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A VIEWER'S GUIDE TO



SUBURBIA: The Promised Land

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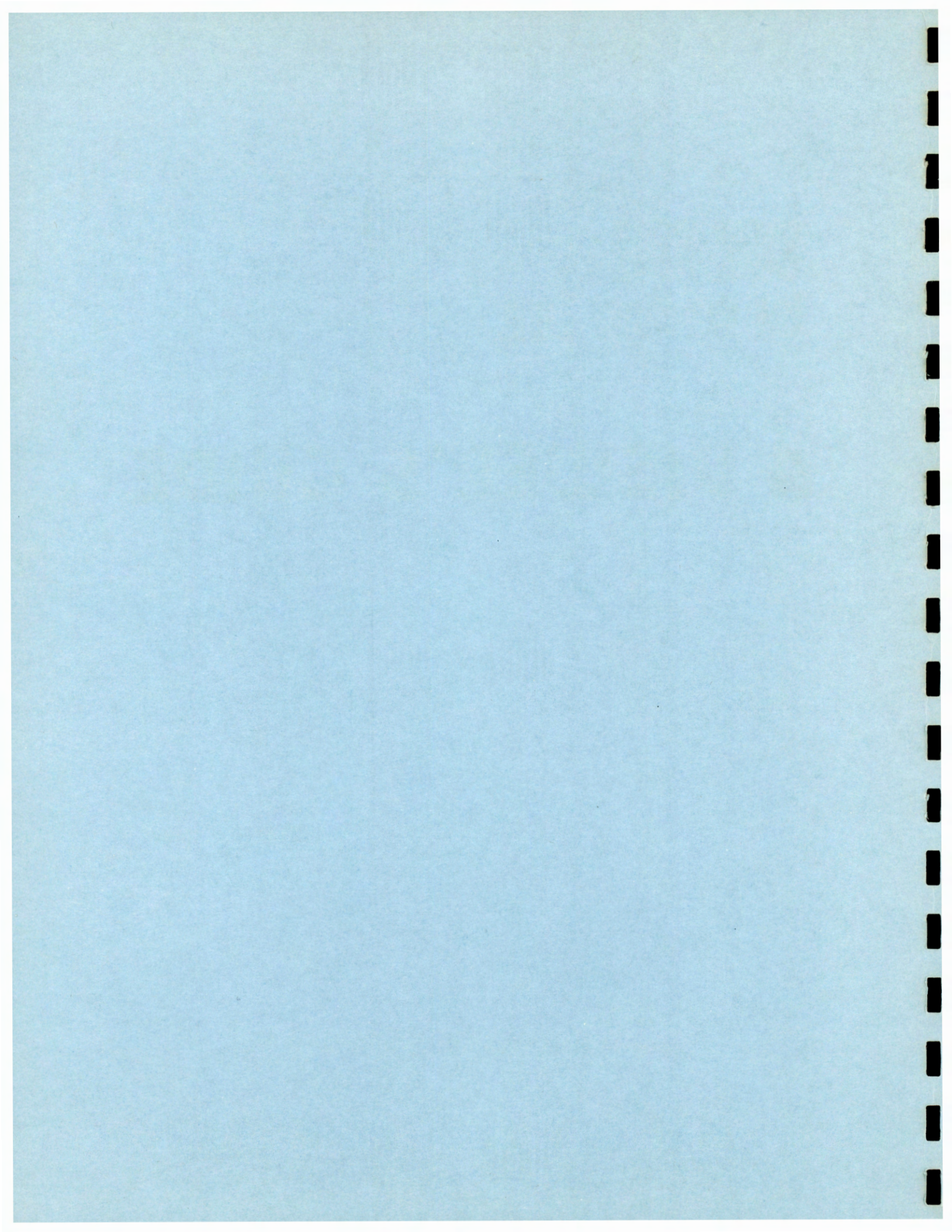
**BERGEN
COMMUNITY
COLLEGE**

IN CONSULTATION WITH

TRI-STATE
REGIONAL
PLANNING
COMMISSION

EDITORS:
PHILIP C. DOLCE
MARY K. DARRAGH
DANIEL SCHAFFER

A TELEVISION SERIES PRESENTED BY BERGEN COMMUNITY COLLEGE
AND WCBS-TV NEW YORK AND CBS AFFILIATE STATIONS



SUBURBIA:
The Promised Land

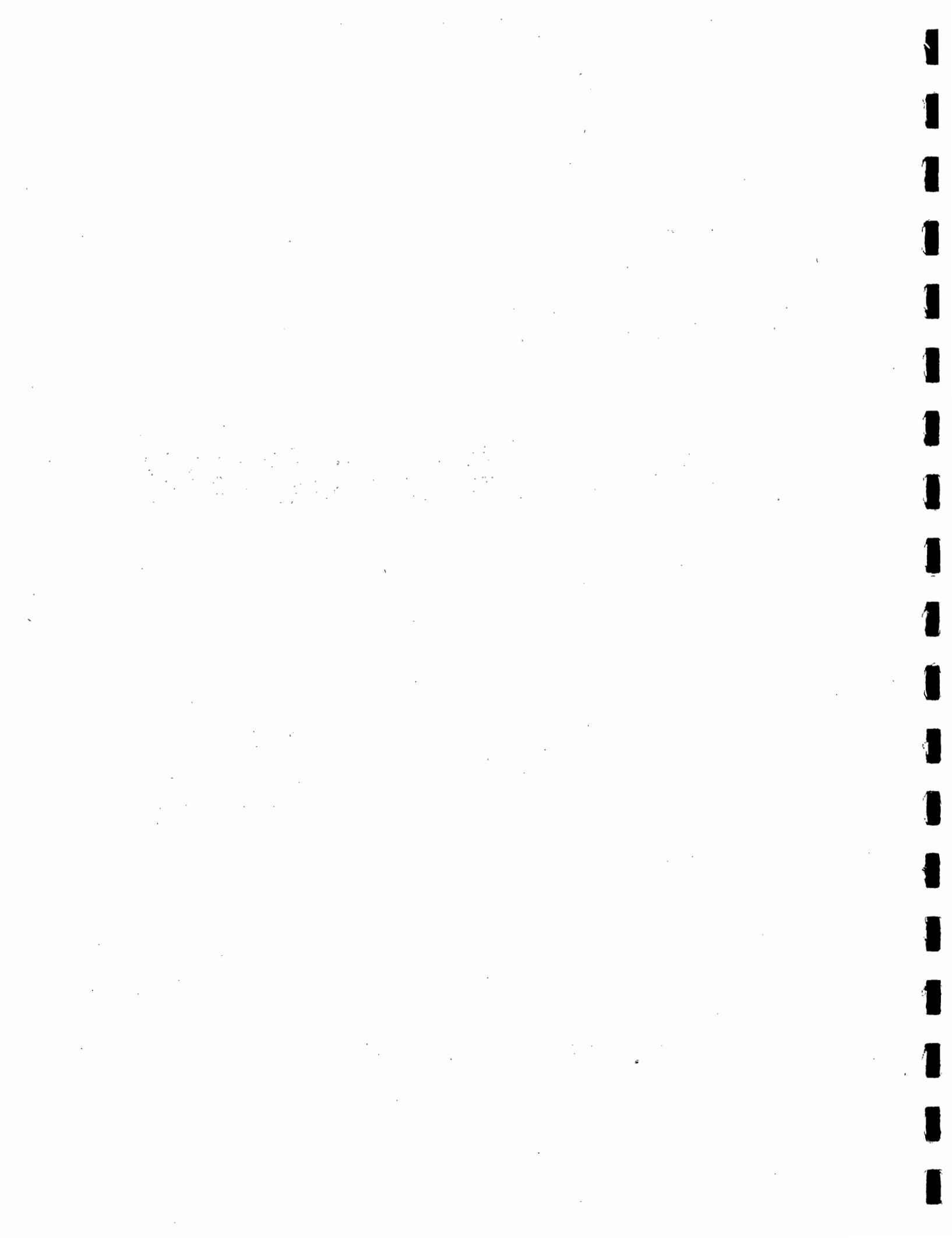
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PUBLISHED BY:

Tri-State Regional Planning Commission



PREFACE

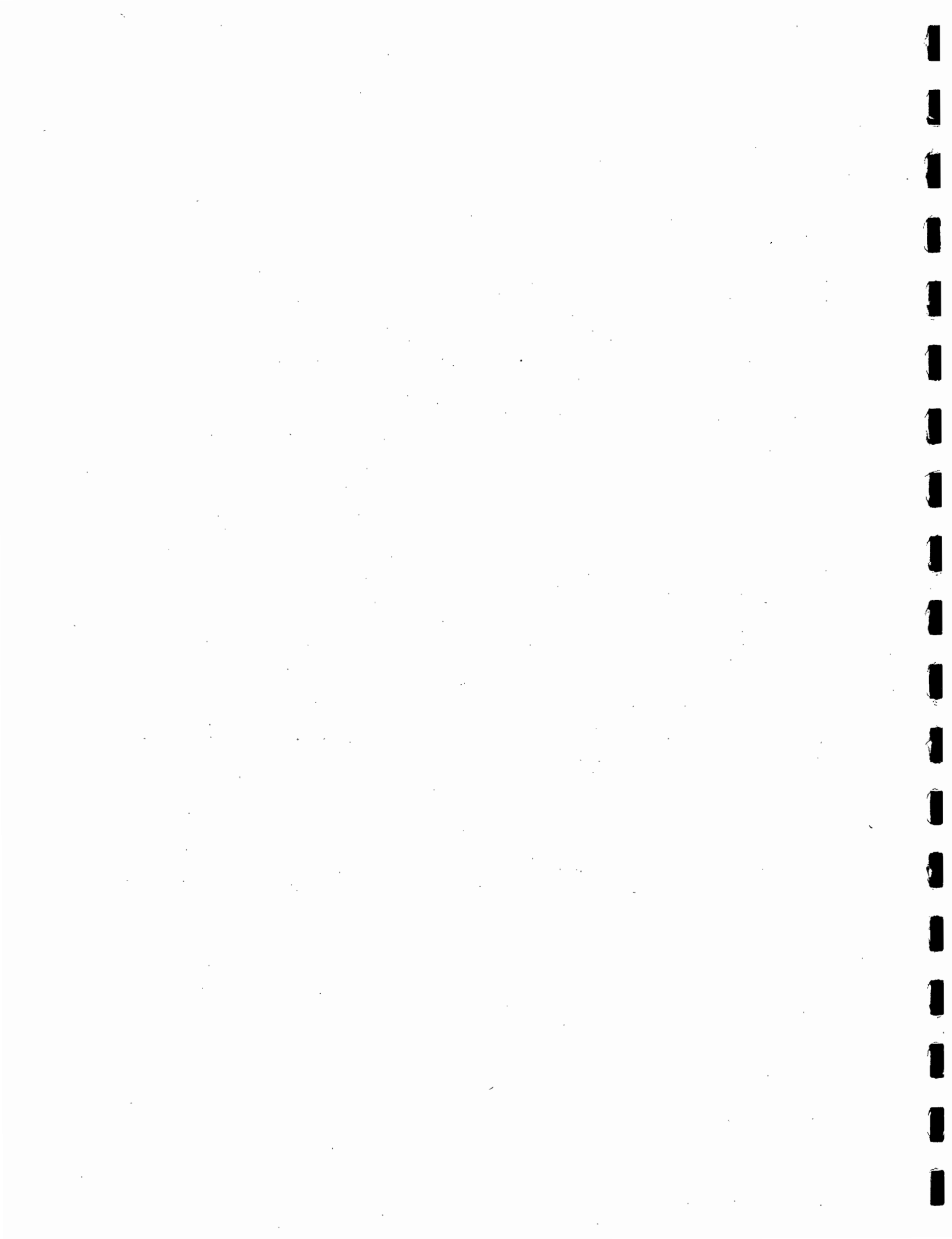
This Viewer's Guide is designed to accompany the national television series, "Suburbia: The Promised Land" which will be presented by Bergen Community College, WCBS-TV New York and CBS affiliate stations. The aim of the guide is to reinforce and further an individual's understanding of one of the most critical themes in America today. In addition, it is our hope that the guide will serve as an aid for further discussion and research on the many topics suggested in the overall scope of the project.

Naturally, the editors are solely responsible for the summaries, selection of incorporated articles, study questions and suggestions for further reading. Our task was all the more challenging due to the excellent material provided by our distinguished guests. Hopefully the guide adequately reflects and enhances the understanding of their knowledge and expertise.

We would like to express our appreciation to the Tri-State Planning Commission for their assistance on both the television series and this guide. The Arno Press; Ballinger Publishing Co.; City News Publishing; Field Enterprises, Inc.; Goldmark Communications, Inc.; Harper & Row; Houghton Mifflin; McGraw-Hill Book Company; M. I. T. Press; New Rochelle Standard-Star; the New York Times; The Record; Charles Scribner's Sons; WCBS and CBS News, were kind enough to allow us to reprint significant articles concerning suburbia in the Viewer's Guide. These readings provide insights to the overall topic and enhance the value of the work. We would also like to express our thanks to Wilson Aguilar and Tom Tedesco of Bergen Community College, as well as F. T. DeRaffele of the Tri-State Planning Commission for their assistance in creating the graphics. Valuable typing aid was provided by Clare Silkowski and Alice Williams. Our colleagues at Bergen Community College, especially Barbara Merritt and Ray Pena, were extremely helpful throughout all stages of the project.

*Philip C. Dolce
Mary K. Darragh
Daniel Schaffer*

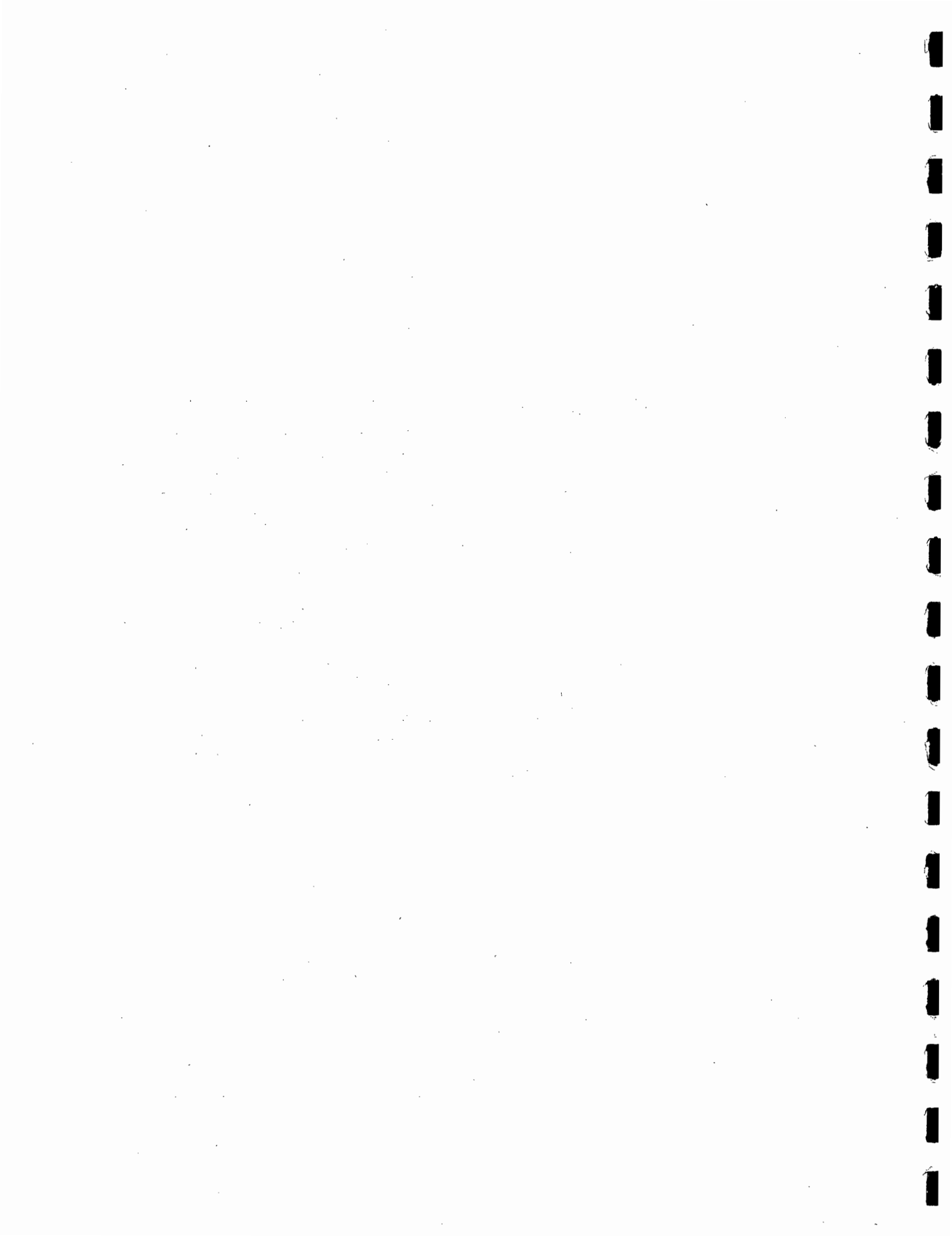
*July 1979
Bergen Community College
Paramus, New Jersey*



USING THE VIEWER'S GUIDE

Suburbia: The Promised Land - A Viewers Guide accompanies the 1979 CBS Summer Semester television series. The twenty-four programs will be broadcast July 23 through September 14, Monday, Wednesday and Friday mornings on CBS television (check local listings for time). "Suburbia: The Promised Land" is produced for CBS by Bergen Community College in consultation with the Tri-State Regional Planning Commission and the Columbia University Seminar on The City. Academic credit is available through Bergen Community College, Center for Public Media Programming, 400 Paramus Road, Paramus, New Jersey 07652.

The guide for "Suburbia: The Promised Land" supplements each of the twenty-four programs with a summary of the material, graphs and visuals. There are also short readings designed to complement or to expand on the major themes raised in the series. Questions at the end of each program probe issues discussed by the guests. Finally, brief bibliographies provide each student with the opportunity to explore these issues in greater depth. Each section of the guide should be read in conjunction with the appropriate program. Although the guide was designed as part of the CBS series, it is our hope the booklet can stand on its own as a brief portrait of the suburban experience in America.



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City News Publishing Co., for a transcript of a speech delivered by Edward G. Olsen, "The Quest for Community Education" in Vital Speeches of the Day, February 1, 1970, reprinted by permission of the publisher.

The Record, for an article, by Jill Jonnes, "Suburbia Sprouting a Soul," May 30, 1978 (c) 1978 by The Record. Reprinted by permission of publisher. All rights reserved.

WCBS-TV, Channel 2 News Program Eye-On, for a transcript of a report by Steve Wilson, "North Hills - Conflict in Suburbia," March 28, 1978 (c) 1978 CBS Inc. Reprinted by permission. All rights reserved.

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Ballinger Publishing Co. for an excerpt from Charles M. Haar (ed.), The President's Task Force on Suburban Problems, Ballinger Pub., Cambridge, 1974, reprinted by permission of publisher.

Goldmark Communications, for an article by Peter C. Goldmark and Anne B. Kraig, The New Rural Society, Stamford, Conn., 1976, reprinted by permission of Goldmark Communications.

ABOUT THE PARTICIPANTS

SIDNEY BIRNBACK is Professor of Behavioral Sciences and Coordinator of the Open Space Laboratory for Environmental Studies at Bergen Community College. Dr. Birnback's published work has appeared in a number of periodicals including The American Journal of Psychoanalysis.

STANLEY BUDER is Associate Professor of History and Chairman of the Department at Baruch College. He is the author of Pullman: An Experiment in Industrial Order and Community Planning and Ebenezer Howard and the Rise of the Garden City Movement. Dr. Buder is Chairman of Columbia University Seminar on the City.

FRED G. BURKE is Commissioner of Education for the State of New Jersey. He formerly served as education commissioner in Rhode Island and as Dean of International Studies of the State University of New York at Buffalo. Dr. Burke received an honorary doctor of law degree from Bryant College.

GEORGE F. CRONK is Associate Professor of Philosophy and Comparative Religions at Bergen Community College. Dr. Cronk has appeared on radio and television programs dealing with contemporary issues and his work has been published in many journals including Social Theory and Practice.

PAUL DAVIDOFF is Director of the Suburban Action Institute. He served as a consultant to the National Commission on Urban Problems and the United States Civil Rights Commission. Mr. Davidoff's articles have appeared in the Syracuse Law Review and the New York Times.

PHILIP C. DOLCE, moderator of the Series, is Associate Professor of History and Director of the Center for Public Media Programming at Bergen Community College. An Associate of the Columbia University Seminar on the City, Dr. Dolce's published works include Suburbia: The American Dream and Dilemma and Cities in Transition. He has produced television series for CBS and NBC.

PATRICIA GRIFFITH is a Program Development Specialist with the New Jersey Division of Women. She formerly worked at Somerset County College and as a free-lance writer. Ms. Griffith's published work includes Battered Women's Guide.

KENNETH T. JACKSON is Professor of History at Columbia University. He is the author of The Ku Klux Klan in the City 1915-1930 and co-editor of Cities in American History. Dr. Jackson founded the Columbia University Seminar on the City and served as its chairman.

FRANK T. JOHNSON is Executive Director of the Tri-State Regional Planning Commission. He previously served as head of Administrative Personnel Utilization and Labor Relations at Bell Telephone Laboratories, Inc. Prior to becoming Executive Director, Mr. Johnson was a Commissioner of the Tri-State Regional Planning Commission.

MARK S. KASSOP is Assistant Professor of Urban Sociology at Bergen Community College. He formerly taught at New York University and Manhattan Community College. Dr. Kassop is a founder of the New Jersey branch of Shanti Nilaya.

HENRY LIEBERMAN is Assistant to the Executive Editor of the New York Times. He also has worked for P.M. and the New York Journal American. At the New York Times, Mr. Lieberman previously served as head of the Science Department, Night News Editor, and as a Far East correspondent.

JEREMIAH F. O'CONNOR is Director of the Bergen County Board of Chosen Freeholders. He formerly served as councilman and mayor of Saddle Brook, New Jersey and as a State Senator. Mr. O'Connor is a Vice-President of Bell and Howell Corporation and a Director of the Interchange State Bank.

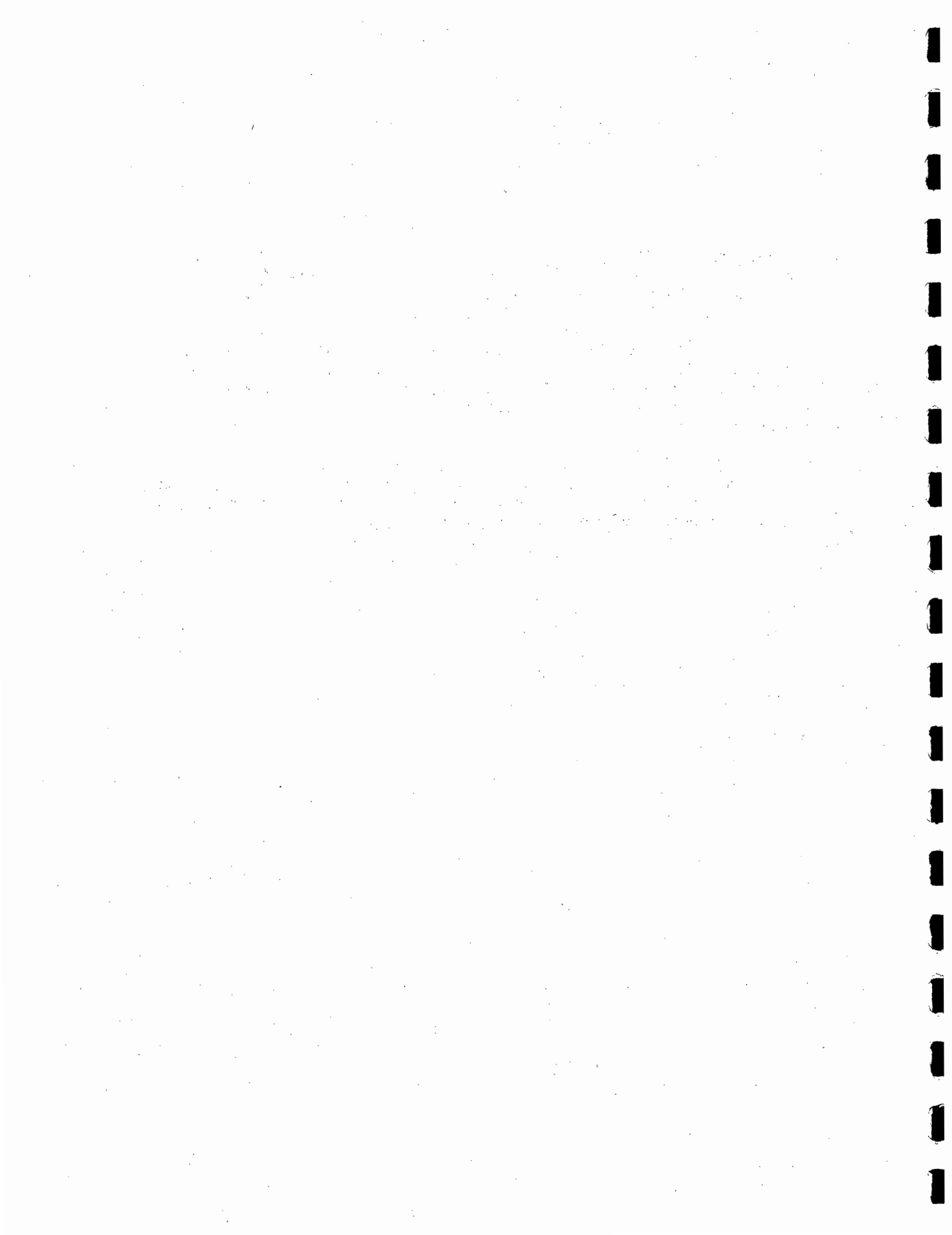
ALBAN E. REID is President of Bergen Community College. He formerly served as President of Black Hawk Community College in Illinois and Palo Verde College in California. Dr. Reid is a member of the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges Commission on Governmental Affairs. He received an honorary doctor of law degree from Marycrest College.

