the northern end of the project area. A first stage Inner Belt Freeway is under construction and due to be completed within three years, which will connect at Abbey Avenue and West 14th Street.



LONGITUDINAL SECTION (1)



TRANSVERSE SECTION (2)

An excessive amount of land is given over to streets and for other uses within the area there is an insufficient amount of parking. Ease of pedestrian movement is hampered excessively by vehicles. This may be seen in its extreme form at West 24th and near Lorain Avenue on Saturday mornings, where a parking lot serving the market is separated by major traffic from the market.

A major part of the traffic analysis was devoted to the question of the long and short-range necessity to provide for major north-south movements through the Ohio City Area, in view of Freeway plans and other route alternatives. The advantages in having principally east-west traffic movements are; 1. The easing of traffic access to the shopping center parking areas and other local activities by eliminating conflict with major through traffic. 2. The reduction of congestion at the intersection of West 25th Street and Detroit and West 24th Street and Lorain. 3. The easing of flow along Lorain to and from downtown by reducing the amount of north-south cross traffic.

The nature of Cleveland's topography of plateaus and flats divide the land west of the Cuyahoga into two sectors; one directly westward of downtown and one southwest. It appears feasible that traffic originating in the southwest sector headed downtown will be handled in the Inner Belt and Clark Freeways, coupled with the Lorain Carnegie Bridge, and that the west sector use the Shoreway, Detroit and Franklin. It is proposed that major north-south movement will be taken by the freeway section slated for somewhere between 45th Street and 65th, and that provision for only moderate through traffic north be carried through the West 24th, 25th Street complex which circumscribes the shopping center. In the period before completion of the freeway

it is proposed that a one-way system of roads and an opening up of a north-south temporary link, using mainly existing streets in the area of the proposed north-south road, be developed.

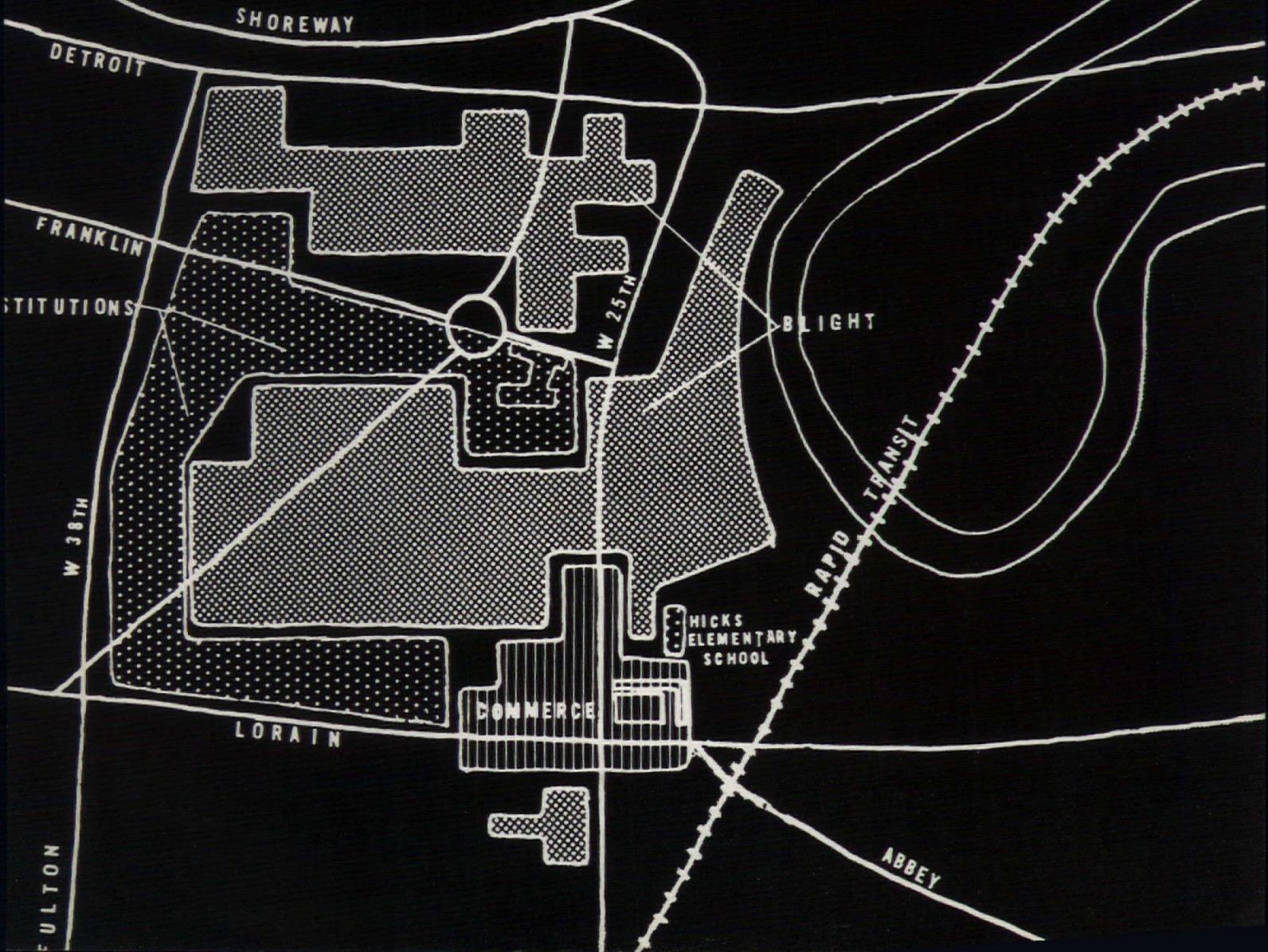
It is proposed that Franklin Avenue be interrupted between West 25th Street and Riverbed Road in order to provide a more suitable residential area. Trucks currently using it and other traffic destined for the flats would use existing routes on Columbus Avenue and the Central Avenue Bridge, and it is proposed that Riverbed Road be widened and developed as an ample, pleasant riverfront drive.