ROBERT G. RIPSTON is a Vice-President of the Ingersoll-Rand Company. He previously held a number of executive positions with the General Electric Company. Mr. Ripston is a Director of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Northern New Jersey and a member of the National Association of Manufacturers.

CONSTANTINE G. VASILIAKIS is Director of Audience Development for the New Jersey Symphony. He formerly served as Executive Director of the North Jersey Cultural Council and as Assistant Director of Education at the Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts.

JACQUELINE WALKER is Director of the Office for Equal Access of the New Jersey Department of Education. She authored affirmative action model plans for the Rutgers Institute for Sex Desegregation and has served as an affirmative action consultant to numerous schools and professional organizations.

PIERCE B. WILKINSON is Associate Professor of Political Science at Bergen Community College. He previously taught at St. John's University. Professor Wilkinson has appeared on a number of radio and television programs dealing with contemporary political problems.

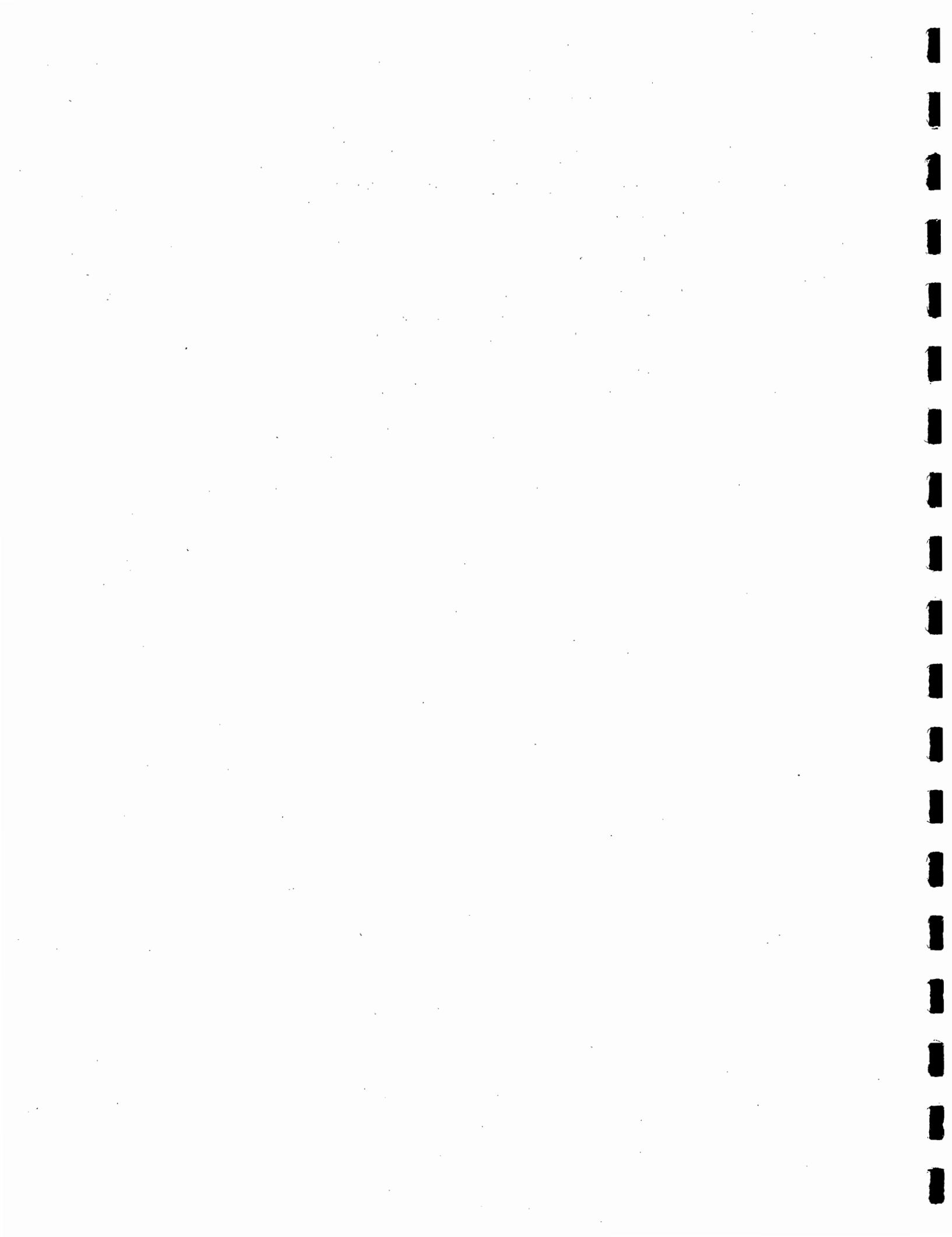


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PROGRAM 1

INTRODUCTION

An interview with Kenneth T. Jackson, Columbia University

The series subtitle, "The Promised Land," was selected because suburbia has been viewed as a promised land by millions of Americans over the last several generations. Many people sought a private vision in suburbia which included a single-family detached house in a safe, homogeneous setting. Some reformers and planners looked to suburban areas as places which would alleviate the problems of major cities by providing a safety valve for excessive population and social problems. Still others hoped to create entirely new communities in the middle landscape.

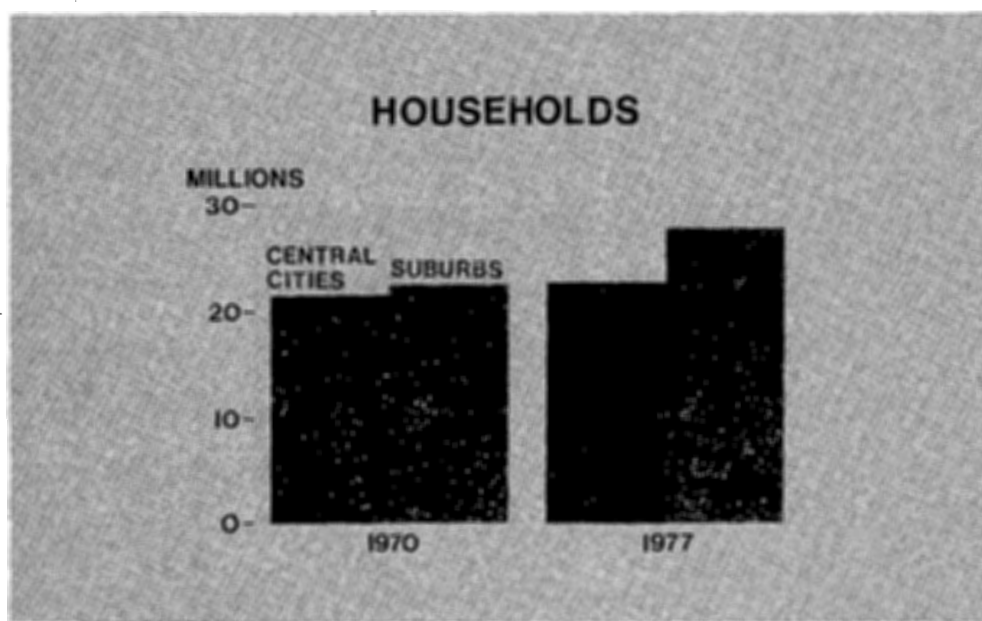
Each of these special visions of suburbia were developed without adequate recognition of at least four factors. People who settled in suburbia would not be transformed by the environment, but rather would carry over traditional class and ethnic values. Dreams would be altered by the ability of each group to finance them. The private vision of Americans was in direct conflict with the social goals most planners and reformers proposed for suburbia. Finally, the role of builders and land speculators, as well as the impact of technology, would have an enormous influence on the development of the "middle landscape."

The result of decades of dreams, haphazard development, private enterprise, intermittent government interest and traditional values is seen in the tremendous variation of communities that today compose suburban America. While suburbia might not be the promised land Americans hoped for, it has provided a livable, if not perfect, environment for millions of people.

Suburban development has had a major impact on America and has caused a national dilemma. Cities have increasingly been forced to deal with the less advantaged and elderly portions of the population. Suburban life has also impacted heavily on our energy problems and has direct implications in the setting of national domestic policy. Nevertheless, America is a suburban nation today, and this fact alone makes our country unique in the history of world civilization.

QUESTIONS

1. Why have social commentators pictured suburban life as homogeneous and monolithic despite the diversity found there?
2. What national problems are intensified by the increased development of the suburban landscape?



The suburban population continues to increase at a faster rate than the population as a whole. This demographic trend dates back to the turn of the century and most planners agree that it will persist in the future.

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- Dobriner, William. Class in Suburbia. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1963.
- Donaldson, Scott. The Suburban Myth. New York: Columbia University Press, 1969.

New modes of technology, transportation and communication have largely determined the contours of the suburban landscape. In the following excerpt, the noted English author and critic H. G. Wells (1866-1946) "anticipates" a dramatic decentralization of population in the twentieth century. This remarkably insightful prediction rests on an unshakable faith in the power of technology.

ANTICIPATIONS

by H. G. Wells

The day of twenty-four hours is an inexorable human condition, and up to the present time all intercourse and business have been broken into spells of definite duration by intervening nights. Moreover, almost all effective intercourse has involved personal presence at the point where intercourse occurs. The possibility, therefore, of going and coming and doing that day's work has hitherto fixed the extreme limits to which a city would grow, and has exacted a compactness which has always been very undesirable and which is now for the first time in the world's history no longer imperative.

So far as we can judge without a close and uncongenial scrutiny of statistics, that daily journey that has governed and still to a very considerable extent governs, the growth of cities, has had, and probably always will have, a maximum limit of two hours, one hour each way from sleeping-place to council chamber, counter, workroom, or office stool. And, taking this assumption as sound, we can state precisely the maximum area of various types of town. A pedestrian agglomeration such as we find in China, and such as most of the European towns probably were before the nineteenth century, would be swept entirely by a radius of four miles about the business quarter and industrial centre...

The same line of reasoning that leads to the expectation that the city will diffuse itself until it has taken up considerable areas and many of the characteristics, the greenness, the fresh air, of what is now country, leads us to suppose also that the country will take to itself many of the qualities of the city. The old antithesis will, indeed, cease, the boundary lines will altogether disappear; it will become, indeed, merely a question of more or less populous. There will be horticulture and agriculture going on within the "urban regions," and "urbanity" without them. Everywhere, indeed, over the land of the globe between the frozen circles, the railway and the new roads will spread, the network of communication wires and safe and convenient ways. To receive the daily paper a few hours late, to wait a day or so for goods one has ordered, will be the extreme measure of rusticity save in a few remote islands and inaccessible places. The character of the meshes in that wider network of roads that will be the country, as distinguished from the urban district, will vary with the soil, the climate, and the tenure of the land--will vary, too, with the racial and national differences. But throughout all that follows this mere relativity of the new sort of town to the new sort of country over which the new sorts of people we are immediately to consider will be scattered, must be borne in mind.

H. G. Wells, Anticipations of the Reaction of Mechanical and Scientific Progress Upon Human Life and Thought. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1902.

PROGRAM 2

EVOLUTION OF THE SUBURBS - Part I

A lecture by Kenneth T. Jackson, Columbia University

This lecture focuses upon the earliest suburbs in world history which in fact predates the birth of Christ. Medieval writers referred to housing clusters outside the walled fortifications as burgus and by the seventeenth century the adjective suburban was being used in England. Established suburbs existed on the periphery of New York, Boston, and Philadelphia well before the Revolutionary War.

These early suburbs were defined by the nature of the cities they bordered on. The "walking city" was the dominant type of urban setting up to approximately 1825. The five spatial characteristics which defined the "walking city" were:

1. Congestion
2. A clear distinction between city and country.
3. A mixture of residential and commercial functions.
4. A short journey from home to work.
5. The most fashionable residences were located in the center of the city.

Suburbs and peripheral areas were usually inferior in every way to the core of the city. However, an American pattern of suburbanization would completely reverse this situation in the next century.

QUESTIONS

1. Explain in detail the meaning of each of the five spatial characteristics which define the "walking city."
2. What type of commercial and residential patterns emerged in American suburbs and peripheral areas prior to 1825. Cite specific examples in your response.



Serenity for the family in a natural setting constitutes a central image of the Christian home and remains a compelling force in contemporary America. Although the automobile made the twentieth century mass produced suburb possible, the lure of suburbia has deep roots in the nation's history.

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Movement away from the urban center is as old as the city itself. The American suburb, however, did not become a distinctive entity until the late nineteenth century. In the following article, written in 1907, an ardent suburbanite explains his reasons for migrating from the city. The factors he cites help us to understand the enduring appeal of suburbia.

"WHY I CHOSE A SUBURBAN HOME"

By Francis E. Clark

Nearly a score of years ago I came to a turn in life's road when I could choose the location of my own home within a comparatively wide area of choice. I was no longer obliged to live in a particular parsonage, or near the church of which I had been pastor, but, having accepted the presidency of the United Society of Christian Endeavor, I could live in city or suburb or even beyond suburban limits in the country, if only I could reach my office in Boston tolerably early in the morning and respond readily to numerous calls for addresses and conferences.

The reader will forgive this personal reminiscence, since it explains the title of my article and shows that I was able to make a choice of a residence which professional and business men cannot always make. Unhesitatingly I chose a suburban home, and I have never regretted it. If the same opportunity or necessity for decision came again, after these twenty years of suburban life, I should be even more eager to renew the choice of those earlier years.

To be sure, there is a thorn on every rose, and it is not to be supposed that the suburbanite can escape all the ills that afflict our common humanity. He is more or less tied to trains or electric cars, but, then, trains and cars are growing more and more numerous

in the suburbs, and thus continually lengthening his tether. His friends are said to know him by the bundles which his capacious arms bring out of the city every night. But if he is the happy possessor of a long green bag, he can stow away in it anything from a turkey to a half-pound of peppermints for the children, or a bunch of catnip for Tabby, and no one through its opaque sides can get a glimpse of the details of his domestic economy or economics.

Other friends declare that the suburbanite is known by the anxious and haggard look on his face caused by a perpetual anxiety to catch the 8:23 train, and by the different colored threads on his fingers, which his wife has tied there, lest he forget the prunes or the baking powder or the castor-oil for the baby.

But these calamities may be all set down to the envy of the urbanite, or, if there is a sediment of truth in them, think how much time the suburbanite has both morning and evening to smooth off the wrinkles in the glorious hours of sunrise and sunset, and to untie and throw away the good wife's remembrance threads.

But to speak with all seriousness and out of personal experience, I may say that I chose a suburban home for three reasons, -- for my family's sake, for my body's sake, and for my soul's sake.

First: For the family. Think of bringing up a family of children in the city, when you might rear them in the country, or at least the semi-country! Think of the boys' having no coasting or skating or canoeing or swimming without going miles to get it! Think of the girls going miles to find an hepatica in the springtime! or having to take a trolley-ride even to see a dandelion! Think of a dogless, henless home, and perhaps even a catless home!

To be sure, one can own a cat or even a dog in the city, but it is a poor circumscribed, joyless existence that old Tray must live there, and only a spoiled and petted lap-dog can be happy when continually in the sight of brick walls and sidewalks. But though cats and dogs are not impossible in the city, guinea pigs, rabbits, ducks and hens, to say nothing of turkeys and peacocks, are quite out of the question. There is no such humanizer of boy nature as pets. The lad who has a tame squirrel that will eat out of his hand, a dog that will tumble all over himself and split his throat with glad barks when his young master proposes a walk, or a colt that will come whinneying at his call, will never grow up to be a cruel bully.

And hens! What a vast education a boy can find in a flock of these feathered bipeds! They teach him mathematics, economics, hygienics, and the rudiments of I do not know how many other sciences. How much will seventeen eggs at thirty-five cents a dozen come to? If father does pay the bill, the young hen-fancier must reckon up his profits every week, and find out at the end of the month the difference between the cost of a bushel of shorts and ten quarts of second-grade wheat on the debit side, and five and one-third dozen eggs on the credit side. Then there is the study of the fascinating hen magazine, and the delightful possibilities of "200 eggs a year per hen," and the arguments for and against dry feeding and a hot mash, cut alfalfa, grits and charcoal, -- all of which are an education in themselves.

If the duck pond can be added to the suburban estate, however small it is, the fascination is almost doubled. But even in the tiniest there is room for a couple of rabbits and a few bantams.

The snow fort in the winter, the flower-garden in the spring, the swimming-pool in the summer, the chestnut trees in the autumn! -- only the suburban boy or the country boy can know what they mean with all their manifold and exhaustless charms.

But I have said that I chose a suburban home for my own sake, as well as for my family. The hardest thing for a professional man to do is to keep in such good physical condition that he won't be a nuisance to himself and his friends. Dyspepsia is another name often for peevishness, and nervousness is a synonym for all-round misery. Surely a man who can breathe fresh country air at least fourteen hours out of the twenty-four, who can work in a garden and walk in the fields, has a better chance to discipline his stomach and his nerves than his all-the-year round city neighbor. Better than all the setting-up exercises in the world, valuable as they are, or the physical culture fads which one begins upon so bravely and which usually "peter out" so soon, is the physical culture which you do not know you are getting when you are pruning your grapes and tying up your clematis vine, and burying your tulip bulbs in the mellow brown soil of spring.

Besides this, a suburbanite usually lives within walking distance of some golf links, and when his own small garden is cared for, he can shoulder his clubs and chase the elusive ball over hill and dale, until, thoroughly tired and thoroughly at peace with the world, the supper bell calls him home.

* * * * *

PROGRAM 3

EVOLUTION OF THE SUBURBS - Part II

A lecture by Kenneth T. Jackson, Columbia University

Between 1825 and 1910 America's large cities underwent a dramatic spatial change. Gradually a new pattern of peripheral affluence and center decay began to appear.

Brooklyn, New York became the first modern suburb as regular ferry service enabled it to become a residence for prosperous New Yorkers. Soon other "ferry" suburbs were well established around Manhattan including Hoboken and Weehawken in New Jersey.

Technical innovations in public (mass) transportation made the modern suburb a reality. On land, the establishment of regular commuter service progressed from the omnibus, to the horsecar, to the steam railroad. Each innovation made commuting from suburban residence to work in the city more dependable, faster, and less expensive.

The increase in mass transit suited the national temperament which emphasized mobility and change.

Four important trends could be detected in America by 1860. Peripheral areas were growing more rapidly than core cities. The highest socio-economic groups were relocating their residences outside the city. The innermost portions of large American cities were losing population. Middle-class citizens were commuting increasing distances to work.

The pattern of suburbanization (the systematic and regular growth of fringe areas at a pace more rapid than that of central cities) was well established in the United States in the nineteenth century. Transportation innovations only made possible a movement whose true cause was cultural, not just technological.

QUESTIONS

1. How did technological innovations in public transportation contribute to American suburban growth?
2. How did "speculators" such as Hezekiah Beers Pierrepont of Brooklyn contribute to the suburban movement?

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In the early part of the nineteenth century the transportation revolution was essential to link this nation together and to create internal markets for outlying areas. Eventually, as the transportation system became better organized it served to make even once remote areas into suburbs of great cities. Yet, certain forms of transportation, especially the steam locomotive, were not universally popular. Nathaniel S. Prime considered the reasons behind this resistance to the Long Island Railroad (linking Brooklyn to eastern Long Island) by local residents around the time of the railroad's completion in 1844.

"THE TRANSPORTATION REVOLUTION IN BROOKLYN AND LONG ISLAND"
by Nathaniel S. Prime

If free intercourse with the world is desirable for individuals and communities, and if the interests of both are promoted by facilities for holding such intercourse, then a rail road would seem to be as desirable for Long Island as almost any part of the world. Its distance from the main land, excepting at one end, its extreme length, and the unsuitable nature of a great part of its soil for comfortable roads, have necessarily confined a large portion of its population to the spot on which they were born. True, the facilities of travelling by water have been considerable; but this has always been attended with a great expense of time, and with a degree of danger, that renders it formidable to many minds. Besides

this, during at least one third part of the year, even this mode of intercourse is entirely suspended, or attended with such increased hazard, as nothing but imperious necessity would induce a man to incur. The necessary consequence is, that locomotion, at least to any distance from home, is almost unknown on Long Island. The writer has heard men sixty years of age say, that they were never 20 miles from the spot on which they were born; and no doubt, there are many now living, who never breathed the atmosphere of more than two towns in their lives. Seclusion from distant parts, instead of making them restless, seems to have confirmed the habit of staying at home. Even short journeys become irksome to those who seldom or never make long ones.

To people thus situated, in almost entire seclusion from the rest of the world, a rail road must open new and unconceived facilities, which, in its operation, must produce an amazing revolution in the manners and habits of the community.

The ferries between New York and Brooklyn were steam-powered and were much more dependable than the sailing ships they replaced. The new form of transportation helped to transform Brooklyn into one of the first modern suburbs. An early account of the ferries, written by Nathaniel S. Prime in 1845, exhibits the impact on this transportation revolution. Of course, Prime could not have foreseen that within thirty-five years the Brooklyn Bridge would be a reality and eventually link Brooklyn's destiny firmly to New York.

It is scarcely possible to convey to a mind, that has not been conversant with this subject, during the last 40 years, any adequate idea of the improved facilities of these ferries. Within that period, the crossing of this narrow arm of the sea, was frequently more formidable than is now a voyage to Europe. The writer can distinctly recollect, when, within the limits of the present century, the only craft plying on these ferries, consisted of oar-barges for foot passengers, and sprit-sail boats for horses and carriages; and he himself has waited from morning to night on the Brooklyn side, in a north-east storm, before any boat ventured to cross to the city. And frequently the passage was made with manifest hazard, and sometimes attended with serious disaster and loss of life. The writer was once carried overboard in the middle of the stream, by the barge being brought in contact with a vessel lying at anchor...

Near the commencement of the present century, the erection of a bridge between New York and Brooklyn, or a single arch, so lofty as to form no obstruction to navigation, and so strong as to bid defiance to the winds of heaven, had become the great topic of conversation, and was discussed with...much zeal, by all classes of citizens...But now the idea of a bridge is as rare a conception as "a fifth wheel to a coach," and is about as desirable. At any hour of the day or night, you can pass from one city to the other (on a steam ferry), with equal safety and greater rapidity, than you could walk the same distance on terra firma.

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Nathaniel S. Prime, History of Long Island. New York, 1845.

PROGRAM 4

THE LURE OF SUBURBIA

A lecture by Kenneth T. Jackson, Columbia University

In 1830 suburbs were not yet recognizable entities. Outlying residents looked to urban centers as the symbols of progress and culture. In fact, early suburbs tried to emulate cities and emphasized their connections to the city rather than distinctiveness from it. Suburbs adopted such names as South Chicago, North Chicago, Chicago Heights and even South Chicago Heights.

By 1900, however, suburbs had developed an image which was distinct from that of large cities. In part this was due to the very expectations about residential space which still linger on to this very day in middle-class culture.

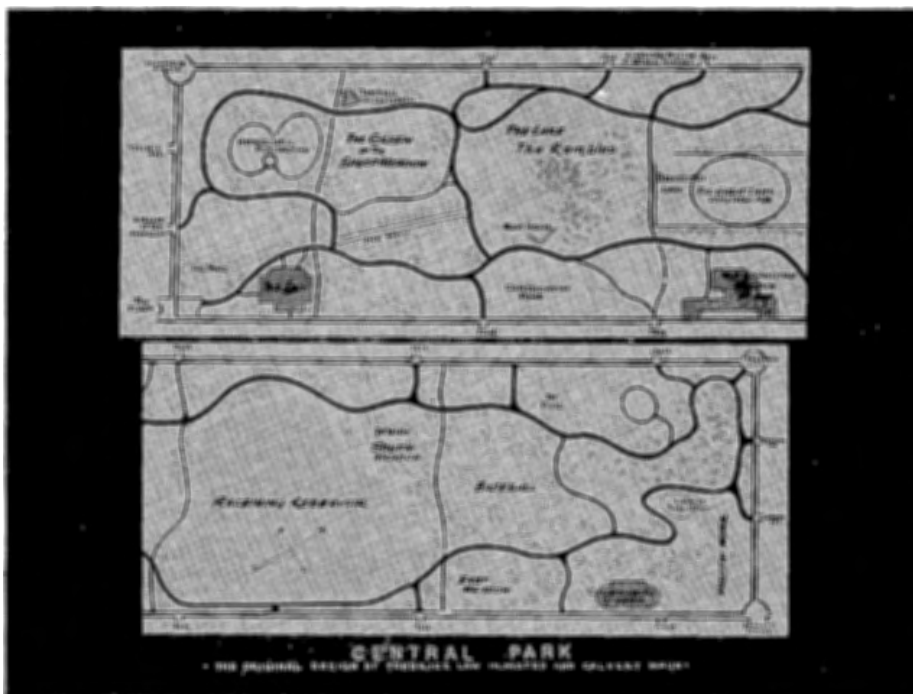
The suburban ideal of a detached residential dwelling in a semi-rural setting only makes sense in terms of America's vision of the home and family. Of course, affluence, new construction techniques, and the abundance of land and building materials were essential.

However, the idea that the home and family could and should be functionally detached from the larger society was at the core of suburbanization. Indeed, it changed our very attitude about the use and value of land in residential settings. Suburbs would pride themselves on the amount of land set aside for yards and lawns. In addition, the very streetscape of suburban areas would emphasize the pastoral and bucolic pace of the home rather than the busy, efficient system of business.

New ideas toward the home, the yard, and the street were aided by many factors. Four individuals, however, had an inordinate influence in shaping these new American attitudes. They were Catherine Beecher, Andrew Jackson Downing, Alexander Jackson Davis, and Frederick Law Olmsted.

QUESTIONS

1. Explain the importance of the home, the yard, and the street in the suburban mystique?
2. What role did individuals such as Catherine Beecher, Andrew Jackson Downing, Alexander Jackson Davis, and Frederick Law Olmsted have in developing a suburban ideal?



To ruralize the city and citify the country was the quest of one of the nation's greatest landscape architects and planners, Frederick Law Olmsted. His most famous accomplishment was Central Park in New York City.

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Frederick Law Olmsted (1822-1903) is one of the most important figures in the history of American urban and environmental planning. A host of urban parks--including Central Park in New York City--as well as the landscaping of Stamford University and the planned community Riverside, Illinois are all the products of his genius. Olmsted not only envisioned the construction of spacious suburban developments, but also the creation of large city parks that would serve as "lungs" for the congested urban environment. As outlined in the following excerpt, Olmsted's balanced landscape would be linked together by a network of tree-lined boulevards. One hundred years of history have diminished neither the scope nor the appeal of his vision.

PUBLIC PARKS AND THE ENLARGEMENT OF TOWNS by Frederick Law Olmsted

We want a ground to which people may easily go after their day's work is done, and where they may stroll for an hour, seeing, hearing, and feeling nothing of the bustle and jar of the streets, where they shall, in effect, find the city put far away from them. We want the greatest possible contrast with the streets and the shops and the rooms of the town which will be consistent with convenience and the preservation of good order and neatness. We want, especially, the greatest possible contrast with the restraining and confining conditions of the town, those conditions which compel us to walk circumspectly, watchfully, jealously, which compel us to look closely upon others without sympathy. Practically, what we most want is a simple, broad, open space of clean greensward, with sufficient play of surface and a sufficient number of trees about it to supply a variety of light and shade. This we want as a central feature. We want depth of wood enough about it not only for comfort in hot weather, but to completely shut out the city from our landscapes.

The word park, in town nomenclature, should, I think, be reserved for grounds of the character and purpose thus described.

Not only as being the most valuable of all possible forms of public places, but regarded simply as a large space which will seriously interrupt cross-town communication wherever it occurs, the question of the site and bounds of the park requires to be determined with much more deliberation and art than is often secured for any problem of distant and extended municipal interests.

A Promenade may, with great advantage, be carried along the outer part of the surrounding groves of a park; and it will do no harm if here and there a broad opening among the trees discloses its open landscapes to those upon the promenade. But recollect that the object of the latter for the time being should be to see congregated human life under glorious and necessarily artificial conditions, and the natural landscape is not essential to them; though there is no more beautiful picture, and none can be more pleasing incidentally to the gregarious purpose, than that of beautiful meadows, over which clusters of level-armed sheltering trees cast broad shadows, and upon which are scattered dainty cows and flocks of black-faced sheep, while men, women, and children are seen sitting here and there, forming groups in the shade, or moving in and out among the woody points and bays.

It may be inferred from what I have said, that very rugged ground, abrupt eminences, and what is technically called picturesque in distinction from merely beautiful or simply pleasing scenery, is not the most desirable for a town park. Decidedly not in my opinion. The park should, as far as possible, complement the town. Openness is the one thing you cannot get in buildings. Picturesqueness you can get. Let your buildings be as picturesque as your artists can make them. This is the beauty of a town. Consequently, the beauty of the park should be the other. It should be the beauty of the fields, the meadow, the prairie, of the green pastures, and the still waters. What we want to gain is tranquillity and rest to the mind.

A park fairly well managed near a large town, will surely become a new centre of that town. With the determination of location, size, and boundaries should therefore be associated the duty of arranging new trunk routes of communication between it and the distant parts of the town existing and forecasted.

They should be so planned and constructed as never to be noisy and seldom crowded, and so also that the straightforward movement of pleasure-carriages need never be obstructed, unless at absolutely necessary crossings, by slow-going heavy vehicles used for commercial purposes. If possible, also, they should be branched or reticulated with other ways of a similar class, so that no part of the town should finally be many minutes' walk from some one of them; and they should be made interesting by a process of planting and decoration, so that in necessarily passing through them, whether in going to or from the park, or to and from business, some substantial recreative advantage may be incidentally gained. It is a common error to regard a park as something to be produced complete in itself, as a picture to be painted on canvas. It should rather be planned as one to be done in fresco, with constant consideration of exterior objects, some of them quite at a distance and even existing as yet only in the imagination of the painter.

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PROGRAM 5

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND THE SUBURBAN DREAM

A lecture by Kenneth T. Jackson, Columbia University

Prior to 1930, provisions for housing were not regarded as a government responsibility in the United States. European nations, especially Great Britain and Germany, had recognized a responsibility for publicly assisted housing much earlier.

The Great Depression changed American attitudes toward government intervention in many areas of life, including housing. Direct large-scale federal intervention in the American housing market began with the National Housing Act of 1934 which created the Federal Housing Administration (FHA). Federal intervention in the housing field was later reinforced and reaffirmed by the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 which created the Veterans Administration (VA).

Both the FHA and VA policies hastened the decay of inner-city neighborhoods and favored suburban development. Similarly, federal public housing programs, first begun in 1937, have intensified the problem. Due to the voluntary nature of the program, public housing for the poorest families was concentrated in the inner cities, while affluent suburbs failed to share any part of the problem by refusing to apply for publicly-assisted housing projects. Thus, federal programs ranging from FHA, VA, and public housing have generally intensified the problems of the ghetto and reinforced the image of suburbia as a place of refuge from the poor.

QUESTIONS

1. How did FHA and VA practices favor suburban development over the inner cities?
2. Why were federal public housing units usually located in the inner city and not on the periphery or in the suburbs?



The federal government has subsidized suburban growth in a number of ways. Begun in the mid 1950's, the interstate highway system opened up millions of acres of undeveloped land for suburbanization.

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In 1970, the federal government took its first halting steps to reverse the costly process of suburban sprawl--a process the government had previously assisted through guaranteed mortgages and an interstate highway system. The Congress authorized three-quarters of a billion dollars in loans and guarantees for New Community development. These comprehensively planned towns would include all the elements of a complete community--residential, commercial and industrial facilities. The program was designed to curb linear growth and plant the seeds for cluster development on a regional scale. Inflation, poor choice of sights and waivering government support troubled the New Communities Act from its inception. In 1978, the government announced that the program would be phased out. The following excerpt from Title VII of The Housing and Urban Development of 1970 outlines the intent of the program.

NEW COMMUNITIES ACT

Sec. 710. (a) The Congress finds that this Nation is likely to experience during the remaining years of this century a population increase of about seventy-five million persons.

(b) The Congress further finds that continuation of established patterns of urban development, together with the anticipated increase in population, will result in (1) inefficient and wasteful use of land resources which are of national economic and environmental importance; (2) destruction of irreplaceable natural and recreational resources and increasing pollution of air and water; (3) diminished opportunity for the private homebuilding industry to operate at its highest potential capacity in providing good housing needed to serve the expanding population and to replace substandard housing; (4) costly and inefficient public facilities and services at all levels of government; (5) unduly limited options for many of our people as to where they may live, and the types of housing and environment in which they may live; (6) failure to make the most economic use of present and potential resources of many of the Nation's smaller cities and towns, including those in rural and economically depressed areas, and decreasing employment and business opportunities for their residents;

(7) further lessening of employment and business opportunities for the residents of central cities and of the ability of such cities to retain a tax base adequate to support vital services for all their citizens, particularly the poor and disadvantaged; (8) further separation of people within metropolitan areas by income and by race; (9) further increases in the distances between the places where people live and where they work and find recreation; and (10) increased cost and decreased effectiveness of public and private facilities for urban transportation.

(c) The Congress further finds that better patterns of urban development and revitalization are essential to accommodate future population growth; to prevent further deterioration of the Nation's physical and social environment; and to make positive contributions to improving the overall quality of life within the Nation.

(d) The Congress further finds that the national welfare requires the encouragement of well-planned, diversified, and economically sound new communities, including major additions to existing communities, as one of several essential elements of a consistent national program for bettering patterns of development and renewal.

(e) The Congress further finds that desirable new community development on a significant national scale has been prevented by difficulties in (1) obtaining adequate financing at moderate cost for enterprises which involve large initial capital investment, extensive periods before investment can be returned, and irregular patterns of return; (2) the timely assembly of sufficiently large sites in economically favorable locations at reasonable cost; and (3) making necessary arrangements, among all private and public organizations involved, for providing site and related improvements (including streets, sewer and water facilities, and other public and community facilities) in a timely and coordinated manner.

(f) It is, therefore, the purpose of this part to provide private developers and State and local public bodies and agencies (including regional or metropolitan public bodies and agencies) with financial and other assistance necessary for encouraging the orderly development of well-planned, diversified, and economically sound new communities, including major additions to existing communities, and to do so in a manner which will rely to the maximum extent on private enterprise; strengthen the capacity of State and

local governments to deal with local problems; preserve and enhance both the natural and urban environment; increase for all persons, particularly members of minority groups, the available choices of locations for living and working, thereby providing a more just economic and social environment; encourage the fullest utilization of the economic potential of older central cities, smaller towns, and rural communities; assist in the efficient production of a steady supply of residential, commercial, and industrial building sites at reasonable cost; increase the capability of all segments of the home-building industry, including both small and large producers, to utilize improved technology in producing the large volume of well-designed, inexpensive housing needed to accommodate population growth; help create neighborhoods designed for easier access between the places where people live and the places where they work and find recreation; and encourage desirable innovation in meeting domestic problems whether physical, economic, or social. It is also the purpose of this part to improve the organizational capacity of the Federal Government to carry out programs of assistance for the development of new communities and the revitalization of the Nation's urban areas.

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U.S. Code: Congress and Administrative News, 91st Congress -
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PROGRAM 6

THE EFFECT OF SUBURBANIZATION ON CITIES

A lecture by Kenneth T. Jackson, Columbia University

The movement to suburbia has generally had a devastating effect on American cities. As middle-class and affluent citizens moved out of cities, jobs followed. Soon more families, more roads, and more industries were found in suburban environments. As businesses and taxpayers left, property values declined and housing deteriorated in urban neighborhoods. Low income families moved into once middle-class areas. Although they required extensive municipal services, they were unable to pay the high property taxes which were necessary for their operation.

The decline of the city and the rise of the suburb were closely tied to America's love affair with the automobile. A new life style was readily accessible to millions of Americans. Symbols of this mobile and disposable culture were drive-in movies, fast food franchises, shopping malls, motels, service stations, and the mobile home.

Suburbs have also exploited their aloofness from cities which they once admired and tried to imitate. However, metropolitan problems and the international energy crisis cannot be solved by home rule or rustic street names. Suburbia today is faced with the same challenges cities experienced a decade or two before.

QUESTIONS

1. Describe the reasons for the recent growth of suburbs.
2. How did the new drive-in culture aid suburban development?

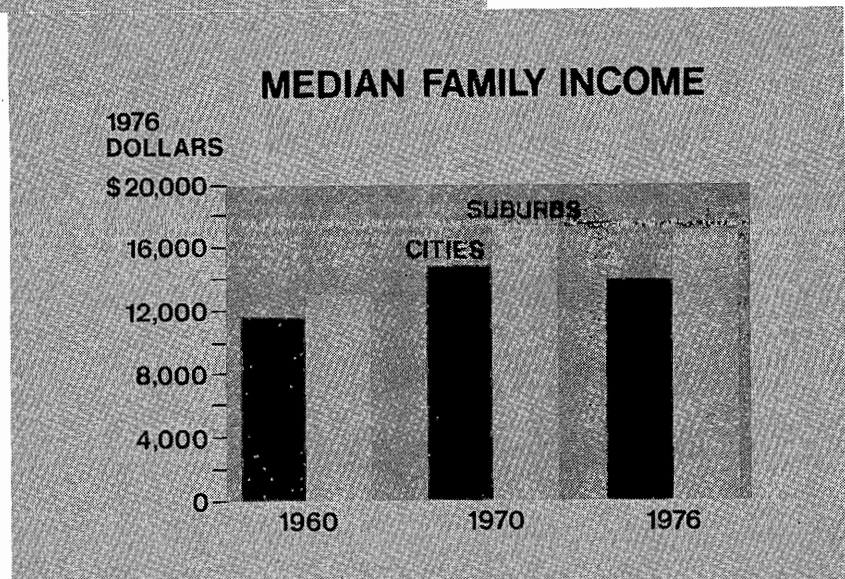
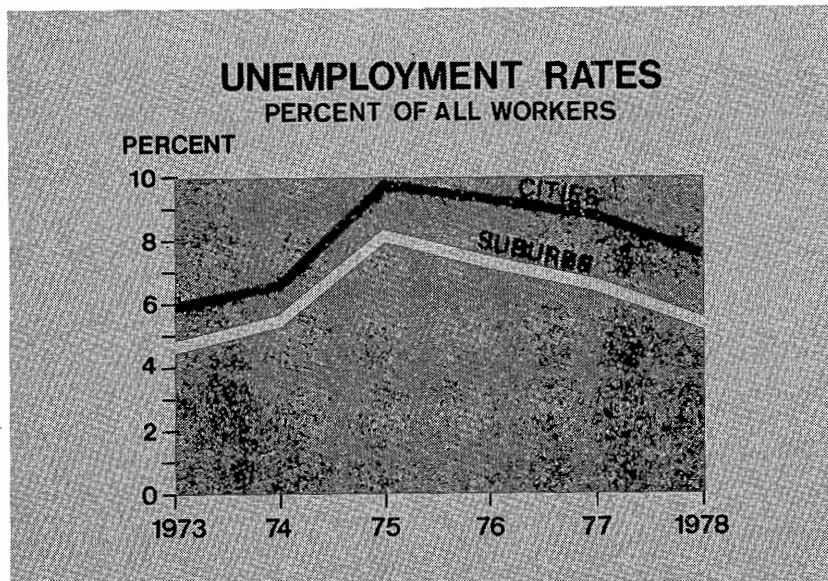
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The suburban migration has worsened the chronic ills found in the cities. The discrepancies between urban and suburban income levels have led some social commentators to warn that America is being divided into two separate societies.

The following article appearing in the New York Times catalogs the rapidly declining population in the nation's cities, especially in the older urban centers located in the Northeast. This continuous outward migration places additional pressure on the undeveloped land in the nation's metropolitan areas and suggests that suburban sprawl will not be contained even during a period of slowed population growth. The article indirectly reveals the interdependence of the urban and suburban environment. If the process of urbanization in the suburbs is to be reversed, then the nation's cities must be revitalized. The second article, taken from a CBS Morning News Report, discusses one city's attempt to prevent urban decay. It is questionable whether a single city--even with the vitality of Seattle--can attack this problem without a strong national program for land use and development.

POPULATION FALLING IN OLDER U.S. CITIES

By Edward C. Burks

WASHINGTON, Dec. 6 - New York City had a loss in population of more than 470,000 from 1970 to 1976, according to new Census Bureau estimates, and the other big, older industrial cities, especially in the Northeast and Middle West, have generally experienced similar losses.

On the other hand, major cities in the Southwest and West were leaping ahead in population. The fastest-growing major city over the period, the bureau said, was San Jose, Calif., with a 24 percent gain to a total of 573,000 and a new rank of 20th in the nation.

Dallas passed Baltimore to move into the seventh spot. San Antonio, reaching 10th place, had a 20 percent gain. Houston was up by 18 percent. Phoenix by 17 percent, and San Diego by 13 percent.

The New York skid from 7,895,563 registered in the official 1970 census to an estimated 7,422,831 represents a loss of 6 percent.

Chicago Still Second

Nine major cities had losses of more than 10 percent since 1970, indicating a continuing massive drain of population from old central cities to suburbia, exurbia and warmer climes.

Generally, the vast metropolitan areas around the older cities continue to grow at substantial rates. It is simply that the central city's share of the total metropolitan area population dwindles.

Among large cities, Cleveland had the largest proportionate loss, 17 percent. Its population declined by 125,000 to a new estimated total of 625,643. In 1950 the city had 914,808 inhabitants.

Cities with 10 Percent Losses

Other major cities with more than 10 percent losses since 1970 include St. Louis, Pittsburgh, Hartford, Buffalo, Atlanta, Newark, Bridgeport, Conn., and Rochester.

St. Louis had a 1950 population of 856,796 and is now down to 519,345, or a 16.5 percent loss, according to the Census Bureau.

The bureau makes national and state-by-state population estimates each year. Then, by a complicated process, it reduces the state population estimates to individual cities and towns, but it takes about two years to accomplish this. Therefore, the newly released figures for the nation's cities are based on mid-1976 figures. Definitive current figures will not be available until the actual head count of the 1980 census.

The bureau's new estimates show a sizable shakeup in the standing of the nation's top cities from 1970 to 1976. Cleveland and Washington dropped out of the top 10 and were replaced by San Diego and San Antonio. St. Louis plummeted to 23rd place, from 18th, and Pittsburgh to 27th, from 24th.

Some Annex Territory

The bureau did not give any detailed reasons for the population shifts. It did note, however, that some of the major gains, especially in the South and West were attributable in part to annexations that expanded city areas considerably. Houston was an example. Generally, the older cities in the Northeast and Midwest are hemmed in by other towns and cannot expand in area.

The new estimates show 163 cities with populations exceeding 100,000 with Canton, Ohio, at 100,286 bringing up the rear. Camden and Trenton, two New Jersey cities with populations well above 100,000 for decades, dropped off the chart as their totals dipped below 100,000. In 1950 Camden had 124,555 people, but in 1970, it had 102,551. Trenton fell from 128,009 in 1950 to 104,786 in 1970.

In upstate New York, Buffalo had a population loss of 62,534, or 13.5 percent, from 1970 to mid-1976. The city's population is now estimated at 400,234, as against 580,132 in 1950. Rochester lost more than 32,000 from 1970 to mid-1976, or 11 percent. The new figure for the city is 262,766. Syracuse had a loss of 16,192 or 8 percent, to reach 181,105. Yonkers lost 12,539 to drop to 191,738, and Albany had a loss of 6,585. Its new estimated total is 109,196.

In New Jersey, the great exodus from Newark continued. The city has had a population drop of more than 50,000 since the 1970 census, or 13 percent. Its mid-1976 estimated total was 331,495, compared with a 1950 count of 438,776.

Jersey City was down more than 20,000, or 7.8 percent, to 239,998; and Elizabeth dipped from 112,654 to 103,495, a loss of 8 percent. The only large New Jersey city to gain was Paterson, whose population climbed from 144,824 in 1970 to 154,256 in the latest estimate.

In Connecticut, Hartford has had the biggest decline since 1970 and also lost its rating as the state's biggest city, falling behind Bridgeport, according to the Census Bureau. Hartford's population declined 23,000, or 14 percent, to reach a new level of 134,857 in mid-1976. Ironically, Bridgeport also had a sharp decline, nearly 17,000, or 11 percent, but Hartford's was greater, so Bridgeport emerged as No. 1, with 139,552. New Haven dropped to 124,583, a loss of 13,000, or 9.5 percent, since 1970. And Waterbury skidded from 108,000 to 106,009, or a 2 percent decline.

CITIES RANKED by POPULATION

<u>1978 Rank</u>		<u>1970 Rank Population</u>	<u>Change</u>	<u>Percent Change</u>
1	1	New York 7,422,831	-472,732	-6.0%
2	2	Chicago 3,074,084	-295,273	-8.8%
3	3	Los Angeles 2,743,994	- 65,819	-2.0%
4	4	Philadelphia 1,797,403	-199,395	-6.6%
5	7	Houston 1,456,046	+222,244	+18.0%
6	5	Detroit 1,314,206	-199,395	-6.6%
7	8	Dallas 848,829	+ 4,428	+0.5%
8	6	Baltimore 827,439	- 78,438	-8.6%
9	14	San Diego 789,059	+ 92,032	+13.0%
10	15	San Antonio 783,765	+129,612	+20.0%
11	11	Indianapolis 708,867	- 37,435	- 5.0%
12	9	Washington 700,130	-56,380	- 7.4%
13	20	Phoenix 679,512	+97,950	+17.0%
14	17	Memphis 667,880	+44,350	+ 7.0%

CITIES RANKED by POPULATION

<u>1978</u> <u>Rank</u>		<u>1970 Rank</u> <u>Population</u>	<u>Change</u>	<u>Percent Change</u>
15	13	San Francisco 863,478	-52,196	-7.0%
16	12	Milwaukee 661,082	-56,290	-7.0%
17	10	Cleveland 625,643	-125,236	-17.0%
18	16	Boston 618,250	- 22,821	- 3.6%
19	19	New Orleans 580,959	- 12,512	- 2.0%
20	31	San Jose, Calif. 573,806	+112,594	+24.0%

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The New York Times, December 7, 1973.

"SAVING SEATTLE FROM SUBURBAN SPRAWL"

Reported by Terry Drinkwater

HUGHES RUDD: The exodus from the cities to the suburbs is nothing new, of course, but what is new is a campaign by one major American city to try to get some of the suburbanites to come back.

TERRY DRINKWATER: The suburbs of Seattle are as attractive, as inviting, as those around many other American cities -- the appeal of rural living promoted by land developers. Clean air, open space, big lots is what the real estate agents talk about, but can there be suburbs without a city? The leaders of Seattle were worried that their city was emptying of people--thus, a TV ad campaign to attract the suburbanites back.

TV AD If you lived in Seattle, you'd be home by now.

TERRY DRINKWATER: While the TV ads have promoted the convenience of city living, the ones on radio have emphasized the culture that comes with a good city and the excitement of being close to downtown.

WOMAN'S VOICE: I want to be where that action is--want my kids to be where that action is. Seattle is a nice place to visit, but I'd really rather live here.

TERRY DRINKWATER: And when in Seattle they talk about moving back to the city, they don't mean just into high-rise apartment buildings. They mean buy one of the old, relatively inexpensive houses, some of which are unoccupied, and renovate them quickly.

PAUL SCHELL: (Community Development Director): If you wait to the point where you are--where they are in Newark or Cleveland, it's too late. And I don't think we can afford that as a society anymore. We can't afford to rebuild Seattle out in our precious open space. We can't afford to rebuild the streets and the sewers and the schools all over again in 1980 dollars.

TERRY DRINKWATER: Since the campaign began, whole city blocks have changed. The population has at last stabilized at a half million. Many of the turn-of-the-century classics have been repaired and repainted by their new owners, some residents doing the work themselves.

FRED TERP: I think it has a nostalgic value of seeing the old thing coming back again, and hopefully you have better quality.

TERRY DRINKWATER: Middle-age, middle-class families moving back. No longer is Seattle's population mostly older, low-income and minority. Many of those in the suburbs who have decided to stay where they are say the city's schools, racially mixed and old, just aren't academically quite good enough.

PAUL SCHELL: To be street smart, as well as book smart, is perhaps something we ought to consider as an educational advantage, that, after all, school is to prepare us for the real world, and that cities are the real world.

TERRY DRINKWATER: And Seattle leaders insist this is becoming a real city again.