A major direction of a solution to downtown traffic congestion, remembering that cars are expected to double in quantity (and may on top of this continue to get longer) in 20 years, is a system of automobile deposit points adjacent to shoreways and freeways and outlying rapid stations, with connections to public transportation from those points. Out of discussions with the Planning Department evolved the proposal to develop a major automobile parking facility both to serve the Ohio City Area and also to serve the central business district by receiving cars coming from the west along the Shoreway and providing transfer to downtown buses which could use the understructure of the Detroit Superior Bridge. This is intended to decrease congestion on the Shoreway and the Detroit Superior Bridge by catching cars which normally headed downtown to park west of these viaducts. This has the by-product of bringing more people via loop bus and auto to the Ohio City Shopping Center and provides ease of access to serve Lutheran's proposed Medical Center, and housing and industry.

North Center Automobile Deposit Point

A scheme is outlined which would permit

MAJOR EXISTING CHARACTERISTICS



flexibility of building the units in stages around certain major existing buildings which could remain, such as St. John's Historical Episcopal Church. Space is also allocated to new building structures which could serve any of a multitude of functions from Medical Center office buildings near the Lutheran Hospital to, conceivably, hotels, offices, laboratories, and uses which only the future may know. The roof deck over the parking layers which would overlook the Lake is suitable to any or all of a variety of purposes—restaurants tennis courts, ice skating, sun bathing, heliport, museums, exhibition areas, auditorium, etc. It is possible at this time to sketch only its general outlines as to use but to stress that form, to realize its potential economic and visual value over a long period of time, must open itself to the Lake, sky and downtown aspect to meet its role as the Apex, which, in fact, it is.

Pedestrian Circulation, Parks, Recreation

At the present time the outdoor recreation needs are poorly served by one playfield at Fairview Park, a small playground on Franklin Hill. The excessive cutting up of the land by roads and by through traffic make walking unsafe as well as unpleasant.

The plan attempts to reestablish the ease of walking by the establishment of an uninterrupted landscaped pathway extending from the proposed Central Park in the Fulton Residential Area eastward toward the Cliff. Another pathway would run along the cliff and connect all residential areas with the new Rapid Transit Terminal and with the Shopping Center.

Industry

Attracted by the proximity to downtown and the accessibility of the Shoreway and Rapid

Transit, several industrial activities are at present operating in the area. The haphazard arrangement whereby industry and residential activities occur side by side usually carries with it a down-grading of the residential character and property values and also produces inefficiencies for industrial operations and growth. Industries which are located in the area suffer from lack of adequate parking space and difficulty of expansion.

The plan proposes that industry of "heavy" category be located in the lowlands which border the plateau, much of which is not at present efficiently organized or served. A new industrial arrangement is proposed for the Superior Viaduct area near Center Street. Existing major industries are proposed to remain in those areas convenient to vehicular access, separated from housing areas. They are integrated as a part of the design for the proposed automobile parking facilities and bus transfer area north of Franklin Avenue.

It is proposed that gradually those industries which present an ugly aspect along prominent borders, such as along the Shoreway and the cliffside, relocate, possibly to the newly arranged sites in the lowlands.

Light industry compatible with residence is proposed between Franklin and Detroit. It is quite possible that wholesaling or light warehousing with central business district access requirements would also be well suited to this area. Activities like the wholesale flower market recently displaced by Freeway construction might add color and economic vitality to the Ohio City Center.

A plan such as this one is a preliminary guide. After discussion and refinement and now an adoption in principle by the Cleveland City Planning Commission as a part of its General Plan for the area, the real work of implementation begins.

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