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WCBS-TV, Channel 2, New York, February 3, 1977.

PROGRAM 7

THE IMPACT OF SUBURBANIZATION ON AMERICAN POLITICS

A lecture by Pierce B. Wilkinson, Bergen Community College

The rapid growth of suburbia following World War II was bound to change the center-of-balance of the American political system. After a brief period of demographic dominance, the cities lost population and power to the suburbs even before the central cities had consolidated their potential hold on national and state politics.

Since the Presidential election is tied to the popular vote, where people live will influence campaign strategies and subsequent related policy decisions. It can be clearly shown that the suburbs have figured in the campaign decisions of both Republican and Democratic candidates since 1948. The critical margin of victory may rest with the suburbs in any particular election.

In both Congressional and State Legislative elections another factor has to be considered: mal-apportionment. During the period when most Americans lived in cities, the districting favored the less populated, rural areas. The urban centers were under-represented and less powerful. The reapportionment revolution of the 1960's revised the system, but by then it was in the suburbs' favor due to shifting population. Suburban districts outnumbered both urban or rural districts by 1974. Even so, suburbs have been slow to capitalize on this advantage. Due to diversity among districts, party loyalty, and seniority rules, political power has not often been used to the clear benefit of the suburbs.

The diversity of the suburbs has destroyed the myth of wealthy, conservative Republican enclaves. While some suburban areas do fit the traditional image, there are also working-class Democratic suburbs and many two-party areas. Overall, neither party can claim the suburban vote. Suburbia is an election battleground.

Policy changes resulting from suburban development have been evolutionary rather than revolutionary. Individual case studies can show some of the impact, but change has not been obvious or overwhelming. An important area for further consideration is in the shifting power contours within metropolitan regions. Clear distinctions between city and suburb have become obscure and demographic shifts are not all "one way." Further political change is to be expected.

QUESTIONS

1. How have politicians tried to capitalize on the suburban vote in local, state, and national elections?
2. Why hasn't suburban America been able to command more power in Congress and State legislatures, given the importance of the suburban vote?

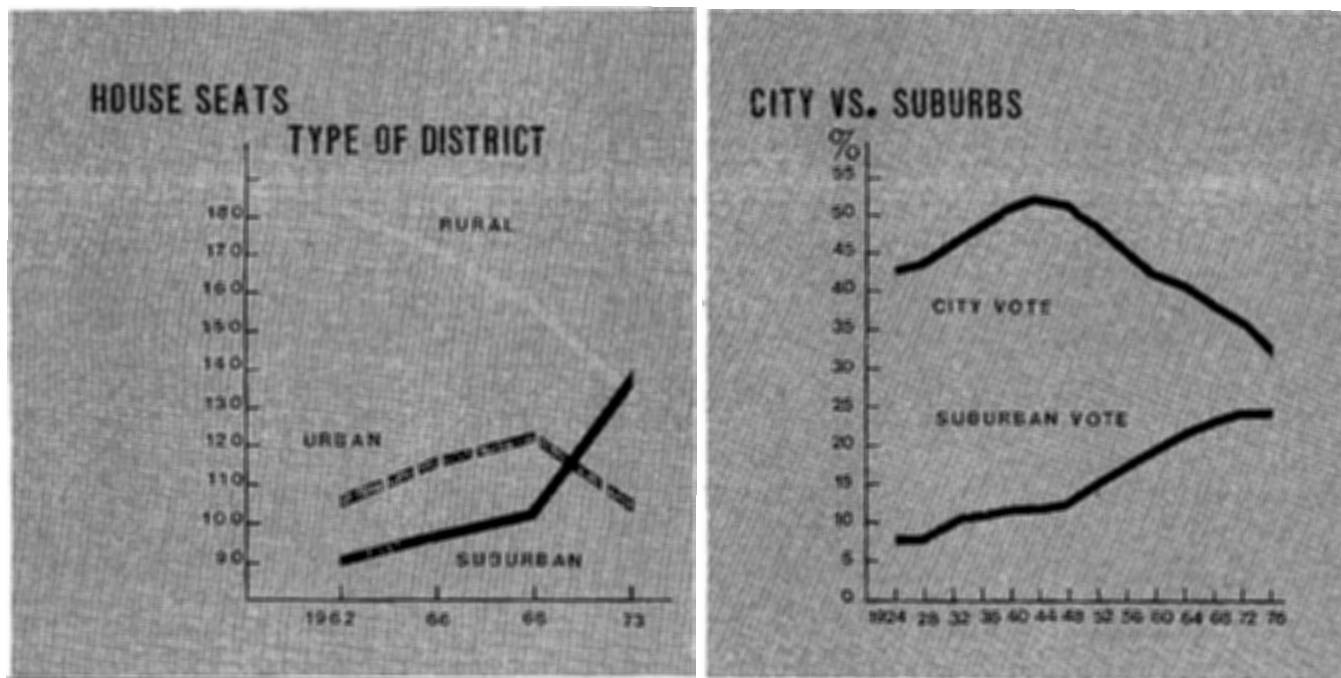
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The suburbs have exerted a powerful influence over national politics since the post World War II period. The dramatic upswing in representatives from suburban districts over the past decade indicates that this national trend will become even more pronounced in the future.

Throughout the 1950's and early 1960's, scholars continuously assessed suburbanization's impact on political behavior. In the following selection from Robert C. Wood's classic study, Suburbia: It's People and Their Politics, the author states that suburbanites have often relinquished local political control to bureaucrats and experts. Dr. Wood's provocative analysis raises questions about the degree of citizen participation and involvement existing in suburbia. However, he assumes that the suburban environment is unique and this produces a distinctive political personality. The reader must determine whether the trends Dr. Wood discerns are an exclusive product of suburban development.

"THE GRASSROOTS OF SUBURBIA"

by Robert C. Wood

Each suburbanite is expected to undertake the responsibilities of citizenship on his own initiative and determine the common good by himself. He is called upon to rise above personal interest and avarice so far as the affairs of the suburb are concerned, and, largely unorganized and unled, to manage his local government in company with his neighbor. Whatever conflict in interest exists in the suburb must express itself informally, secretly, and without the sanction of law.

Under these circumstances, the importance of the professional public servant--the expert and the bureaucrat--obviously increases. The new positive role of local government makes his existence necessary. The nonpartisan vacuum places him in a strategic position to assume a role as community leader, especially since political leaders are suspect. Social investigators are quite right in emphasizing the importance of the suburban expert, with his groups of civic associations gathered around him, but their belief that his prominence arises from a new American character is more questionable. It is more likely that his influence stems from the abdication of the citizen, weary of the number of responsibilities his concept

of good government has imposed upon him, and unskilled in the art of politics. With the professional politician and the party organization banished from the scene, systematic full-time supervision and criticism of local officialdom tends to disappear too. The bureaucracy makes the key decisions by default.

Under the circumstances, the expert should not be blamed for assuming a portion of community leadership. If he did not, the public business might well become unmanageable. The "bricks and mortar" approach in the schools may evade the central problem of school politics, but at least it keeps the schools open. The city manager's ideal of the way his suburb should develop may be quite different from the public's, but at least some sort of development goes on. Under modern conditions, the power of the expert is the price the suburbanite pays for maintaining order in his home town.

In the final analysis, the suburban man may become apolitical altogether. He has escaped from the divisive conflicts and **hostilities** of the great city in search of peace and fellowship among his own kind. The theory is that he has created a democratic haven in which a consensus of right-thinking men replaces a compromise among partisan-thinking men. This theory wraps him in a **cloak** of nonpartisanship and no politics, which makes active expression of political views socially unacceptable, if not immoral. If faithfully followed, the theory would demand so much of his time, so great a communion with his neighbors, so high a competence in public affairs, as to be nearly all-consuming. For most suburbanites, the feasible way out is indifference, as revealed by apathy in local elections. If the expert is entrusted with the really tough problems, the suburbanite has the best of all possible worlds: grassroots government run by automation. Under these circumstances, the purest theory of democracy requires no democratic action or responsibility at all.

* * * * *

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PROGRAM 8

OVERVIEW

An interview with Kenneth T. Jackson, Columbia University

Low density suburban sprawl is a unique American phenomenon. Dr. Kenneth T. Jackson cites several reasons for this distinctive American landscape. Beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, the United States experienced a prolonged period of rapid growth and increasing wealth. Coupled with the nation's heterogeneous population and anti-urban tradition, these factors created a firm foundation for suburban growth. In the twentieth century, the invention of the automobile fueled by cheap energy allowed wave after wave of urban residents to flee the city. It was a massive migration encouraged by the federal government through an extensive highway system, guaranteed low cost mortgages (granted by the Federal Housing and Veterans Administrations) and a system of tax deductions for home owners.

The suburban landscape that emerged after the advent of the automobile was substantially different from previous kinds of suburbia. In the late nineteenth century, the streetcars led to a linear growth pattern as development was clustered along the tracks or at the stations. The automobile, however, not only permitted areal settlement, but also discouraged movement toward the urban center as congestion and parking problems increased. The result was a democratization of the suburbs that created what planners have called "sprawl city" or "slurburbia."

Dr. Jackson believes that suburban development should be studied as a process rather than as a land use pattern frozen in time. Therefore, the suburbs of the nineteenth century were different than those of the twentieth century, and the "middle landscape" of the future promises to evolve into a new form as economic, social and technological changes take place. He foresees a gradual urbanization of the suburbs as the density increases and public transportation becomes more common.

QUESTIONS

1. How does the nineteenth century suburb differ from the twentieth century suburb? What accounts for these differences?
2. What effect do you think a prolonged energy crisis will have upon America's suburban landscape?

PROGRAM 9

VISIONS OF SUBURBAN LIFE

A lecture by Stanley Buder, Baruch College

The modern American suburb dates back to the mid-nineteenth century. The invention of the railroad allowed upper middle-class Americans, who were disturbed by the deteriorating urban environment, to flee the city. In this new landscape, they established many of the principles that have characterized the suburb for the past century--ideals crystallized in Riverside, Illinois, designed by the famed landscape architect, Frederick Law Olmsted. With the use of curvilinear streets, private detached homes, and spacious lawns, Olmsted created an environment which expressed the middle-class values of privacy, family and self-sufficiency. By segregating community functions into distinct parts, he created a physical plan that translated these values into an acceptable reality.

From the start, however, the suburbs were an exclusive enclave for the rich. Disturbed by the prospects of leaving the poor behind, social reformers and philanthropic industrialists sought to introduce the suburban paradise to the working class. The most famous example of a planned industrial suburb was financed by George Pullman, the nation's railroad car magnate, who proudly named the community after himself. The nation initially welcomed the experiment and praised its accomplishments, but the bitter Pullman strike of 1893 changed this opinion. As a result, Pullman, Illinois was soon dismissed as a paternalistic misadventure.

At the turn of the century, an Englishman, Ebenezer Howard, challenged the private vision of the American suburb by introducing the garden city. Surrounded by an area of green open space to provide physical and social definition, the garden city would unite the best qualities of town and country. Instead of functional segregation, all elements of community life--residential, recreational, agricultural, commercial, and industrial--would be incorporated as a part of the original design. Although some observers have criticized Howard's utopianism, his ideas have had a lasting influence that can be seen in English town planning, Radburn, New Jersey, the greenbelt towns of the 1930's, as well as, Reston, Virginia, Columbia, Maryland, and the planned unit developments of the past decade.

For the most part, however, the private vision has been the focal point of the American suburbs since they first appeared more than a century ago. Whether the nation can continue to support the high cost of suburban sprawl is questionable. The recent increase of cluster housing in the suburbs, dictated by ever rising costs, may be the initial step toward a new suburban landscape.

QUESTIONS

1. What accounted for suburban growth in the mid-nineteenth century? Are these forces still at work?
2. Do you think the suburban environment will be significantly altered during the next fifty years? Why?

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The American landscape has been shaped by private, speculative investment. The building lot and private home served as the basic building blocks for the nation's urban and suburban development. Few attempts have been made to create a complete community design. Ironically, Radburn--one of the most important experiments in community planning--lies in America within the midst of the extensive suburban sprawl of Bergen County in northern New Jersey. In the following excerpt, Clarence Stein, the chief architect and site planner, discusses Radburn's unique contribution to the history of urban planning and suggests how the community constituted only a prelude to an alternative land use pattern for America.

THE RADBURN IDEA

By Clarence S. Stein

Radburn's ultimate role was quite different from our original aim. It was not to be a Garden City. It did not become a complete, balanced New Town. Instead of proving the investment value of large-scale housing it became, as a result of the depression, a financial failure. Yet Radburn demonstrated for America a new form of city and community that fits the needs of present day urban living in America, and it is influencing city building throughout the world.

We did our best to follow Aristotle's recommendation that 'a city should be built to give its inhabitants security and happiness.'

THE NEED FOR RADBURN--American cities were certainly not places of security in the twenties. The automobile was a disrupting menace to city life in the U.S.A.--long before it was in Europe. In 1928 there were 21,308,159 automobiles registered (as compared with 5 in 1895). The flood of motors had already made the gridiron street pattern, which had formed the framework for urban real estate for over a century, as obsolete as a fortified town wall. Pedestrians risked a dangerous motor street crossing 20 times a mile. The roadbed was the children's main play space. Every year there were more Americans killed or injured in automobile accidents than the total of American war casualties in any year. The checkerboard

pattern made all streets equally inviting to through traffic. Quiet and peaceful repose disappeared along with safety. Porches faced bedlams of motor throughways with blocked traffic, honking horns, noxious gases. Parked cars, hard grey roads and garages replaced gardens.

It was in answer to such conditions that the Radburn plan was evolved. For America it was a revolution in planning; a revolution, I regret to say, which is far from completed.

Elements of the Radburn Plan

'The Radburn Idea,' to answer the enigma 'How to live with the auto,' or, if you will, "How to live in spite of it," met these difficulties with a radical revision of relation of houses, roads, paths, gardens, parks, blocks, and local neighborhoods. For this purpose it used the following elements:

1. The Superblock in place of the characteristic narrow, rectangular block.
2. Specialized Roads Planned and Built for One Use Instead of For all Uses: service lanes for direct access to buildings; secondary collector roads around superblocks; main through roads, linking the traffic of various sections, neighborhoods and districts; express highways or parkways, for connection with outside communities. (Thus differentiating between movement, collection, service, parking, and visiting.)
3. Complete Separation of Pedestrian and Automobile, or as complete separation as possible. Walks and paths routed at different places from roads and at different levels when they cross. For this purpose overpasses and underpasses were used.
4. Houses Turned Around. Living and sleeping rooms facing toward gardens and parks; service rooms toward access roads.
5. Park as Backbone of the neighborhood. Large open areas in the center of superblocks, joined together as a continuous park.

Geddes Smith described Radburn compactly in 1929 as:

'A town built to live in--today and tomorrow. A town "for the motor age." A town turned outside-in--without any backdoors. A Town where roads and parks fit together like the fingers of your right and left hands. A town in which children need never dodge motor-trucks on their way to school. A new town--newer than the garden cities, and the first major innovation in town-planning since they were built.' ...

The Radburn idea is now accepted as a fundamental--basis of urban residential planning in many lands. I visited Sweden this summer. In Stockholm, I found that the basic form for the remainder of that beautiful city--which is to be completed in about ten years for an additional 100,000 people--will be derived in large part from the Radburn plan. It will consist of green communities, made up of superblocs with central parks, and the separation of walks and roads. Gothenburg's growth will follow a similar general pattern. Other countries are planning variations on the Radburn idea. Warsaw intends to reconstruct on that basis. Radburn is influencing the plans for New Town in England. Back in America, the Greenbelt Towns and wartime housing developments are direct or indirect descendants. The redevelopment plans for Los Angeles and other cities show similar derivation...

The Radburn Plan serves present day requirements of good living in a more practical and pleasant way than does the conventional American city pattern.

It is safer.

It is more orderly and convenient.

It is more spacious and peaceful.

It brings people closer to nature.

It costs less than other types of development with an equivalent amount of open spaces.

Most people who live in Radburn prefer it. They enjoy the expansive nearby verdure; they appreciate the freedom from worry about their childrens' safety.

Radburn works in practice as it was intended to function when it was only the Radburn Idea, twenty years ago...

The Building of a New Town requires large capital investment in land, utilities, highways and public buildings on which there can be little, if any, financial return for many years. Lacking governmental assistance, a private corporation (with the exception of organizations with large aggregates of capital such as insurance companies or endowed foundations) have small chance of more than temporary success under economic conditions.

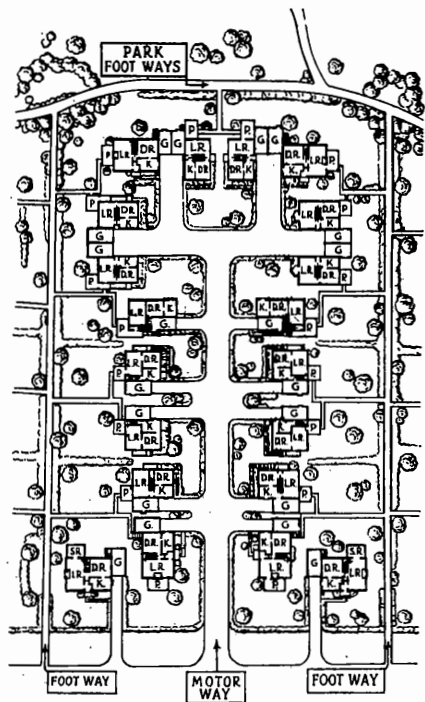
Governmental co-operation is required, at least in the following:

1. Taking land--all the land that will be needed to complete the New Town.
2. Holding the land until needed for construction; or financing the land cost at low rates for long periods.
3. Financing the cost of main lines and central works of essential utilities and main highways, on low and long financial terms.
4. Assisting the local government authorities in the construction of essential public buildings such as schools.
5. Financial aid similar to that given to existing municipalities, including subsidies, for housing low income workers.

Continuous Rapid Growth of a New Town is imperative in the early years, so that overhead expenses do not devour all earnings.

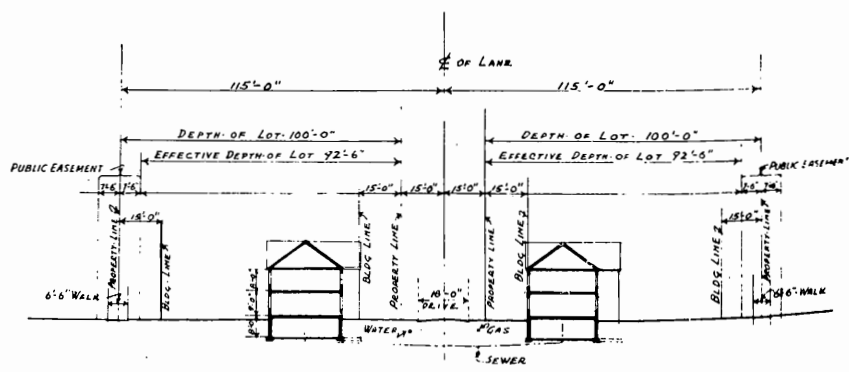
Conveniently Placed and Varied Industry is an essential requirement of a New Town. Therefore industrial plans must be specific and realistic. Generalizations are valueless.

Timing of industrial development must be sychronized with that of the building of homes and community equipment.



Plan of the residential districts, dated November 1929.

Plan of a typical "lane" at Radburn. The park in the center of the superblock is shown at the top; the motor ways to the houses are at right angles to the park.



Typical transverse section of a "lane" in the first unit of Radburn.

PROGRAM 10

THE SUBURBAN ENVIRONMENT

An interview with Frank T. Johnson, Tri-State Regional Planning Commission and Sidney Birnback, Bergen Community College

The diversity of suburbia makes it difficult to generalize about the nature of the physical and social environment. Certain common characteristics are discernible, but suburbia consists of many landscapes. The way we respond to suburbia depends on both the physical environment and the personal perception we have of that environment. The suburb is as much illusion as it is physical reality.

Americans have been attracted to the suburbs for several reasons. The allure of the privately owned, detached home has remained central to the American experience and the nation's suburbs. Justifiable beliefs that the suburbs are less crowded and provide a more natural setting also prove to be compelling motives. Finally, Americans have been drawn to the suburbs because they are perceived as sanctuaries that are insulated from the uncontrolled forces operating in the cities. Indeed, this sense of control is a crucial factor in the history of the suburbs and accounts for the strong tradition of local control that has remained a principal element in the suburban experience. The suburbs have been perceived as a "middle landscape" that incorporates the best of town and country by enabling the residents to exercise control over both the natural environment and modern technology.

Both Mr. Johnson and Mr. Birnback believe that the degree of control suburbanites maintain over their environment is far less than they think. In the face of a growing energy crisis, increasing congestion and a continuous housing shortage, these men feel that suburban residents must relinquish their long-standing parochial interests and adopt a wider regional perception. Only when these changes in attitude take place can the deeply rooted problems of the cities and suburbs be resolved. For Mr. Johnson and Mr. Birnback, the solution to our environmental and social problems lies in a cooperative regional program. Whether these changes can be implemented given **America's tradition of individualism** and local control will be a critical political question for the rest of this century.

QUESTIONS

1. Local control has been the hallmark of the American suburbs. What are the benefits and liabilities of this political structure?
2. Suburbia has been called the "middle landscape" and the images suggested by this term have largely accounted for its appeal. How has the perception fared with the reality?

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Population dispersion has created a loosely woven suburban fabric. The absence of a town center has often made the shopping mall the only gathering place for the community.

Throughout the nation's history, the "rural ideal" placed within a village setting has remained a basic ingredient of the American character. As the Gallup Poll below indicates, this ideal still persists, and accounts for the strong hold that suburbia has had on the population. Even urban residents find the "rural ideal" attractive. As Olmsted argued over one hundred years ago, planners must devise ways to inject rural elements into the urban centers. By creating a balanced environment, perhaps we can match the policy with the perception and stop the decline of the city while we stabilize the growth of the suburbs.

DESIRE TO MOVE FROM URBAN AREAS PERSISTS

The Gallup Poll - March 2, 1978

PRINCETON, N.J. -- If America's urban residents had their wish, more than one-third would move away from their cities. And this proportion holds true for the smaller and medium-sized cities--as well as for the nation's largest cities--and for the suburbs as well as for the central city areas.

Ominously, those residents expressing a desire to leave their cities represent essentially the same socio-economic groups who have been moving away for the last three decades--and whom the cities can least afford to lose. These are the younger, better educated, more affluent, primarily working population, who provide the largest share of tax revenues as well as most of the people needed to fill public and private leadership roles.

Underscoring the statistic that as many as one-third of the nation's city-dwellers would like to move away is the finding that in smaller communities (under 50,000 inhabitants) only 15 percent express the desire to move; and in rural areas the percentage wanting to leave declines to 12 percent.

This comparison is shown in the table below:

	<u>Desire to Move Away</u>
Cities over 50,000	36%
1,000,000 and over	39
Central city	39
Suburbs	39
250,000 to 999,999	36
Central city	36
Suburbs	38
50,000 to 249,999	34
Central city	36
Suburbs	29
Communities under 50,000	15
Rural areas (open country)	

DESIRE TO MOVE AWAY

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Central</u>	<u>Suburbs</u>
ALL URBAN RESIDENTS	36%	38%	34%
Region			
East	36	39	33
Midwest	40	41	38
South	32	31	33
West	37	39	35
Age			
18 to 34 yrs.	49	52	46
35 to 49 yrs.	35	40	30
50 & older	22	21	23
Education			
College	40	42	38
High School	37	39	24
Grade School	23	23	24
Race			
White	36	38	35
Non-White	35	36	33

The table above indicates the percentage among key population groups in all cities containing more than 50,000 inhabitants who would like to move away.

DESIRED LOCATION

This desire to move away from one's city does not represent a wish to live in the suburbs, but for a complete change of scenery. Only 16 percent of those central city residents indicating they would like to leave say they would like to move to the suburbs.

Evidence from other Gallup surveys reveals that the nation's city-dwellers, given a choice, would prefer to live in America's smaller, less urbanized communities and in rural areas. For example, although only one-third of America's population lives in communities of under 10,000 inhabitants or in open country, a recent survey reveals that as many as six in ten, given the opportunity, would like to live in such places.

These findings are reflected in census data which show that, on a percentage basis, the largest population increases recorded during the last decade have been in the small towns and rural districts, outside the nation's major metropolitan areas.

Other data from the current survey tend to confirm this apparent preference for less populated areas. When asked to describe the "ideal city," the nation's city-dwellers choose words and phrases which more appropriately describe smaller communities, such as towns and villages--with emphasis on residential attractiveness. Examples include: a lack of crime, overcrowding, traffic congestion and pollution; clean, attractive, well-maintained housing; friendly people.

Mentioned relatively infrequently are the attributes and advantages associated with large urban environments such as employment and business opportunities, recreational and cultural opportunities, and good municipal services.

PEOPLE ARE PESSIMISTIC

Undoubtedly contributing to this desire to leave the cities is the feeling that the cities have declined as desirable places to live and that they will likely deteriorate still more in the future. Again, it is in the nation's largest cities, those experiencing the biggest problems, in which residents see the most precipitous decline.

For example, when residents of cities of over 1,000,000 are asked how they would rate their own city as a place to live, today, on a scale from zero to 10, with zero representing the worst possible city and 10 the ideal city, the average rating is 5.8.

When asked how they felt their city rated five years ago, the average rating is 6.4, or somewhat higher than today's rating. But when large city residents say how they anticipate their city will rate as a place to live five years from today, the average score is lower than today--5.4 (see table below).

MEAN RATINGS

(Cities over 1,000,000)

City five years ago	6.5	
City today	5.8	
Net change (five years ago until today)		-0.6
City five years hence	5.4	
Net change (today and five years hence)		-0.4
NET CHANGE (OVERALL)		-1.0

REASONS FOR LEAVING

To determine why urban residents want to leave their cities, an analysis was made of responses to two indirect questions concerning perceptions of the "ideal" and the "worst possible" cities, as well as to several direct questions concerning the reasons for leaving, views as to the cities' most important problems, etc.

Key factors in the desire to move away from the cities are crime, overcrowding or population congestion; the poor condition, appearance and maintenance of residential housing; unemployment or low pay; air pollution; dirt, traffic congestion; racial problems; and poor climate.

The degree to which crime currently dominates the thinking of the nation's urban residents is apparent from the following findings:

1. Although only 20 years ago less than one urban dweller in 20 mentioned crime as the city's most important problem--with the proportion rising to four in 10 in central areas of the nation's largest cities.
2. A low crime rate is named by 34 percent as the most important attribute of the "ideal city," with a high crime rate cited most frequently (by 49 percent) as a description of the "worst possible" city.
3. Crime runs a close second to population congestion or overcrowding as the most frequently mentioned reasons for wanting to move away from one's city.

FUTURE PROSPECTS

Despite this somewhat gloomy evidence, prospects for America's cities appear hopeful.

Several findings, for example, suggest that relatively few urban residents have actually given up on their cities--even among the most "turned-off" citizens--i.e., those expressing a desire to move away. When asked to indicate what kinds of changes or improvements, if any, would be needed to get them to stay, only about a quarter of this group--or less than 10 percent of the total urban population--say that nothing could be done to induce them to remain.

In fact, among those wanting to leave, large majorities in virtually every population segment--including the younger and the "upscale" groups that cities need for the revenues and leadership they provide--say they would remain if specific changes or improvements were carried out. Even those who are most pessimistic about the future of their cities express a willingness to stay, if certain changes are instituted.

Most significantly, the vast majority of the nation's urban residents--including those wanting to move away--express a willingness to contribute to the solution of the problems confronting their cities. Nine in 10 city-dwellers (89 percent) say they would be willing to volunteer their time and efforts to help bring about needed changes or improvements by participating in such activities as serving on neighborhood committees, making financial contributions and picketing.

The findings reported today are based on 3,242 interviews with adults, 18 and older, in more than 300 scientifically selected localities across the nation. The survey, conducted during the last three months of 1977, was sponsored by the Charles F. Kettering and Charles Stuart Mott Foundations.

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The Gallup Poll. The Institute of Public Opinion, Field Enterprises, Inc.
1978.

PROGRAM 11

SUBURBAN DIVERSITY

A lecture by Mark S. Kassop, Bergen Community College

The stereotyped suburban environment depicted by social critics, historians, and sociologists ignores the enormous diversity that exists within suburbia. The picture of a detached home centered on a spacious, well-kept lawn and framed by a white picket fence contains a degree of truth. So does the portrait of the typical affluent suburban couple blessed with two young children, a dog and a station wagon. However, the suburbs, which now house more than fifty percent of the population, reflect to some extent the diversity that characterizes the entire nation.

The suburban landscape has been shaped by the sweeping economic and social changes that have taken place in the United States since the mid-nineteenth century. To make sense out of the nation's rapid pace of development, David Gordon has divided metropolitan growth into two stages that correspond to distinct periods in the evolution of American capitalism. "Industrial accumulation" (1860-1920) created a segregated city both in terms of function and demography. Containing the industrial and commercial facilities, the inner city housed the working class population. To escape the decay of the urban core, an increasing number of affluent citizens moved to residential neighborhoods that grew at the periphery of the city. A process of "corporate accumulation" since 1920 has transformed the physical environment of our newest cities. The center city has been defined by the skyscraper, not the factory. Manufacturers have moved to the suburbs where land is cheaper and more plentiful. Rings of growth that gave physical definition to the city during the previous period have been replaced by haphazard, helter-skelter development leading to what one historian has called the "fragmented metropolis."

Adding to Gordon's analysis, Leo Schnore claims that ethnic and racial diversity, the size and density of the population, geography and technology, all have to be considered in conjunction with the state of the economy to obtain a complete analysis of the suburbs in history.

Frederick Lewis Allen has explored each of these complex, inter-related elements to construct a paradigm for American suburban growth. He has divided the history of the suburbs into five periods--

1. The street car suburb (1860-1920)
2. The beginning of the motor age (1920's)
3. The suburban moratorium--depression and war (1930-1945)
4. The post World War II mass produced suburb--(1945-1965)
5. The urbanized suburb (1965-present)

The diverse suburban landscape has been formed within this broad historical context, and the nature of each American suburban community has responded to the social and economic conditions of the time period in which it grew. For this reason, Dr. Kassop concludes that we must speak about numerous types of environments when we address the issue of the suburban landscape.

QUESTIONS

1. What factors account for suburban diversity? Which factors do you think are most important?
2. Do you think that it is possible to exaggerate the diversity that exists within the American suburb? Are there certain characteristics in the nation's suburbs which define them as a distinct environment?

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The diversity existing in the suburban environment is now an established fact. Not only is this trend reflected in the variety of housing stock currently rising from the physical landscape, but it can also be seen in the demographic diversity of the social environment. The following selections look into two areas where these changes have been most pronounced--among non-traditional families and blacks. Most experts agree that these changes will accelerate in the future.

"SINGLES IN THE SUBURBS"

Reported by Dave Monsees
on the WCBS - Six o'clock Report,
New York.

JIM JENSEN: Suburbia--America's bedroom-- a good place in which to raise youngsters. But our "Father Knows Best" image of suburbia, may well be in a change. Single people - some of them divorced, others who have never ever married are moving there in greater numbers. This evening Dave Monsees begins a special report on what it's like being single out in the suburbs. David...

DAVE MONSEES: Jim, according to a major mortgage insurance company, one in every five homes sold next year will go to singles. Alone, in groups and living together as unmarried couples--more and more singles are doing just what they thought they'd never do--buying a home and settling down in the suburbs.

Ron Ehrmann and Helen Wistendahl tried living together in an apartment in Manhattan but got fed up with the city's shortcomings. So, last summer, they bought a condominium-styled town house together in Westchester.

"Is the suburbs right? Aren't they for families? Aren't they for kids? See what I'm getting at?"

RON EHRMANN: "Well, we've been here four months and senility has not set in. That is definitely the case."

DAVE MONSEES: The suburb has long been the butt of jokes like that, that when you move there you're not young anymore and probably have a family. But Ron and Helene are both 31 and, like other singles, moved to the suburbs because they wanted to. For one thing, it was a way to escape the din of city noise. While they lived in the city, Ron and Helene had what many young people would regard as the ideal singles' lifestyle. They had an apartment in the middle of the silk stocking district, 75th and Third, a stones' throw away from the restaurants, the bars, the theaters. But there was a price to pay for this lifestyle - higher than just the high rent. They lived in a one bedroom apartment above a bar at 75th and Third. Ron said that the apartment was so small, that for the year and a half he and Helene lived together here, he literally had to live outside of his suitcases.

HELEN WISTENDAHL: "In the city we used to run our airconditioner-- not to keep cool at night but to eliminate the noise on the street. The first time we slept here was really a shock for us. At night, the first night we got into bed and we turned the lights out and it was so quiet, we couldn't hear anything. And it was like quiet noise, it was almost frightening--it was such a shock to us."

DAVE MONSEES: That same mortgage insurance company that said one in five homes would be sold to singles, also said singles are buying now to create a credible picture of stability--to save taxes. And the company also said by next year, as many single women will be buying homes as men. Even though they're not married, both Ron and Helene's names are on the mortgage. Financing is easier to get because bankers can no longer refuse a mortgage to a couple, just because they're not married. Many singles living together each contribute to the mortgage--often it's necessary to carry the payments on a condominium that can run from 50 to \$100,000. But there can be pitfalls if the relationship suddenly turns sour.

JUDITH HASSENHAUER (ATTORNEY): "If the relationship breaks apart, and they fight, and they fight. And they fight over who gets the washing machine and who gets the dryer and who gets the stereo. And we don't have the courts available to us to run in and to get a speedy hearing on the separation."

DAVE MONSEES: Enough singles are buying homes to bring about a kind of mini-boom for developers and real estate agents. Developer John De Rosa has more singles than marrieds living in his condominiums in Irvington, New York.

JOHN DE ROSA (DEVELOPER): "It's a gold mine."

DAVE MONSEES: "It is?"

JOHN DE ROSA: "Always was, only it was very subtle. A builder would build studios and one bedrooms, he would advertise--not as singles--he would advertise just a unit. And then about 1969, 1970, I started to sort of come out of the closet. And I started advertising singles."

DAVE MONSEES: "How many of the people who live here or have bought here are either single or divorced?"

JOHN DE ROSA: "Out of 60, I'd say about 14."

DAVE MONSEES: Back to Ron and Helene--in four months, they've gone from transplanted Manhattanites to confirmed suburban commuters. They run for the 7:52, just like all those seasoned veterans who are older and married.

RON EHRMANN: "Commuting itself has not proven to be a real hazard. We find that the time spent on the train where we are comfortably situated, we have the opportunity to read, get some work done--and it's an opportunity to, on the way into work prepare mentally for work and on the way home from work, an opportunity to really unwind."

HELENE WISTENDAHL: "Living in the city is a challenge, living in the city is tough and for a while you put up with those things because of the excitement. And all other things about being in the city that's so exciting, after awhile, some of the negatives start playing up. And we decided to make the move."

JIM JENSES: "How can hassles be avoided when a singles' couple splits up?"

DAVE MONSEES: "Well, the lawyers we talked to said there's one very easy way to do it. It goes along the same lines as a marriage contract, actually, and that is to--before you move into a house together, before you buy a house together--you simply enter into a legal agreement stating who owns what and how much of what."

JIM JENSEN: "Almost like a pre-marital contract."

DAVE MONSEES: "Almost."

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WCBS-TV, Channel 2, New York, January 22, 1979.

BLACK SHIFT TO SUBURBS INCREASING

By Bob Cunningham

WASHINGTON, D.C. - The black population in the suburbs has been growing rapidly over the last few years while the post-World War II trend of black migration to the cities has abated, a Census Bureau report says.

Nationwide, the black population in the suburbs rose 34 percent from 1970 to 1977. The number of suburban whites increased only 10 percent.

The major part of the increase in black population was in the South and West. In big-city suburbs of the Northeast - a classification that would include Bergen and Passaic counties - the increase in black population was less dramatic, although it still outpaced white population growth. The black population in these areas grew 8 percent, compared with 2.1 percent for the white population.

Total population in the Northeast was virtually stagnant in this period. Most of the 6 percent population growth was in the West and South.

Only about 5 1/2 percent of the nation's suburban population is black compared to 22 percent of the urban population and 9 percent of the rural population. The number of black city residents had been growing as black families migrated in search of jobs and better living conditions.

"The black population in cities increased about 6 percent between 1970 and 1974 but showed no change from 1974 to 1977." the bureau's report said. "This marks at least a temporary end to the pronounced growth of the black population in cities that had characterized the past several decades."

The figures appear to indicate that most black families moving to the suburbs were in the middle- and upper-income brackets. The average inflation adjusted income of suburban black families rose nearly \$2,000 from 1969 to 1976, while the income of suburban whites remained stable. The white families still earn \$5,000 more than the black families, on average.

In 1976, one quarter of the blacks earning \$15,000 to \$25,000 lived in a suburb compared to one fifth seven years earlier. Among blacks earning more than \$25,000, 35 percent were in a suburb in 1976, nearly twice as many as in 1969.

Figures for whites in these income groups do not show a similar jump in suburban residence.

However, white flight from the cities continued from 1970 to 1977. Eight percent of the white population left urban centers in those years. In the big cities in the Northeast, this flight reduced the white population by 15 percent. Many of these people apparently moved to other parts of the country.

The sole exception to the white flight from the cities was among young college graduates. There were 44 percent more graduates in the cities in 1977 than in 1970.

That figure could indicate that young whites are moving back into redeveloped areas of big cities. Officials in Washington attribute a 9,600 increase in the white population in 1976 and 1977 and a 40,000 decrease in the black population to extensive renovations in the city. Young white couples in many neighborhoods are buying townhouses that had been rented to blacks, tearing out and rebuilding the interior, turning marginal areas into fashionable ones.

Overall, however, census officials said they detected no firm indication that white flight was reversing.

Twice as many whites moved from cities to the suburbs in the two years ending in March 1977 as moved from the suburbs to a city, the census estimates show.

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The Record, December 1, 1978.

PROGRAM 12

THE OUTSIDERS: EXCLUSIONARY PRACTICES IN SUBURBIA

An interview with Paul Davidoff, Suburban Action Institute

The United States is a suburban nation. For the first time in American history, the 1970 census indicated that the majority of citizens lived in a suburban environment. As people flee the city, the population of the suburbs continues to increase faster than the population of the nation as a whole. Mr. Davidoff, as the director of the Suburban Action Institute, argues that it is time for the government, planners, and the public to recognize this fact. If the American dream of equality and opportunity is to be sustained, then the suburbs, Mr. Davidoff asserts, must be opened to all citizens. Only then will minorities be able to share the improved quality of life now enjoyed by middle-class Americans.

Mr. Davidoff maintains that minorities have been systematically excluded from the suburbs. Zoning ordinances, which require minimum one acre lots, raise the price of homes beyond the means of minority families living in the city. Private realtors steer certain groups away from homogeneous neighborhoods, and slow growth policies often have the effect of conserving the environment at the expense of the poor. These practices have denied freedom of choice to minorities who have been barred from the suburbs and must remain in the urban core where the housing stock has deteriorated and the job opportunities are limited.

Thus far Mr. Davidoff has concentrated his efforts in wealthy communities along the circular interstate highways that loop around the nation's metropolitan centers. In these areas, undeveloped land is still available and the restrictive zoning laws, which Mr. Davidoff detests, have been most offensive. For example, Bedminster Township along Route 287 in New Jersey, recently reduced its minimum acreage requirements from five to three. However, he would like to extend his land use proposals to a large spectrum of American society to include all communities with an average family income of \$25,000 annually.

Mr. Davidoff's proposals have not been well received by suburbanites. These families, who have attained a piece of the American dream, fear that an influx of minorities into their communities will mean increased taxes, crime, and pollution. This reaction has not deterred Mr. Davidoff's conviction that it is imperative for America to balance the desperate needs of the city with the relative affluence of the suburbs. By following this course, he is convinced the nation will be able to provide satisfactory housing and economic opportunities for minorities who are now trapped in the city.

QUESTIONS

1. Do you believe that local municipalities have a right to determine land use policies in their communities, even if their laws deliberately prohibit low-cost housing?
2. What role should the local, state, and federal government play in the formation of planning policies?
3. Why does Mr. Davidoff find more support among private real estate interests than suburban home owners? Given the history of low-cost housing in America, do you think that Mr. Davidoff is wise to leave the construction of this type of housing in private hands?

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Mr. Davidoff concentrates his criticism on the negative social impact of exclusionary zoning practices. The following article deals with another aspect of the problem that arises in attempting to integrate the suburban environment. Even positive steps taken by a community sympathetic to racial balance face serious obstacles. The controversy in this town--Park Forest South, Illinois--places cherished American principles at odds with one another. It pits the basic right of freedom of choice against the vaulted American ideal of economic and social opportunity. There is, however, an odd twist. Instead of encouraging blacks to come to white neighborhoods, the political leaders of this community intend to curb the number of black families who move to their integrated town. In a sense, they have placed a quota on blacks to preserve racial balance. Like so many other problems emerging in suburbia, it is difficult to see how a single community can resolve this conflict on its own.

INTEGRATED SUBURBS NOW FEARFUL
OF NOT DRAWING ENOUGH WHITES
By Robert Reinhold

PARK FOREST SOUTH, ILL.--When this placid suburban village was carved out of cornfields 30 miles south of the Chicago Loop eight years ago, every effort was made to open it to all races.

But, having studiously practiced the letter and spirit of the open-housing laws, the village is now nearly one-third black. And unless something is done to stabilize things, the town leaders say, it will be nearly all black soon.

As a result, Park Forest South--along with neighboring suburbs and others across the country undergoing similar kinds of racial change--in trying to attract more white families and to encourage blacks to look for houses where there are few minority residents. Town officials are also trying to stop what they see as a practice among real estate agents of "steering" blacks to integrated communities and away from mostly white ones.

These efforts are stirring a bitter national debate, the outcome of which may well shape the racial makeup of major metropolitan areas for generations to come, determining whether the rigidly segregated housing patterns of the central cities will be repeated in the suburbs.

"If all you have is nondiscrimination, you'll get apartheid," said Mayer Singerman, village president of neighboring Park Forest, using the South African term for racial segregation. "We cannot just sit back and say we are open--that is not the real world."

The actions of the suburbs have badly split civil rights groups and the black community. Some argue that a town should have the right to maintain its integrated character, and that this may mean actively attracting whites. Others say this amounts to setting illegal and immoral quotas to keep out more blacks.

Fears of 'Resegregation'

The dispute threatens to boil over on the outskirts of many major cities as a growing black middle class ventures in large numbers into areas that were once all white, raising fears of what some call "resegregation." Suburbs of Chicago, Cleveland, St. Louis, Detroit, Washington, New York and other cities are grappling with the issue.

The issue has caught the Federal Government off guard. Federal laws are aimed mainly at preventing outright discrimination in sales and rentals, not promoting integration. By passing ordinances to control real estate brokers and taking other steps to maintain racial diversity, some suburbs entered a gray legal area.

The Department of Housing and Urban Development, which enforces Federal fair-housing laws, has taken no official position on the issue, and its lawyers believe the legality of the ordinances depends on how they are applied.

The United States Supreme Court is expected to rule soon on a case in which brokers challenged the right of another Chicago suburb Bellwood, to sue them under charges of "steering" blacks to Bellwood and whites to less integrated suburbs. The real estate industry has mounted a major counterattack on the integrated suburbs, accusing them in turn of steering and preventing blacks from moving where they want to live.

As with so many recent civil rights issues, this one has made enemies of former friends and has united former adversaries. The local chapters of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference have denounced these suburbs, while the Leadership Council for Metropolitan Open Communities, a Chicago-area open-housing group, and some national

civil rights groups support them. And the local N.A.A.C.P. has found a strange bedfellow in the real estate business, which blacks have long considered the enemy in the open-housing fight.

The complex issues are well illustrated in Park Forest South and nearby towns.

Built in 1971 as a "new community" that would be open to all, Park Forest South attracted white-collar and professional families of both races. Today the village of 5,000 people seems to be a model of successful pluralism. There are no racially identifiable sections. Blacks and whites serve together on the school board and play together in the Little League.

Village leaders say the number of blacks grew rapidly in part because of "self-steering" among Chicago blacks who had heard that blacks were well received here.

"But we are convinced the major cause was steering by real estate brokers," said the village president, Larry McClellan, a college professor. He said the village was an "easy out" for brokers with black clients, while whites were usually shown houses in nearby Homewood or Flossmoor, which are only 1 or 2 percent black.

"We started seeing that we simply could not maintain integration unless all communities are open," Mr. McClellan said. "There are 250 other Chicago suburbs where special steps should be taken to attract minorities."

The Federal Government, he asserts, has done little to break down barriers in other suburbs. While there is no panic selling here, seven of the 22 townhouses in Mr. McClellan's cluster were sold last spring and summer, all by whites to blacks.

In 1977, the village passed a so-called affirmative marketing ordinance that, among other things, prohibited real estate solicitation that was deemed "detrimental" to its policy of attracting "members of racial and/or ethnic groups which would not ordinarily be expected to be at commercial market"--meaning whites.

The ordinance quickly came under attack from brokers, who charged that it forced them to engage in steering, which is forbidden by Title I of the Civil Rights Act of 1968. Ironically, one complaint led to a Federal investigation of alleged racial discrimination in Park Forest South, possibly the most thoroughly integrated suburb of Chicago.

The village, faced with a loss of Federal funds while the complaint was being resolved, withdrew the ordinance, but the issue remains.

Mr. McClellan disputes accusations that he wants to set racial quotas, asserting that the objective is merely a "healthy housing market" in which blacks and whites are aware of all options.

Don DeMarco, planning director of Park Forest, said: "Affirmative action in jobs and education was to reach out to blacks where underrepresented. Now we are reaching out to whites who are underrepresented."

Park Forest, Park Forest South and several other suburbs in this area have joined to form the South Suburban Housing Center, which seeks to intervene to defeat what it describes as the dual housing market. It does this by counseling people seeking homes on the "full range" of housing in the area, working with brokers and monitoring their practices. Similar centers operate in other suburban areas, amid growing controversy.

The center is headed by Herman Matthews, who is black. He sees a "re-emergence of separatism" among some blacks, and little official support for integration.

Three black women have filed a discrimination complaint against the center with the Department of Housing and Urban Development. One of them is Juanita Simpson, a 53-year old schoolteacher who grew up on Chicago's black South Side. Fifteen years ago, she and her husband William became one of the first families to move into Park Forest.

Her eyes flashed with anger as she sat in her home and said, "The assumption of all this is that black people are bad and white people will not live where black people go. They would never think of doing this for Jews."

"Of course I like integration," she said, but added, "Am I going to say, 'Keep those blacks out?' What they are doing is strictly illegal."

But many other blacks here, perhaps most, do not share her view. William E. Walker, a 32-year-old hospital marketing specialist for the Upjohn Company, also grew up on the South Side. He and his wife, Anita, moved to Park Forest South so that their sons, Bill Jr., 7, and Geoffrey, 4, could grow up in an integrated setting.

Brokers, he believes, are thwarting integration in the community. "I have white friends who were shown all around this county before being shown here--they had to insist on seeing it," he said. "For whites to steer other whites away is taking one of our choices away."

But many major black groups in Chicago are angered by what suburbs such as Park Forest South are trying to do.

"We are not against integration--we are against forced integration," said Frank Williams, a black real estate broker in Chicago who heads the Chicago chapter of the N.A.C.O. "We are not going to have integration at the expense of black people. The game is the same as 30 years ago, just different players--the community organizations instead of the realtors."

But the national office of the N.A.A.C.P. takes a different stance. Donald E. Harewood, director of housing programs for the national office, said the efforts of Park Forest South and other integrated towns were "legitimate" and that it was "tragic" the town had rescinded its ordinance. "We have a firm policy of striving for an integrated society--whatever it takes," he said.

The real estate business, meanwhile, is determined to fight the racial balancing efforts.

"What they are saying is there is good steering and bad steering--the law makes no such distinction," said an official at the National Association of Realtors in Chicago, which is backing suits against the proliferation of ordinances like Park Forest South's. The group contends that its members are caught between the ordinances on one hand and Federal open-housing laws and state licensing rules on the other.

But the meaning of the Federal laws remains murky.

Edward L. Holmgren, head of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, said his group supported the ordinances. "As long as the services or results are designed to increase affirmative marketing throughout the market, it is a legitimate exercise" under Federal law, he said.

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PROGRAM 13

THE SUBURBANIZATION OF AMERICAN BUSINESS

An interview with Robert G. Ripston, Ingersoll-Rand Company

When most people think of the suburbs, they think of a broad expanse of residential lots, punctuated with neighborhood schools, large shopping centers and spacious parks. However, as people have moved to the suburbs, businesses have usually followed them. Today, the suburbs are not only home for the majority of Americans, but also the location of some of the nation's largest corporations. Mr. Robert G. Ripston, the vice president of Ingersoll-Rand Company, has recently coordinated the relocation of his company's international headquarters from New York City to Woodcliff Lake, New Jersey. His company has engaged in a move that has become a major force in shaping the post World War II American landscape.

Although Mr. Ripston claims that there are a variety of reasons for this trend, he cites economic factors as the primary cause. As a company grows, its space requirements are more easily met in the suburbs where land is cheaper and plentiful. Suburban municipalities often attract companies by providing tax incentives that further reduce the cost of operations. However, there are aesthetic considerations as well. The tall, impersonal skyscraper set against the gray city is replaced by a serene industrial campus accented by the beauty of the natural environment. Besides, as Mr. Ripston points out, the company is following its employees, many of whom lived in the suburbs and commuted each day to the office in the city. The move becomes one of convenience. It is a reaffirmation of the conventional business policy to be near its work force.

Mr. Ripston believes that the benefits derived from a move to the suburbs far outweigh the liabilities. Cultural opportunities are reduced, and the insulated working environment may curtail the exchange of ideas. The company, however, is located close enough to New York City so that the workers can still enjoy the dynamic diversity of an urban environment. In effect, the move to the suburbs represents the traditional suburbanites' quest for the "middle landscape," only this time it is a quest determined by explicit corporate policy.

Mr. Ripston asserts that the movement of corporations away from the city requires adjustments for both urban and suburban communities. For the suburbs, there is the problem of congestion and growth; for the city, there are the more serious problems of lost revenues and jobs. Mr. Ripston believes these changes are part of an historical process that are now over a century old. Although cities are presently suffering from this transition, Mr. Ripston is confident that they will be able to respond to these changes more successfully in the future.

QUESTIONS

1. How do you think Mr. Davidoff would respond to Mr. Ripston's remarks? Which comments would he agree with? Which would he disagree with?
2. For the most part, suburbs have desired and attracted "clean industries" -- corporate headquarters, research and development centers and high technology manufacturers. The factories have been left behind in the aging cities. What consequences has this had for both the city and suburb and the people who live in these environments?

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As business suburbanizes, it transforms the complexion of a municipality. The added tax revenues are accompanied by dramatic physical and social change. While enticing commerce and industry into the town, political leaders search for an elusive formula that will lead to balanced growth. The following story on Greenwich, Connecticut discusses how this suburbanized town is coping with the change it invited.

"GREENWICH STRUGGLING TO SAVE AN IDEAL"

By Richard L. Madden

GREENWICH, CONN. -- Scaffolding is up now around the Greenwich Lodge, a stately, half-century old apartment building just off the Post Road, signaling yet another change to worry some of the residents and officials of this genteel town. They feel Greenwich has changed too much already.

The new owners of the Lodge, as it is known are repairing the 59-unit building to convert it to condominiums. Townspeople are concerned because many of the Lodge's tenants are in their 80's and may be displaced, with no place to go.

Finding housing for the elderly is just one more problem confronting Greenwich as it struggles to preserve what many of its residents regard as the ideal of suburban living against the onslaughts of urbanization, symbolized by the proliferation of new office buildings and the automobile traffic that congeals on Greenwich Avenue at lunchtime as two courteous traffic patrolmen wearing white gloves patiently try to preserve order.

Development and Construction

Greenwich, described in promotional literature as "the premier residential community of America," is no longer just a pleasant residential town close to New York. More people now commute into town to work than leave each morning for the city. The large estates are being broken up and developed. The town has sought to sharply limit the construction of new office buildings, but the glass and steel structures that sprang up a few years ago have left their mark, displacing such things as a pleasant old hotel and an apartment building where the elderly lived.

At least the Greenwich Lodge is being preserved, some townspeople say, even though some of its elderly tenants may have to move out.

"Many of these people can't afford \$150,000--plunko--right now," said Nancy Carnegie Rockefeller, who has been fighting battles for the elderly in Greenwich since the 1920's, though she notes that some townspeople still regard her as a foreigner because she wasn't born here. The 77-year-old grandniece of Andrew Carnegie, married to a grand-nephew of John D. Rockefeller, pointed at a list of elderly persons waiting to get into Merry-Go-Round Mews, a hotel-like home for the aged that she founded several years ago and that she says she is trying to keep afloat financially.

High Cost of Housing

Greenwich is getting older. Officials estimate that around 18 percent of the 640,000 are now 60 or older, compared with just over 10 percent for all of Connecticut. They predict that the percentage will increase. At the same time the elementary school population is dropping rapidly, down about 30 percent in the past 10 years. The Board of Education closed the Byram school earlier this year and has decided to close the Cos Cob school by 1980, although residents are protesting.

A major reason for this shift in population is the high price of housing. One town official estimated that the average resale price of a house in Greenwich over the past month had reached \$185,000.

Another official, Harold L. VonBrock, the town assessor, sat in his small townhall office and offered some examples. "Right now you can't find an ordinary 50 by 150 lot," he said. "If you could it's going to run \$35,000, and then you go from there."

In the estate area north of the Merritt Parkway, which is zoned for a minimum of four-acre lots and which townspeople call "the back-country" the price is \$150,000 to \$160,000,--"and that's just for the lot," he said. "It is squeezing out the younger folks who don't have that kind of money."

High housing costs also have made it harder for town employees to live in Greenwich. Bill Swords, the town personnel officer, said that of 45 middle-management and professional employees hired by the town government since 1974 and still working in Greenwich--with salaries at \$18,000 a year and up--only one has actually moved into town. Mr. Swords commutes an hour each way from Orange, almost as far as New Haven.

He is not alone. James G. Sandey, the Greenwich town planner who commutes from Ridgefield, said that about 25,000 persons commute into Greenwich each day, while only about 2,800 commute to New York from Greenwich, with another 11,000 leaving Greenwich each day to work in places such as Stamford and White Plains. "So we're definitely an employment center--no question about it," he said.

'Adjusting to the Corporate Influx'

"I think Greenwich's biggest problem now is adjusting to the corporate influx," said Ruth L. Sims, the First Selectman, who is completing her first year as the first Democratic chief executive of this staunchly Republican town since the early 1900's.

A few years ago, as some of the big corporations began to move their corporate headquarters out of New York City to Fairfield County, Greenwich was a prime target. American Can built a sprawling headquarters in the northeastern corner of the town, which is more accessible to Westchester County than to Greenwich. Chesebrough-Pond's sleek corporate headquarters replaced the old Maples Hotel, a rambling Victorian structure that also housed some elderly Greenwich residents. Amax came as did United States Tobacco and General Reinsurance.

Faced with the prospect in the mid-1970's that Greenwich could become the site of some 8 million square feet of new office space--the equivalent, town officials said, of eight Pan Am buildings--the town fathers put on the brakes. Stiffer zoning requirements were imposed. Xerox was denied permission to build its corporate headquarters on a 102-acre site on King Street not far from the Westchester County Airport.

Greenwich's restrictions on the Xerox site at the northeastern edge of town are being tested in court, but a few miles to the West is another huge piece of property, which, if developed, could bring even more changes.

It is the Rosenstiel estate--1,173 acres in Greenwich and another 450 or so across the New York State line in the town of North Castle. It has a lake, a waterfall and a large house that some say has been vandalized over the years. Lewis Rosenstiel, the founder of Schenley Industries, the giant liquor corporation, bought the property in 1935, and it is still the largest single tract of undeveloped land in Greenwich. Since his death in 1976, rumors have been circulating that his estate was on the verge of selling

the property. A few months ago, real estate sources said the property was on the market for \$18 million.

"The last word I heard was that they were very close to making a decision, but I've been hearing that for two years now," said Mr. Sandy, the Greenwich town planner.

The future of the Rosenstiel estate could be vitally important to Greenwich. "People have told me it is the most significant piece of property in the proximity of a major city in the entire country," he said. "Can you imagine that?" And it might just be, he noted, since the property is about 15 minutes from the Greenwich train station and another 35 minutes from Grand Central Terminal.

"When that goes, there goes Greenwich," said one town resident.

In 1964 Greenwich made a land use survey which showed that 50 percent of the town's land was being used for residential purposes and another 33 percent was vacant. Those figures have now been updated, and they show 63 percent residential and only 17 percent vacant. Today Greenwich has 3.3 million square feet of corporate office space; 14 years ago it had none.

Some residents complain about the traffic and parking problems, but town officials, such as Mrs. Sims and Mr. VonBrock, the assessor, say the corporations have been good neighbors. Mr. VonBrock estimated that the American Can headquarters in the far corner of the town brings in about \$700,000 in taxes to Greenwich a year.

"They're a heck of a lot better than any 600 to 700 new houses in town," he said. "They get very little from us. They get a Greenwich address but they have their own security and their own fire protection.

"There is a growing sense of the community changing more rapidly than the community can adjust to," said Nancy Brown, the director of community development and one of the town's few black officials.

Greenwich, according to Mrs. Brown and Jeanne L. Farrell, the town's commissioner of social services, is racially and ethnically more diverse than many people suspect.

Some black families, with relatively low incomes, have lived in the town for years, they said, many employed by wealthy families as domestics or held menial jobs in local businesses. In recent years there has been some increase of Spanish-speaking families, more from Central and South America than from Puerto Rico. Miss Farrell called the Spanish-speaking residents "almost a hidden minority" because they generally do not actively participate in town affairs.

An estimated 1,500 or more Greenwich residents receive some form of social services, ranging from welfare to food stamps to town aid for homemaker care or counseling for troubled youths. The lack of affordable housing and the graying of the population could add to the need for more community services and increased costs to the town over the next few years, the officials said.

But for now, Greenwich, with its rich tax base, is able to maintain one of the lowest property tax rates in the state, according to town officials. One reason, they said, is the fact that Greenwich has little bonded indebtedness to pay off and tries to run its finances on a pay-as-you go basis. A few years ago when the town decided that it would have to build a new high school, money was set aside each year, so when the \$15 million structure was completed in 1970 it was almost paid for.

Mr. VonBrock punched his office calculator and determined that on a \$150,000 house in Greenwich the annual taxes would be about \$1,900, well below the rate in other towns such as Stamford and Weston, he said.

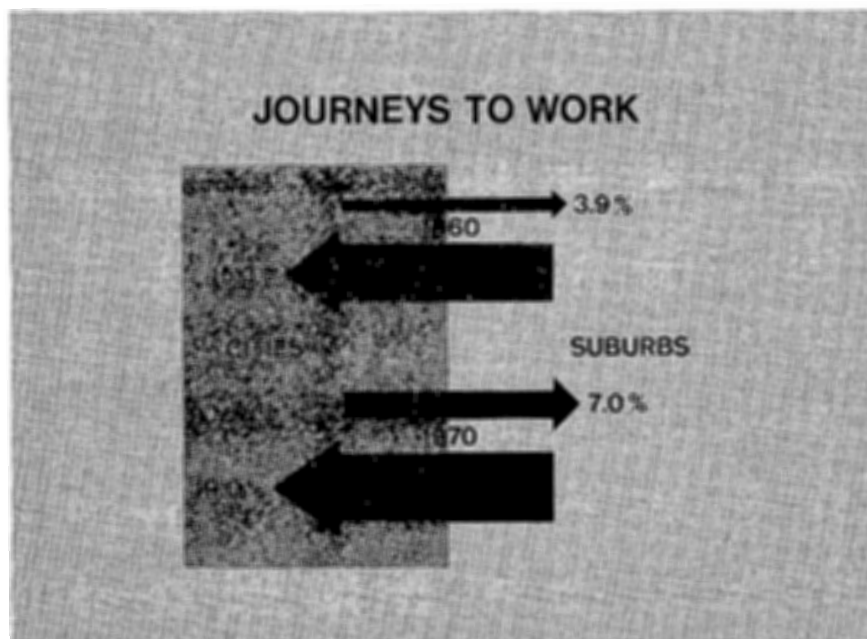
Occasionally, he said, house hunters will stop by his office to inquire about housing prices and taxes. He added: "I just tell them the initiation fee is fantastic, but the dues aren't so bad once they get here."

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The New York Times, December 16, 1978.



Business has moved to the suburbs. Industrial parks strung along the major highways have swelled the employment opportunities in the suburbs--often at the expense of the nation's cities.



As business re-locates in the suburbs, job opportunities diminish in the urban centers. This trend poses serious problems for the working class in the cities who must commute from their urban homes to their suburban jobs. Inadequate mass transit systems make these daily journeys difficult, lengthy and expensive. This only exacerbates the problems of urban poverty.

PROGRAM 14

GOVERNING THE SUBURBS

An interview with Jeremiah F. O'Connor, Bergen County Board of Chosen Freeholders

Bergen County in northern New Jersey, one of the wealthiest counties in the United States in terms of income, has often been portrayed as the archetypal American suburb. Beneath the broad sweep of its detached private homes, well-kept lawns and sprawling highway shopping centers lies a great deal of diversity. Jeremiah F. O'Connor, Director of the Bergen County Board of Chosen Freeholders, believes that the idyllic image of his county, and other counties like it, must be changed so that the nation can begin to meet the diverse and complex problems of these areas.

Mr. O'Connor asserts that the suburban communities of Bergen County are not immune from the problems that face the nation as a whole. With skyrocketing housing prices (the average price of a home in Bergen County now approaches \$75,000), a serious housing problem currently exists throughout the county. This problem is particularly acute for young couples, senior citizens, and low to moderate income families. The depressed economy, coupled with spiraling inflation, have had a continuing impact upon suburban society for the past decade. Young residents have had a difficult time finding employment. Not only has this meant personal hardship, but it has reduced public revenues at a time of escalating costs for government.

According to the guest, suburbia needs heterogeneous communities. Diverse economic activities would create a broad tax base and a healthy economic environment. To attain this goal, the suburbs must provide housing for families with a large range of incomes. Only then could a sufficient labor pool be generated to service the factories, offices, and commercial centers that are now common in the suburban landscape.

Mr. O'Connor states that suburban communities must utilize certain resources to sustain the life styles of its residents. With nearly one-third of the Gross National Product presently derived from federal spending, he concludes that few communities can create the jobs and industries they need without assistance from Washington. As municipal costs rise dramatically, local governments must eliminate the duplication of services through a coordinated regional system for education, the courts, and perhaps even police and fire departments. Municipalities have been heading in this direction for some time, and Mr. O'Connor believes that economic conditions will force them to continue this trend in the future.

In the final analysis, he maintains that our rapidly changing society requires that suburban communities remain flexible in their response to ever-changing conditions. He cites Hackensack, New Jersey--the county seat in Bergen County--as an excellent example of a community that was able to respond to the new conditions that have taken place over the past two decades. Previously a town of single unit dwellings, Hackensack has recently changed to a community defined by garden and high rise apartments, offices, and a downtown shopping area consisting of boutiques and specialty shops. This new suburban cosmopolitan countenance has enabled Hackensack to prosper through change.

QUESTIONS

1. Do you think Mr. Johnson, the Director of the Tri-State Planning Commission, would agree with the conclusions presented by Mr. O'Connor? Do you think that Mr. O'Connor's brand of regionalism is the same as Mr. Johnson's?
2. Hackensack is the county seat of Bergen County and therefore has certain advantages over other communities that face similar problems. What are these advantages? Do you think that these advantages are sufficient to make Hackensack's experience unique?

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Governing suburbia in a cost efficient manner is a difficult, if not impossible, chore. The physical environment carved into individual, private lots is an expensive way to develop land. It increases public expense for highway construction, sewerage lines and utilities. In the following selection from a highly significant work on metropolitan government and public administration, the authors outline the basic problems inherent in the patch quilt pattern of suburban politics.

"GOVERNING SUBURBAN AMERICA"

by Charles R. Adrian and Charles Press

Wasteful Duplication

The social waste of a legally atomized urban area is great. With the community broken up into a series of small units, it becomes difficult to make use of the advantages of specialization of personnel and mechanization of equipment. For example, sewage-disposal and water-filtration plants require such large capital investments that they are not economical unless they are in constant use. Small plants are expensive either because they are inefficient or because they do an inadequate job. Yet these plants are to be found in great numbers in any metropolitan area. Suburbanites may favor them through deliberate choice ("We don't want to depend on the city for our water"), or through ignorance, or because the cost of the inefficiency is widely socialized (as when a suburb dumps partially treated sewage into a river which then flows through the core city).

Lack of Services

"Taxes are lower in Perambulator Park," the real estate advertisements proclaim; they are less likely to mention that they are lower because few services are provided. The absence of many services which are usually thought to be characteristic of urban life may be accounted for in a variety of ways.....Suburbanites may think they cannot afford the services and thus deliberately refuse to institute them. They may prefer to perform the service individually for themselves. They may regard the services as not worth the cost. Many services are more expensive in the suburbs than in the core city because of the lesser density of population. This applies particularly to sewerage, storm drainage, street paving and maintenance, street lighting, water supply, garbage collection, and sewage disposal.

Lack of Cooperation

Suburbs tend to become intensely jealous of their independence, and --encouraged by local officeholders - they attribute ulterior motives to all suggestions of cooperation with the core city or even with another suburb. This attitude is likely to increase the lack of coordination and lead to inefficient use of equipment.

Unequal Tax Bases

The accident of boundary lines contributes to the creation of suburbs with highly unequal financial facilities for supporting local government. There may be very wealthy suburbs alongside of a core city desperately in need of more taxable wealth to support its services - which are used by residents of that suburb. Other suburbs may be very poor, even though they are located in the heart of a prosperous urban area. This is true, for example, of middle- or lower-income suburbs with no industry. Often the suburbs most needing services are among those least able to afford them.

Some evidence indicates that inequities are being partly relieved by the transfer of some functions to special districts, the county, or the state; by increasing use of state and Federal grants-in-aid with built-in formulas to consider relative need; by state-shared taxes; by forcing the commuter to pay some of the cost of his use of services of other local units of government through the application of earnings taxes or through his payment of state and local taxes; and by a broadening out of the tax base so that even poor suburbs that have not attracted industry are having their property-tax income increased somewhat through the diversified location of offices, salesrooms, medical

clinics, supermarkets, shopping centers, and other commercial establishments. But these trends are being partially offset by the decline in the relative average value of new construction in suburbs as they become increasingly the home of all classes.

Rising Costs

Fringe-area taxes may start at what appears to be a much lower level than those of the core city, but the suburban buyer can be assured that they will increase at a rapid pace. The major portion of one's property-tax bill goes toward the support of schools, and in contemporary suburbia, one school-bond issue has followed another with regularity. Each issue raises taxes. As population density increases, furthermore, the need for other urban services increases. Each new service must be paid for by additional taxes.

Water and sewage systems must be installed. Soon neighbors want to have their street paved and a storm sewer laid. Street lights become desirable. Fire and police service may have to be expanded. The sewage-disposal problem, enormously expensive and nearly always ignored as long as possible, may be solved.

All of these problems fall upon the mortgage- and debt-ridden suburbanite. Many of them were never faced by the subdivision developer. He has, in any case, long since disappeared from the area. In desperation, the citizens seek solutions through special districts, incorporation, new state legislation, or, more rarely, annexation to an existing municipality.

Problems of the Metropolitan Area

The problems listed above generally are those of either the core city or of the suburbs. But there are also matters of concern to the metropolitan area as a whole. Unsafe sewage-disposal practices in any part of the area may endanger health in another part. Economics may dictate a collective effort to secure additional water supplies from a distant lake or mountain stream. Traffic-flow patterns for the entire area are necessarily interrelated. Land-use practices in any one section will affect those in other sections. Smoke and noise nuisances pay no more attention to legal boundaries than do disease germs.

These are some of the collective problems. There is little agreement as to which are the most important, and they probably differ from one metropolitan area to another according to local values and existing service levels. The greatest problem of all, perhaps, is "the inability of metropolitan residents to reach any substantial degree of consensus as to what should be done... about the generally recognized issues of their common life - government organization, finance, blight and redevelopment, schools, race relations, land use control, and so on."

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Charles R. Adrian, Governing Urban America. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1968.

PROGRAM 15

RELIGION IN SUBURBIA

A lecture by George F. Cronk, Bergen Community College

Just like commercial and industrial facilities, religious institutions have followed the people to the suburbs. As Dr. George Cronk points out the suburbanization of religion is not a new phenomenon. It dates back to the late nineteenth century, when middle-class Protestants fearing the influx of impoverished southeastern Europeans, fled the city and took their religious institutions with them. Americans have continued to migrate to the suburbs for the past century, and religious institutions have moved to meet these changing demographic conditions.

Critics have been keenly disappointed with the suburbanization of religion, especially the type of religion practiced in the post World War II suburbs. Scholars, such as Gibson Winter and Stanley Rowland, have argued that suburbanized religion has become over-secularized. The quest for spiritual fulfillment has been replaced by an atmosphere that emphasizes social and recreational activities; and the church's traditional concern for poverty and racism has been overshadowed by trivial programs that re-enforce the congregation's preoccupation with consumerism and leisure. It has been estimated that one-half to two-thirds of the suburban population now join a church or temple for its organized activities, not for spiritual guidance.

The relationship between the ministry and its congregation, according to these critics, is mutually exploitative. The church or temple derives financial support, while the members are able to use their religious affiliation as a way of reaffirming traditional values. A conspiracy of silence enables each party to ignore the shallow relationship and purpose that exists within the suburban religious experience.

As Dr. Cronk suggests, the critique of religion in the suburbs evolved largely from the negative reaction that scholars displayed toward the suburban environment as a whole in the 1950's. Outcries against the conformity, status anxiety, racism and triviality of the suburban life style carried over into an analysis of religious practice in the nation's "middle landscape," where the stained glass windows of the churches and temples -- like the picture windows in suburban homes -- also appeared to be cracked.

The guest disagrees with this interpretation, arguing that the suburbs have often become the scapegoat for the failings of the larger society. Secularization, insecurity, conformity, and racism are not unique to the suburbs. These trends have shaped the contours of western civilization for several centuries. Moreover, every institution--whether religious or secular--is designed to reenforce the values of its constituents. The church or temple should not be criticized for performing this function. Thus, Dr. Cronk concludes, that the suburbs have not created a new attitude toward religion. Instead, religious practice in the suburbs has been a reflection of trends affecting our entire civilization.

QUESTIONS

1. One critic has argued that religion in the suburbs has become a commodity consumed like any other product in our society. Do you agree with this assessment? Why or why not?
2. Do you believe you are as religious as your parents? Why or why not? How important would you rate environmental factors (whether you live in a suburb or a city) as a reason for any differences that may exist?

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In the 1950's, critics condemned religion in suburbia as a shallow, materialistic experience, more concerned with social activities than spiritual fulfillment and morality. In the late 1960's and early 1970's, the United States went through a religious revival. Scores of young Americans, largely from affluent suburban homes and no longer finding answers in conventional middle-class values, joined non-traditional religious sects. This spiritual revival raised serious questions about previous criticisms leveled at suburban materialism. Moreover, it suggested that the suburban social landscape, including religion, has been continually shaped by forces affecting the entire nation.

"THE JESUS CULT"

by Winthrop S. Hudson

No one knows where, when, or how it began, but by 1967 there were traces of a reviving interest in Jesus among the "street people," "cop-outs," and "trippers" of California. Perhaps it began with "rock music"--a blend of jazz, blues, country and western and gospel music with a rhythmic beat of its own. The turning of "rock" to "protest" themes seemed to lead quite quickly to "secularized" religious themes to express and convey the message of disaffection and alienation. If this is true, it was no accident that gospel themes became more and more prominent, that even "Hair" had religious overtones, that "Jesus Christ Superstar" and "Godspell" had explicit Christian themes, and that "Amazing Grace" and "O Happy Day" should reach the top of the "hit parade." For in contrast to neo-pentecostalism, the primary quest of the Jesus cult was "meaning" rather than "experience," although "experience" ran a close second to "meaning."

The new Christians among hippies, street people, and drug addicts quickly became known as Jesus Freaks, Jesus Trippers, Street Christians, or just plain Jesus People. It is difficult to generalize about them, for they were a variegated lot, having no common origin and frequently exhibiting intense hostility among themselves. One of the early groups arose in the Haight-Asbury district of San Francisco as the result of the activity of Ted Wise, a sail maker from Sausalito, who was deeply involved in drug use. Late in 1967 his little group established a coffehouse known as The Living Room, forerunner of a commune known as The House of Acts. Then one of the members, Lonnie Frisbee, felt called to Southern California where he founded a similar commune, The House of Miracles. Other members dispersed to New Knoxville, Ohio; Rye, New York; Eugene, Oregon; and Mill Valley, California, to extend the influence of the Jesus Way. Although the Jesus cult seems first to have flowered in California, a substantial segment of the movement appears to have originated in the Pacific Northwest, and similar spontaneous beginnings occurred elsewhere.

By 1970 there were Jesus groups everywhere, representing a surprisingly wide range of ideology. The Children of God, bluntly anti-establishment, legalistic, and authoritarian communalists, demanded a complete and disciplined separation (including forsaking and "hating" their parents) from the world which was soon to perish. In this respect, they were not greatly different from the Christian Foundation of Tony and Susan Alamo. Other groups were the products of free-lance evangelists, usually pentecostal, like Arthur Blessitt and Duane Pederson, both of whom foreswore any connection with organized religion. Then there were groups that formed churches of their own and campus-oriented ministries such as the Christian World Liberation Front in Berkeley.

The appeal of Jesus to youth who had found organized religion apathetic and meaningless was not unlike the appeal of Oriental religions to some of their friends. With their pervading sense of emptiness and futility, they found in simple gospel texts meaning and direction which released them from drug-oriented escapes. And their new commitment, while not changing the life-style represented by dress and communes, did result in a shift to sober, disciplined living coupled with new excitement and purpose. While diverse, the Jesus people did tend to share some common emphases: an essentially nonintellectual insistence on the simple gospel; a strong belief that mankind was living in the last times; an espousal by some, but not all, of pentecostal gifts; a tendency toward communal living; an anti-institutional bias against organized Christianity; and a heavy dependence in their evangelism upon the hip language of "underground" newspapers and on music in the youth culture idiom.

It is difficult to assess how many were actually involved with the Jesus people. There was much coming and going. For some it was no more than the first step in going back home to Kansas, back to a more conventional life. But numbers were not as important as influence. As a result of widespread publicity, Jesus was definitely "in." He even became "commercial." And establishment organizations of a conservative bent, such as the Intervarsity Christian Fellowship and the Campus Crusade, were quick to capitalize on the new interest. The Intervarsity Fellowship assembled 12,000 students on the University of Illinois campus during the 1970 Christmas vacation ("Urbana '70")--a remarkable phenomenon at a time when conventional campus religious groups were dwindling. Equally impressive, although held at a more convenient time and more highly organized and financed, as Campus Crusade's "Explo'72" which brought 75,000 (mostly young people) to Dallas, Texas, in the summer of 1972. Many churches in all parts of the country began to feel the impetus that the Jesus movement had given their ministry to youth.

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PROGRAM 16

WOMEN IN THE MIDDLE LANDSCAPE

An interview with Patricia Griffith and Jacqueline Walker

The suburbs have been framed by a private vision. For the husband, this meant that the house would be separated from his place of work. He would commute each day to the office and return home each night to the sanctuary of his private home. For the wife, this meant that she would enjoy a safe and tranquil environment to raise her children and to serve her husband. Just as the physical landscape had been separated according to function, the social responsibilities of each adult member of the household were precisely delineated. Suburbia was a refuge for the family--a playground for the children, the "place of work" for the mother and a restful retreat for the father.

No segment in society has been more affected by these changes than women. Over the past two decades, life styles have changed dramatically in suburbia. With one in three marriages ending in divorce, the nuclear family is no longer the sole ingredient of the suburban social landscape. Single parent households have increased dramatically. Changing values and economic conditions have forced more and more women to join the work force. A reduction in the average size of the family (a process that sociologists have labelled "family fission") has decreased the demand for spacious, detached homes.

Patricia Griffith (the Program Development Specialist with the New Jersey Division of Women) and Jacqueline Walker (the Director of the Office for Equal Access of the New Jersey Department of Education) believe that the suburbs have responded quickly to these changes. There have been dramatic alterations in the suburban landscape. Garden and hi-rise apartments have been built to meet the growing diversity of the suburban environment. Support services, such as day care centers, have been built to allow women with young children to seek employment. Finally, consciousness raising groups have appeared throughout the nation's suburbs to help women cope with their new roles. As in any period of transition, these changes are still taking place. Women still face serious problems in job discrimination and child care--problems that are compounded somewhat by disperse suburban settlement. Both guests, however, are pleased with the response that has taken place over the past decade and expect that the suburban environment will continue to improve for women in the future.

QUESTIONS

1. What changes do you think men will have to make in face of the changing role of women in suburbia?
2. What role has the suburban environment played in the recent attempt by women to gain greater political and economic power in the United States? Have these changes taken place because--or despite--the physical landscape in suburbia?

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The role of women in American society has changed dramatically over the past decade. As middle-class women moved out of the home to establish their own careers, suburbia's traditional social fabric has been rewoven. The following article details how this process began. Well-educated women, dissatisfied with the restraints imposed by the suburban environment, began to reach out to one another to discuss their mutual problems. These modest beginnings have blossomed into a vigorous political movement. In the 1970's, changing economic and social conditions have compelled an increasing number of women to enter the work force, thus adding further impetus to the new role for women in the middle landscape.

THESE WIVES FOUND CURE TO SOME OF THE ILLS OF SUBURBIA
By Linda Greenhouse

CHAPPAQUA, N.Y.--The question is a painful one, and the women here waited a long while before they started asking it, even of themselves.

"Chappaqua is a good address, after all," said Phyllis Sanders, who moved here three years ago with her husband and five children. "The real estate agent's pitch is that you'll be here in your pretty house, surrounded by trees, and nobody will bother you.

"Your husband wanted a place with a green back yard. He's gone every day from 7 A.M. till 7 P.M., and you're left with the green back yard. Does the nice house and the green yard make for happiness?"

That is the question. For a growing number of women in this appealing, almost rustic commuting suburb 25 miles north of New York City, the answer is no.

The women range from young mothers to those whose children are grown, with the most vocal of them well into middle age. They are well-read, well-traveled, active in their church or temple and impeccably middle class.

They Shun Labels

They draw back almost perceptibly at the suggestion that their thoughts, if not their language, sound very much like women's liberation, saying that they don't want to be labeled.

Within the last few years, these women have begun to tell themselves--and now feel ready to tell outsiders as well--that the life of the suburban housewife is often one of isolation, boredom and loneliness.

They know that neither they nor their town is unique--indeed, the idle, frustrated housewife is almost as much a cliché as the battle-ax mother-in-law.

But people do not think of themselves as clichés, and for each of about 60 women here--they are not organized and have no name for themselves--the realization that the stereotype applied to them was a very individual process.

The process was precipitated by different events for different women. For one, it was when she stopped feeling sorry for her husband because he had to commute. "All winter the trains would be an hour or an hour and a half late, and I'd wait for him and tell him how terrible it was that he had to sit in the train all that time," she said.

"He would tell me he hadn't even noticed. It's not the men who suffer over commuting. It's the women. For a man, the train is a welcome cushion of time when he can be alone, when the phone won't ring and no one will bother him"

Black Youth's Pity

Mrs. Sanders says her feelings were confirmed the summer her family was host to a black 14-year-old from the Bronx as part of a summer school program.

Critics of the program, she recalled, had said that it would be psychologically damaging to the black children because "they'll see how happy we are here and they won't be able to face living any other way."

But at the end of the summer, when she asked her guest how he had enjoyed Chappaqua, he told her that he felt very sorry for her two sons, who lived too far to walk to visit their friends and who had to depend on their mother to drive them everywhere. At home, he said, he was independent and surrounded by friends. "It's so lonely here," the boy said.

The women started meeting in the spring of 1968 as a discussion group to read and talk about the Kerner Commission report on civil disorders. The group was sponsored by the United Church Women but it included women of all religions.

Last winter, several of the women who had first met during those talks organized a series of six discussions on "The Quality of Life in Suburbia." The series drew about 80 women, and the initial call for suggestions attracted a surprisingly intense--and, to the sponsors, a surprisingly negative--set of comments.

The comments, typed and mimeographed for group discussion, included such descriptions of Chappaqua as "an escape from the world," "retreat into a comfortable existence of good schools," "inner needs of educated women often unmet," "no community feeling" and "mother a taxi driver much of the time."

"We saw that everyone felt the same way, but no one had ever verbalized it before," said Claire Marcus, who met recently with several others of the original participants at Mrs. Sander's house to discuss their collective experience.

As they talked, the women agreed that similar problems do exist in many other suburbs. But they felt the problem to be especially acute in such places as Chappaqua, where the houses are too far apart for casual neighborliness; where trains make the hour-long run only once every two hours after the morning rush, and where husbands are often in executive positions that call for frequent travel.

In addition, Chappaqua, with perhaps 10,000 residents, is not incorporated. It is a residential village, part of the town of New Castle, and the government that most clearly represents its people is the Chappaqua school district.

No Place to Meet

However, women who do not have children in school miss even that community link. Chappaqua has few sidewalks, no movie theaters or nighttime recreation, no newspaper of its own and no parks or places where women can gather during the day to see other adults.

The series of meetings gave the women some concrete ideas about what Chappaqua needed: a park, facilities for child care, some way of publicizing community events, at least one woman on the New Castle Town Board, and some occasion that could focus residents' attention on Chappaqua as their community.

"We realized that our husbands have no idea what our needs are," said Loree Elliott, the wife of a minister and one of the more active members of the group. "They've run Chappaqua, but they've never really lived here. What we have to do is not yell at them, but to educate them."

When they first started talking to community leaders about what Chappaqua needed, Mrs. Sanders said, the women hesitated to present themselves as a group of women. "We didn't want to seem too threatening," she said. When people asked her whom she represented, she mumbled something about "a group of people."

Many Needs Met

To the amazement of the participants in the series, most of the needs they identified have been or may soon be met. A woman, Sally Martin, received the Democratic nomination for one of three vacancies on the Town Board.

The trustees of the First Congregational Church agreed to provide space for "play care," where mothers can bring their children on an irregular basis for \$2 a morning. The session started last week and has been heavily oversubscribed.

A committee of women working with the local Red Cross is offering a six-week course to train and certify babysitters. Eighteen junior high school youngsters have enrolled so far. Another committee plans to compile and post a daily listing of town events.

No park has been created, but the town fathers are talking about including one in long-standing plans for a new town hall.

And, finally, a summer of planning culminated in "New Castle Community Day" on a rainy Saturday several weeks ago. Sixty separate events and exhibits, ranging from a free pig roast to a peace vigil to an illustrated lecture on the life of Horace Greeley, Chappaqua's favorite son, drew between 3,000 and 5,000 people, even though the local Chamber of Commerce president had told Mrs. Sanders: "I don't think you can sell it. This is a place where people come to get away from other people."

The community day, which included many husband-and-wife teams on the planning committee, was the first non-athletic family event that anyone can remember here. It led to plans to set up a permanent showcase for local art, and the day itself will become an annual institution.

The women are under no illusion that this rapid series of events will solve all their problems. There will still be lonely times in the green back yard; there will still be the long waits at the railroad station, motors idling on dark winter nights, for the commuter trains to pull in.

The child care program and reliable babysitters will give them more mobility, certainly. But what the women talk about most is their change in attitude.

"There's a spirit of hope, that something can be good about suburbia," Mrs. Elliott said. "We've discovered that we can make a difference."

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The New York Times, October 1, 1971.

PROGRAM 17

EDUCATION IN SUBURBIA

An interview with Alban E. Reid, Bergen Community College and Fred G. Burke, Commissioner of Education for the State of New Jersey

Quality education has been one of the mainstays of the suburban experience. From the outset, good schools lured people to the suburbs, and this factor has continued to make the suburbs an attractive environment, especially for families with young children.

Dr. Fred G. Burke, the Commissioner of Education for the State of New Jersey, believes there is a good deal of truth to the conventional wisdom that the suburbs offer a superior education when compared to the cities. The buildings are newer, more modern and usually located in a spacious, park-like setting. Greater funding, coupled with intense local concern, lead to extensive educational programs that have not yet been duplicated in most urban school systems. Besides, as Dr. Burke points out, affluent suburban children enjoy more opportunities for travel and cultural enrichment than their urban counterparts. These non-academic activities can only enhance their educational experience.

Suburban growth has also affected higher education. The growth of community colleges was a direct response to the increased population in these areas and the need to create local centers for advanced study. Dr. Alban E. Reid, the President of Bergen Community College, believes that these institutions have served their constituents well, providing both educational and cultural resources for the expanding suburban population.

Like other institutions, education has changed to meet the changing conditions in American society. The schools have assumed many of the responsibilities formerly held by the family and church-- school lunch programs and sex education classes are only two examples of this new role. The declining quality of education in the cities have compelled state governments to devise ways to equalize the chance each child -- whether living in the city or in the suburb -- has for a good education. As citizens have protested rising taxes, educators have been forced to justify their expenditures and programs in more detail than ever before. In response to this trend, state governments, which have assumed a greater percentage

of the cost for education, have mandated programs for "thorough and efficient education."

Both Drs. Burke and Reid believe that schools in the future will become more involved in community affairs. The artificial barriers previously existing between the school and the community will be dismantled as they begin to share resources in a more efficient and fruitful manner. In this social setting, education will become part of a life-long process.

QUESTIONS

1. Do you think that the quality of education can be equalized without dramatic changes in traditional American housing and community patterns?
2. Cities have argued that programs for "thorough and efficient" education are simply code words for cut-backs that seriously impair a school system's ability to serve the children. How does one assess the efficiency of an educational system?

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The disparity between the quality of education in the suburbs as compared to the cities has been a persistent problem in America since the post World War II period. The solutions proposed by liberal educators and politicians--such as bussing--have often aroused bitter opposition from suburban residents. In the following excerpt, Professor Edward G. Olsen argues that schools should draw from suburban and urban neighborhoods to create a comprehensive educational experience for all children. He has taken community education into the realm of a metropolitan and regional system. The nation's tradition of local control in education presents a serious obstacle to Professor Olsen's proposal. It is difficult to foresee how his plan can be grafted onto the traditional pattern of public education in the United States.

THE QUEST FOR COMMUNITY EDUCATION

By Edward G. Olsen

As the American Association of School Administrators has well said: "The American public schools today are charged with an unprecedented task: not to perpetuate a culture but to transform it."

What, then, is an educator to do? That is the question of this Conference, and of this hour. Let's approach it with a tough-minded re-look at the encapsulated wisdom of the Community School's intellectual father, Joseph K. Hart. Two brief statements from him will suffice. Both are familiar to you, I am sure:

"No child can escape his community. He may not like his parents, or the neighbors or the ways of the world. He may groan under the processes of living, and wish he were dead. But he goes on living, and he goes on living in the community. The life of the community flows about him, foul or pure; he swims in it, drinks it, goes to sleep in it, and wakes to the new day to find it still about him. He belongs to it; it nourishes him, or starves him, or poisons him; it gives him the substance of his life. And in the long run it takes its toll of him, and all he is."

"The democratic problem in education is not primarily a problem of training children; it is a problem of making a community within which children cannot help growing up to be democratic, intelligent, disciplined to freedom, reverent of the goods of life, and eager to share in the tasks of the age. A school cannot produce this result; nothing but a community can do so."

Hart penned those classic statements nearly fifty years ago. They are, I guess, almost scriptural to us, still. But I would suggest to you that they, like holier Scripture, now require some re-interpretation, some expansion in concept and meaning if they are to remain guiding insights for us today. I would suggest that no local community, even if utilized and served in the full Hartian sense, can provide adequate education for the imperative human needs of the seventies.

The city can't do it. For the city in many cases is an ugly, over-congested squalor of resented hopelessness. It may have its museums and galleries and factories and office buildings, but in most cases the city is an area where tax revenues decline as the dollar costs of necessary civic services mount up, and where urban decay therefore becomes almost inevitable, and always cumulative.

Neither can the suburbs. Many of them are aggregations of tract houses, all about alike, often jerry-built, the slums of the next generation. Most suburbs, whether of tract dwellings huddled together on flatlands or costly custom-built homes on the hills, are inhabited by pseudo-sophisticated strivers struggling for money and social status--and who don't want to "get involved" in civic enterprises much beyond their own bridge or poker table, golf course or bowling bowling alley, service club or Sunday church.

Is it not fully evident that because of social class and racial barriers, neither the city nor its suburbs can by themselves provide the kinds of positive, personal intercultural contacts between people--without which our discordant society increasingly polarizes in racial and generational fear, hate and violence?

In my view, the only possibility for arresting, then for reversing, these menacing polarizing trends lies in the speedy development of effective metropolitan regional government and of widespread community school education.

The Census Bureau defines the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA) as a city of 50,000 or more with its surrounding county and all contiguous counties that are functionally bound to the major city. The San Francisco Bay area, to illustrate, is composed of nine counties, over fifty separate incorporated cities, and numerous unincorporated rural spaces. Some 70 per cent of the American people now live in over 200 such metropolitan areas. These 200 areas cover only about one per cent of the total national land space.

Metropolitan government requires actual city-country political consolidation, not just wider cooperation or a little more planned coordination. Here and there such regional government is being created along these lines. In at least two urban-suburban complexes it already exists: since 1962 in Nashville-Davidson County, Tennessee, and since 1967 in Jacksonville-Duval County, Florida. Both seem to be working well. Dr. John Harris, director (superintendent) of Nashville's metropolitan school system, reports that in four years the tax benefits of the metrogovernment there enabled the schools to raise per pupil spending from \$285 a year to about \$600--a phenomenal increase in so short a time.

Small and feeble beginnings, you say? Yes, but some evidence, at least, of growing public awareness that the city as we have known it cannot provide either the physical or the psychological basis for the good life of man.

Neither can the suburbs. Both are incomplete. Each is inadequate by itself. In contrast, the metropolitan area is the natural unit: for social planning of needed regional services and centers such as transportation, recreation, medical facilities, sanitation, water supply, fire and police protection, prevention of air, soil and water pollution, garbage disposal and community school education.

To save society, community education must have top priority. To save education, and to develop distinctively community education, we school administrators, teachers and students must become deeply, persistently, insistently concerned with metropolitan-area problems of housing, employment, urban renewal, welfare, conservation, transportation, public health, prejudice and discrimination of all kinds. So the question becomes: Can community educators learn to see the metropolitan area for what it actually is now, and for what it may become? Can we realistically assess total human and educational needs and resources? Can we work closely together and with people in numerous agencies and organizations, across present school district lines? Can we erase those constricting district lines by careful consolidation? Can we, meanwhile, stimulate all school students, teachers and other personnel to think of themselves as participating citizens of a heterogeneous metropolitan area, not of a homogeneous local neighborhood or suburb?

Can we do these things? Shall we at least try?

In summary to this point let me add that in my view these things can possibly be accomplished if several other things can be made to happen: (a) If regional government is developed at least to the extent necessary to permit metropolitan area school education; (b) If metroschool education finds its necessary physical center in the educational park type of school plant; and (c) If the learning program carried on through that educational park facility is truly one of community education.

That first item, regional government, needs no elaboration, I'm sure. The other two--the educational park and the community education program, merit some further comment. This I would offer as a series of propositions for your thinking:

1. Racial integration remains a central goal and prime purpose if the great American Dream of "liberty and justice for all" is ever to be achieved. As the Kerner Report bluntly put it: "We support integration as the priority education strategy because it is essential to the future of American society."

2. Recent public opinion polls show that the great majority of Negro Americans, including black college students, still opt for integration as opposed to racial separation.

3. School desegregation is virtually impossible within the confines of an increasing number of cities. In the District of Columbia, for example, nine of every ten school children are black. Majorities of Negro children already exist in other cities, and are growing in size.

4. The educational park, a school complex situation between city and suburbs and drawing its students from both areas, is the most practical solution to the integration problem. For as Dan Dodson testified before the Kerner Commission, "The problems of this society will not be solved unless and until our children are brought into a common encounter and encouraged to forge a new and more viable design of life."

In most metropolitan areas a ring of educational parks surrounding the city is needed. Each complex would serve all the people within a pie-shaped attendance district running from inner city core through suburbs and into the outer rural region. Then--but not until then--can the deeply educative benefits of mutually shared human, physical and financial resources become available to children, youth and adults in city, suburbs and countryside alike.

To community education people it goes without saying that such district-line crossing consolidation of resources should be accompanied by decentralization of school authority in two dimensions; reduction in size of the administrative units of the total metropolitan area school system, and sharing of power to make important decisions about school operations so as to give parents and other citizens considerable authority over education in their areas.

A formidable prospect and a terrific task, for sure. Yet we had better move in those directions if school education is to justify even its existence in the years just ahead.

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Edward G. Olsen, Vital Speeches of the Day, February 1, 1970. Southold, New York: City News Publishing Company.

PROGRAM 18

CULTURE IN SUBURBIA

A lecture by Constantine G. Vasiliadis, Audience Development for the New Jersey Symphony

Critics have traditionally deplored the state of the arts in the suburbs. From their perspective, the mass produced split level house of the post World War II period led to a mass produced culture where individual artistic expression was snuffed out by an overwhelming desire to conform. These critics viewed the stream of bland and sterile suburban communities as "wastelands," where the residents neither understood nor appreciated the innovative artistic modes taking root in the fertile urban landscape.

Mr. Constantine G. Vasiliadis, the Director of Audience Development for the New Jersey Symphony, concurs with this assessment of suburban life, but only as a depiction of the suburbs during the 1950's. He argues that this dismal portrait bears little resemblance to the diverse and stimulating cultural life now available to most suburbanites.

Mr. Vasiliadis attributes these dramatic changes in the life-style of suburbia to several factors. Under the stimulus of President Johnson's Great Society legislation, a number of federal programs were enacted to fund cultural activities throughout the nation and particularly in the suburbs (including the Elementary and Secondary Education Act; the Higher Education Assistance Act, the Public Broadcasting Act, and the National Endowment for the Arts and for the Humanities). These "government inspired" changes were accompanied by significant alterations in American attitudes, that were fueled by the civil rights movement, protest against the Vietnam war, student unrest and a growing concern for ecology. In response to the social upheavals of the 1960's, many Americans began to question their faith in material progress, and turned to the arts and culture as a rewarding, self-fulfilling pursuit.

In the past decade, the suburbs have enjoyed a cultural renaissance. There has been a proliferation of community theater groups, visual art centers and local symphonies. Suburbanites have developed an intense interest in arts and crafts that has been expressed through the growing number of boutiques and speciality shops in shopping malls and 'how to' courses in neighborhood schools. The cities, according to the guest, will remain the focal point of sophisticated art. The suburbs, however, will play a vital role as a "middle landscape" for American culture, incorporating urbane and popular artistic expression in a way that broadens our social awareness.

QUESTIONS

1. Since federal funding is largely responsible for the cultural programs now available in the suburbs, do you think that Washington has a right to establish strict guidelines for the recipients of these funds? Can you devise other ways the money might be distributed?
2. The 1970's have been labeled the "me-decade" because of the nation's apparent preoccupation with personal problems and improvement. How much is the cultural renaissance in the suburbs a reflection of this self-centered attitude?

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The traditional suburb was a residential environment, but it has led to the de-centralization of every facet of American life. Once considered a cultural wasteland, the suburbs have recently experienced a renaissance in the arts. As the following article from the Bergen Record indicates, the flowering of suburban culture is a grass roots movement where the participant and observer are often one and the same.

SUBURBIA'S SPROUTING A SOUL

By Jill Jonnes

For years, New Jersey has had a reputation as a cultural wasteland, renowned for suburbia, highways, malls, and industrial sprawl. But a recent flurry of support for the arts could go far toward undoing that image.

As the Bergen County Cultural Arts Commission is finding wide support in its push for a county arts center, some towns are setting up arts councils and financing them with modest grants.

These fledgling groups are sponsoring poetry readings and literary discussions, compiling directories of local talent, and acting as clearinghouses for cultural events. All are relatively new and still finding their way in a wide-open territory.

Ramsey started an arts council in January at the urging of Councilman Kevin Russell. "I was tired of the whole American scene of people sitting at home and watching TV and being immobile," he said.

"There are so many talented people in our town that go untapped. There was no outlet for them."

Turnout Was Amazing

Readings by hometown poets at the Ramsey Library have been very successful, says Russell. "The turnout was amazing to see," he said of a recent reading. "There were about 70 people there of all different ages, from senior citizens to toddlers."

Jazz and classical concerts are planned for this summer, as is a film festival and an art show. But to Russell, this is only a start.

"Ultimately, I would like to see a community or cultural center with a consistent program," he said. "That would be ideal."

The Bergenfield Council for the Arts, backed with \$1,500 from the borough, lists its directory of more than 100 local artists as its major achievement.

"We're trying to create spotlights for local artists," says codirector Martha Weisberg. "We have an annual artists' reception and exhibition, jazz workshops, and arts contests."

"The arts are really something that should be appreciated," says Dolores Butler, the council's liaison to the arts council. "It's marvelous. I've been living here 14 years, and I didn't realize how many artistic people there were. With the directory, if you need someone for a poetry reading or to do print work, you can just look them up. It helps bring a togetherness to the town."

Popping Up Everywhere

In 1973 there were about 100 arts councils nationwide, says Philip Thomas, director of the year-old Paterson Arts Council. Today there are more than 1,000.

Towns with a sizable upper-middle class population are most likely to support such councils, says Kate Merlino of the New Jersey Arts Council. "But there aren't really any trends," she added. "You find them in big places like Paterson and much smaller, unlikelier towns too."

Thomas thinks arts councils are multiplying "because their value is becoming more and more known. In 1974 the Conference of Mayors passed a resolution that all municipalities would work to develop arts councils."

Thomas, 31, believed so strongly that an arts council could make it in Paterson that he went to work at the National Endowment of the Arts in Washington, D.C., to learn how he could organize one.

"A lot of people thought it would never get started," he recalled. "Everyone thought there was a need but that the city would never fund it. But they were wrong."

The council, which is applying for renewal of a \$57,200 federal grant, provides advice and contacts for artists, helps set up exhibits, and held a Black History Month arts festival in February. It plans a Hispanic folk festival in October.

Support for Arts Center

In many cases arts councils merely are embellishing an already active arts scene. Northern New Jersey has numerous dance companies, small theaters and drama groups, opera and chorale societies, as well as orchestras. Eighty-seven percent of these groups are self-supporting, according to a study prepared for the Bergen Cultural Arts Commission.

Still, local arts groups told researchers preparing the study that auditoriums, libraries, and YMCA's were short on stage space and recommended the construction of a county arts center.

About three-fourths of the 500 Bergen County residents surveyed agreed and 82 percent said they would accept a \$5 annual increase in their property taxes to help build the center.

This enthusiasm for culture apparently is bubbling over in Lyndhurst, where the directorship of the cultural arts committee has been made full time.

The committee used a federal grant to publish a 24-page literary magazine this month. "This little book today is the broodmare of what can become a family of writers and artists," it says in the foreword.

The magazine, which sells for 50 cents, includes poetry by children, award-winning writers, Councilman Ronald W. Bogle, and other townspeople. The first run was 1,500, but whether there will be a second issue depends on reader response.

Testing Projects

Director Mark St. Germain, a graduate student in drama at Villanova University, says the group is testing different projects--a series of literary lectures, an adult drama league, and organized trips to museums and plays--to see what people in town want.

The Teaneck Council on the Arts was born in November. "All of a sudden," said Director Mary Topolsky, "there seemed to be this burgeoning of culture in Teaneck, and we thought it would be an awfully good idea if we pooled our resources."

Operating on \$2,500 from the city council--with hopes of a matching grant from the National Endowment for the Arts--the arts council is compiling an artists' directory, planning a fall festival, and seeking a permanent performing space.

"People don't want to go to New York anymore." says Mrs. Topolsky. "It's too expensive and too far."

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The Record, May 30, 1978.

PROGRAM 19

OVERVIEW

An interview with Stanley Buder, Baruch College

The mass-produced suburb of the post World War II period is now entering a second stage. The traditional suburban landscape formerly reserved for private, detached homes has been invaded by garden apartments, condominiums, office buildings, and factories; and the conventional suburban couple (white, middle class and educated) has been joined by an increasing percentage of older families, minorities and non-traditional households. Thus, by the 1970's, the suburbs have developed into a diverse and complex environment that often defy generalizations.

Scholarly opinion of the suburbs has also changed. When suburban tracts were turned out in an assembly-line fashion during the 1950's, social critics condemned suburbanites as excessively materialistic and unimaginative--a group of businessmen and bureaucrats more concerned with status and money than social values and ideas. The persistent growth and appeal of suburbia has dulled the sharp edge of this criticism.

Today, scholars are asking different questions about America's "middle landscape," questions that focus on the cost of sprawl rather than the tastes and life-styles of suburbanites. Most scholars would now agree the values of suburbia--with its emphasis on family, security and privatism--are a reflection of the dominant values found throughout America.

Economic factors are having a dramatic impact on suburbia. As land values, mortgage rates and construction costs escalate, the single unit dwelling on a large tract of land is becoming an impossible dream for many Americans. Consequently, developers have built an increasing number of garden apartments and cluster houses to meet these new market conditions.

Although the suburbs as a whole have become more diverse, distinctive suburban neighborhoods often remain homogenous in terms of class and race. Thus, as Dr. Buder points out, it has become increasingly important to ask about the nature of a particular suburban neighborhood when discussing suburban problems.

QUESTIONS

1. Dr. Buder states that post World War II suburban development may be divided into stages. How does he describe these stages? What accounts for this change?
2. What role do you think the physical environment plays in shaping an individual's attitude?

PROGRAM 20

GROWTH PATTERNS

A lecture by Frank T. Johnson, Tri-State Regional Planning Commission

Current suburban growth patterns have caused or contributed to many of our nation's problems. Today America is a suburban nation since the "middle landscape" contains more people than either cities or rural areas. However, not all parts of our society were able to participate in the race to the suburbs. As a result, blacks are overrepresented in the nation's cities and underrepresented in the suburbs. This contributes to the racial problems confronting America.

In the last ten years, almost 16 million housing units were built in the United States and 80 percent of these were located in suburbia. In 1979, 1.4 million housing units are expected to be built; 1 million of which will be single-family units, mostly detached and located in the suburbs. The price of housing has outstripped the inflation rate, and if the trend continues, only 15 per cent of American families will be able to afford single-family homes in the 1980's.

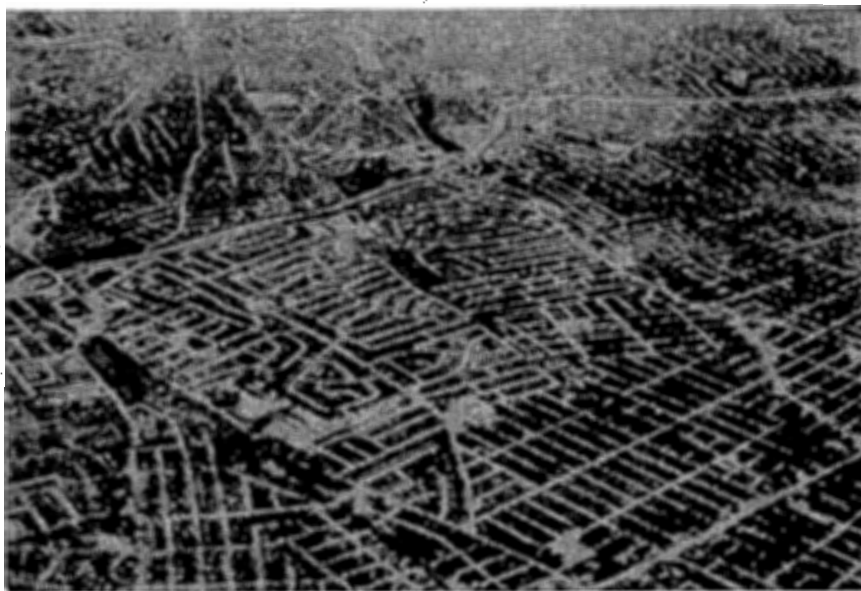
Business and industry have contributed to the growth of suburbia. New campus-like plants located in the "middle landscape" have further decentralized the economies of large metropolitan areas. Another area of concern is the large amount of land utilized by suburban communities which were once mainly used for farming. Beyond agricultural concerns and the loss of rural lifestyles, there are certain environmental concerns which surround land use patterns in suburbia. Government costs and energy waste are two other issues which have caused a number of people to view suburban growth as one of the major domestic issues as America enters the twenty-first century.

QUESTIONS

1. Explain the major environmental and agricultural problems caused by rapid suburban land development in the United States.
2. Select a suburban community near your home and describe which areas of concern covered in this lecture seem most evident there.

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The massive migration to suburbia has marred the romantic vision of the "middle landscape." Unregulated growth has often destroyed the serenity and natural beauty that lured Americans to the suburbs in the first place.

Suburbanization has been fueled by speculative investment. By intensifying land use, realtors can maximize profits. Thus, the standard growth pattern has been one from rural to suburban to urban development. The urbanization of suburbia is part of this process. The following news story explores the battle in a Long Island community over a precious tract of open space. It is a battle that has become common in suburban towns throughout America.

"NORTH HILLS - CONFLICT IN SUBURBIA"

Reported by Steve Wilson
on the WCBS Program - Eye On.

STEVE WILSON, CBS NEWS COMMENTATOR: North Hills, Long Island - a tiny village that is the last undeveloped land in Nassau County - woodland that has bitterly divided local folks, many of whom fled the crowded city. The issue - down-zoning - how many homes, stores, offices can a developer squeeze onto each acre..... a story of suburbia. At the heart of this zoning controversy is this question: who has the right and the authority to determine how best to use that land - the owners who stand to reap enormous profits, often in the millions of dollars if they can succeed in down-zoning their residential land for - say - a 6000 car capacity shopping center, or is it the villagers and the neighboring towns - people who must live right next to that shopping center long after the owners sell their land and leave that area whose environment has been totally transformed by the developer?

These questions became the campaign issues for Alliance Party challenger Dr. Lowell Kane and incumbent Mayor Frank Martucci, a land-owner and developer in the Village mayoral election March 21st. It was an election full of challenges and accusations of election fraud. The Alliance Party even questioned Mayor Martucci's residency in the 1750 acre incorporate Village of North Hills, which is mostly undeveloped woodland as yet. The Mayor is known to have a residency in Roslyn, Long Island, but has stated that he sleeps in this golf club which he owns, the Renaissance. One of the criticisms leveled against Frank Martucci is that shortly after he became Mayor last year he placed his

29 acre golf club up for down-zoning approval before his board of trustees. While the courts have ruled no legal conflict of interest in the Mayor's action, there was growing sentiment in the Village that elected officials were using their official positions for personal profit from the increased value of their down-zoned land. One down-zoning action that angered many villagers and neighboring townspeople occurred in 1970. Former Mayor J. Peter Grace, who was just a trustee then, applied to his fellow board members to down-zone this parcel of woodland, now occupied by developers, for commercial use. This land is now the proposed site of a controversial 6000 car shopping center. Mr. Grace, who was president of the billion dollar conglomerate W. R. Grace and Company, has not yet applied for down-zoning of this estate where he lives. However, he refused to discuss his actions as Trustee and former Mayor with Channel 2 News EYE ON. We were able to talk with North Hempstead Town Supervisor Michael Tully.

MICHAEL TULLY, SUPERVISOR, TOWN OF HEMPSTEAD: The facts do speak for themselves. The governing authority in the given situation included people who also were the owners of land which was being zoned. The fact that they -- the public didn't have very many other people to choose from, nor did they put anyone else in that position, would be indicative of the fact that there is nothing untoward in it by virtue of what happened. But the other aspect of it just doesn't ring right with the general public, and, if it had been done, let's say, in a way in which it didn't encroach upon the daily lives of the surrounding community, no one would have cared, and we wouldn't be here chatting with each other.

STEVE WILSON: With me in the studio tonight are most of the major protagonists in the controversy. I say most because only one elected Trustee of North Hills was willing to be in the studio tonight. Incumbent Mayor Frank Martucci told us it was not in his best interest to participate in the following discussion. With us tonight, Frank O'Connor, the Deputy Mayor of North Hills; Heiko Folkerts, the planner for the Village of North Hills, who is responsible for the latest down-zoning master plan; Jack Follis, Deputy Director of the Nassau County Planning Commission; Dr. Lowell Kane, a condominium resident who has challenged incumbent Mayor Frank Martucci; Joseph Guarino, attorney for the Town of North Hempstead; Phillip Atiyeh, a civic leader from the town of North Hempstead.

Mr. O'Connor, we'd like to thank you for coming out tonight, and

perhaps it would be best if we start with the background in this down-zoning very briefly, and what is it exactly you want to do with that land out there?

FRANK O'CONNOR, DEPUTY MAYOR, VILLAGE OF NORTH HILLS: Well, the reason this zoning all started in the beginning, in my opinion, was because there were so many various groups coming in, and taking land away, and taking it off the tax rolls. It got to a point where we found out 600 acres had been taken out of the approximate 1800 acres in the Village. People became concerned and alarmed, because they were left holding the tax bill.

STEVE WILSON: Mr. Atiyeh, what problems do you see with that plan?

PHILLIP ATIYEH, CIVIC LEADER, TOWN OF HEMPSTEAD: Immense problems. Whatever additional input comes from the Village of North Hills through this additional down-zoning - through additional population - is going to put tremendous burdens on the already existing serious situation which exists.

STEVE WILSON: Mr. Guarino, the Town of North Hempstead, the neighboring area there, has tried repeatedly in court to stop this kind of developer. You've gone to bat a couple of times, as I understand it.

JOSEPH GUARINO, ATTORNEY, TOWN OF HEMPSTEAD: That's right.

STEVE WILSON: You've been knocked out of the box every time.

JOSEPH GUARINO: Well, we went to bat in 1974 to challenge the zoning actions of the Village, and we were told all the way to the highest court in the State that we did not have the legal standing to challenge zoning actions taken by a village within our boundaries.

STEVE WILSON: Well, why does North Hempstead want to stop it?

JOSEPH GUARINO: Well, there's no question that the services that are being rendered to people in our Township right now are in many cases very close to -- at the -- the limit. The real issue is how quickly can growth be permitted before the services - which are themselves growing - will be outstripped by the growth.

STEVE WILSON: We have with us some of the people who do live in the Village of North Hills. And let's - if we could - take a moment

and see how they feel about the discussion tonight. Yes sir.....

MAN IN THE STUDIO AUDIENCE: I'm very concerned about the amount of traffic that goes along the Long Island Expressway. I see no roads being built. I see no method in any way at all being utilized in order to alleviate the congestion, particularly at the junction of New Hyde Park Road or Shelter Rock Road. Between the hours of four and six at night, I wish Mr. O'Connor - you and your colleagues - would just drive over there and see what chaos we have to go through. Now, if you throw on there thousands of additional people, and thousands of additional cars without additional roads, how are you going to handle it? How are we going to handle it - we residents?

HEIKO FOLKERTS, PLANNER, VILLAGE OF NORTH HILLS: When we completed our master plan, we did not include the traffic which would be generated by the original shopping center. The developer and contract rendee(?) on that property would have to solve any traffic problems which are there. The State and the County will control total access as far as developing that shopping center.

STEVE WILSON: O.K. As I look at this area that you're talking about, and you see some of the large estates that you're going to chop up into smaller lots, it's interesting to me to note that the people who are actually voting - who have the authority to down-zone that property - are the very people who are going to make millions of dollars if those condominiums come in. That's an interesting situation, where somebody is asked to vote on their own fortune, as it were.

FRANK O'CONNOR: There's great discussion about conflict of interest. The board members that were making these decisions, as you say, are all landowners. Well.....

STEVE WILSON: Do you think the decision that's been made has been solely based on the merits of the case, and not on the fact that somebody stands to make some money out of it?

FRANK O'CONNOR: Well, that's a tough question. I -- I know they talk about nests, as I, for one --- I have a 16 room home. At one time I had four children, five dogs. Now I don't have them any more. They're all married and gone. I have a couple of dogs, but I have 16 rooms, and they're 30 by 18. And it's very tough cleaning them, plus the acreage, cutting the grass.....

STEVE WILSON: This is the site of the proposed North Hills Shopping Center which it's critics have compared to the massive Roosevelt Field Shopping Complex, located in the heart of Long Island's suburban sprawl just ten minutes away from North Hills. We asked developer El Feldman, general partner of Parkway Properties, what the impact of the proposed shopping center would be on the community and on the environment.

ED FELDMAN, PARKWAY ASSOCIATES: Anytime you go in to develop a piece of property, and if you cut down one tree, the conservationists will object. However, when you analyze the fact, as I mentioned earlier, that a shopping center can provide one stop shopping and save a shopper two - three - four - or even five trips for the same shopping purpose, that the saving in energy and the prevention of the accumulated air pollution from those multi-trip shopping trips is -- is -- is by far and away a benefit instead of a negative. The residents of the Village of North Hills are really in favor of the development. As far as I know, there are some residents that live outside of the area and really don't have a voice or legal voice in -- in the Village, who -- that are trying to reach in and -- and stop everything.

STEVE WILSON: It is not only the proposed shopping center that is worrying villagers and neighboring townspeople. Environmentalists charge it will be all too common to see tree stumps amidst pools of water and construction debris, if North Hills down-zoning allows ongoing condominium construction over the next few years.

What motivates these developers, would you say? Do they seem to have no regard, would you say, for the environment? Is it -- is it purely an economic question for them?

DON MIDDLETON, REGIONAL DIRECTOR, N.Y.S. DEPARTMENT OF ENVIRONMENTAL CONSERVATION: I think in most instances it's greed, with some minor thought given to environmental accommodation. And that's the operative term - accommodation. There are very few --- I hate to paint with a broad brush in that nature --- but there are very few developers, particularly on Long Island, that could --- that approach their work with a mind toward examining what the possible long-term adverse environmental and economic impacts could be.

STEVE WILSON: I take it those involved in this matter are not among those who you feel do that?

DON MIDDLETON: We haven't been impressed thus far --- let's put it that way.

STEVE WILSON: They certainly managed to get around many of the other legal obstacles. I guess the question now is: can they get around your department?

DON MIDDLETON: I'm afraid, from what we've seen thus far, that they may be attempting to nickel and dime us to death, if you will, trying to develop the project piecemeal, and knocking us off permit by permit by permit. And we're going to make sure that that doesn't happen. We've already written to the Village Attorney, and told him that we want to review every and any application for a permit that they receive.

STEVE WILSON: North Hills -- how long can it withstand massive development and the suburban sprawl which has characterized much of Long Island? What impact will the new Mayor and the new Trustee have on future village development? How will the environment fare in years of future development yet to come? These fiercely debated issues most certainly will affect the quality of life for the ever increasing number of suburbanites throughout our Tri-State community.

DON MIDDLETON: I think, if -- if the Village is allowed to continue down-zoning, and zoning variances proceed from it, they continue to allow developers to come in and attempt to construct on a piecemeal basis, you could see a lot of North Hills become a battlefield like this.

FRANK O'CONNOR: Thank God, we're still in America. And if a man owns a piece of property, he's entitled to use it for some purpose.

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WCBS-TV, Channel 2, New York,

PROGRAM 21

THE URBANIZATION OF SUBURBIA - PART 1

A lecture by Frank T. Johnson, Tri-State Regional Planning Commission

Future urbanization of the suburbs seems unavoidable. However, it need not follow the haphazard patterns so evident since World War II. Past patterns of urbanization were based on two premises: continued rapid growth of suburban areas and abundant resources. Under such conditions, whatever mistakes were made could be covered by further growth and affluence. Today, we acknowledge that growth rates have slowed down even in suburbia and our resources (land, public facilities, energy, clean air and clear water) are indeed limited. Past suburban expansion also accelerated the decline of older cities and the destruction of rural areas.

In order to achieve efficient development plans for suburbia, five policies must be followed. All of these policies will require additional public controls and incentives plus dedicated leadership in both the private and the public sectors. The five policies are:

(1) Conserve land.

Some land must not be developed such as wetlands, watersheds, flood plains, prime farmlands and other valuable natural sites.

(2) Rehabilitation of existing structures instead of additional building.

A strong emphasis must be made in preserving and rehabilitating dwellings and residential communities. By following such a policy, maximum use can be made of existing public facilities such as streets, sewers, water lines and schools.

(3) No further suburban development in middle or low density ranges.

Analyses have indicated that sprawl development at densities below two dwellings per acre requires investment in public facilities at excessive costs and are inefficient in many ways.

(4) Social Equity.

The development of employment opportunities near suburban residences open to all people is not only efficient, it is imperative. Such a policy will fulfill America's promise to members of social and economic minorities who are now heavily concentrated in older urban areas.

(5) Metropolitan coordination.

Cities and suburbs in metropolitan regions must begin to coordinate their plans, share their resources and view development on a broader scale.

QUESTIONS

1. Explain how the five policy recommendations in this lecture will directly affect American cities.
2. What regional or local planning organizations exist in your community? How are they dealing with some of the policies discussed in this lecture?

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The urbanization of the suburbs has affected American society in a variety of ways. As businesses have moved to the suburbs, the nature of commuting has changed. An ever-increasing number of workers travel from one suburb to another or from the city to a suburban factory to work. As the following article on Westchester County (located just north of New York) suggests, the dormitory suburb is becoming a thing of the past.

"CHANGES IN COMMUTING"

Westchester's reputation as being the "bedroom" for commuters who work in Manhattan was once well earned. While the image may linger, it is no longer true. More Westchester residents work in the county than commute to work elsewhere.

But this isn't the only phenomenon in commuting patterns that has evolved as Westchester has grown as an office and business location. Statistics show that the county is actually quite a magnet drawing commuters from other areas.

Some 70,000 commuters come from other areas daily to work at jobs in Westchester, according to data supplied by the Westchester County Association.

The largest number come from the Bronx, some 19,700 each day. Rockland County supplies 6,000 workers a day for Westchester jobs, Queens about the same number and Manhattan only a few hundred less.

Norwalk and Stamford, Conn., alone have more than 5,000 daily commuters who come to Westchester jobs, and other communities in Fairfield County also are becoming home to many Westchester workers.

Brooklyn sends 2,600 workers to the county, and almost 4,500 come from Long Island. Interestingly, a Yonkers firm, Loral Electronic Systems, runs a daily charter bus service to and from its plant from

Long Island. The reason, in its case, is that it needs hundreds of electronic engineering specialists. There aren't enough living in Westchester to supply it but Long Island is rich with such talent because of its years as a home to such aircraft giants as Grumman. Loral makes electronic equipment used primarily by the defense industry.

Bergen County in Northern New Jersey is another location from which Westchester-bound commuters come. Some 2,400 a day make their way from Bergen, most using the Tappan Zee Bridge, one reason it has grown congested during rush hours in recent years.

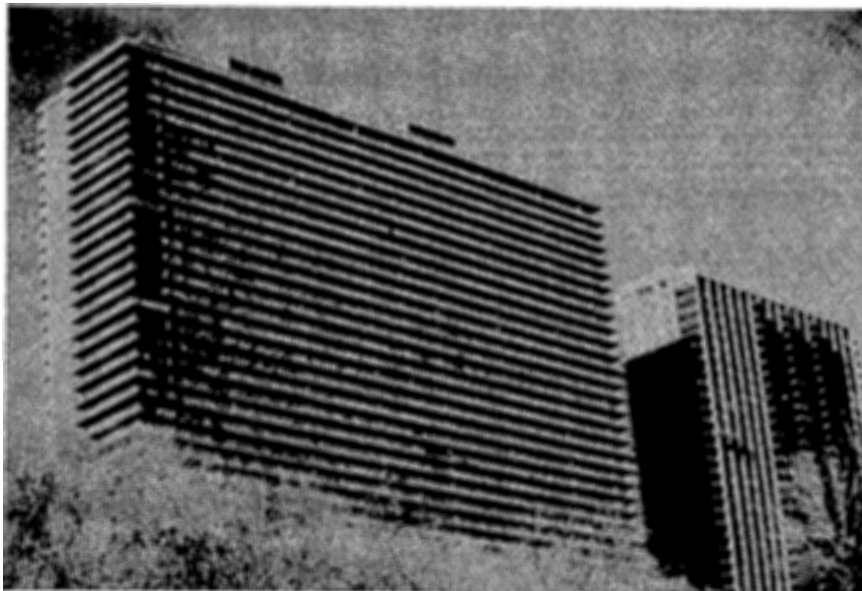
Putnam County, immediately to the north of Westchester, is home for more than 7,000 daily commuters who work in its more populated neighbor.

Perhaps the champions for long distance commuting are the more than 1,000 workers who daily drive 50 miles or more one way to Westchester jobs from Orange County, N.Y., the area around Newburgh and west. Many of them use the Newburgh-Beacon Bridge taking I-34 to I-684, and then heading south into Westchester. Despite its distance, Orange County has become increasingly attractive to commuters because housing costs are lower than in many other closer areas.

The expectation is that as the years go by, the number of commuters coming to work in Westchester will continue to increase. The chief reason appears to be the lack of "affordable housing" in Westchester which makes it difficult for lower paid workers to find homes here. And the chances of this problem being alleviated in the near future are at best slim.

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New Rochelle, N.Y. Standard-Star, January 28, 1979.



High-rise apartments, along with commercial and industrial facilities, have changed the American suburb. Escalating land values compounded by increasing costs for public services, suggest that the urbanization of the suburbs will continue.

PROGRAM 22

THE URBANIZATION OF SUBURBIA - PART 11

An interview with Frank T. Johnson, Tri-State Regional Planning Commission

Metropolitan co-ordination or regional planning has not been notably successfully in the U.S. With the exception of the Minneapolis-St. Paul region and Portland, Oregon, American growth patterns have been dictated by myopic local concerns. The results, according to Mr. Johnson, have been the inefficient, wasteful misuse of land. To minimize these past mistakes, the guest believes that we must participate in a regional plan for development -- a plan that would incorporate the resources of both the private and public sector.

Suburbanites have not been receptive to a regional approach. For many citizens, it means more government and a denial of home rule. Besides they have grown doubtful about the viability of large-scale plans that seem to generate a good deal of discussion, but are rarely implemented.

Regionalism has also been ignored by developers. Current programs for piece-meal growth gives them greater flexibility. Stronger public controls accompanying a regional plan would remove certain land from development. Realtors fear the ultimate consequences of this type of policy.

Mr. Johnson is convinced that the impending energy crisis and the shrinking of our natural resources in general will force both the private and public sector into a co-operative venture for regional growth. He does not think that agencies like his own Tri-State Regional Planning Commission should dictate policy. Instead, these agencies should educate the public about problems existing within the region, as well as to provide the technical assistance to solve these problems.

QUESTIONS

1. Europe has enjoyed a long history of regionalism. What unique qualities inherent in the American existence have negated this approach to land use?

2. Do you think that the interests of the irate developer and the larger society are compatible? Why or why not?

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Urban planners have been critical of the pattern of growth in America since the beginning of the twentieth century. As the suburbs urbanize, the concern for open space, congestion and pollution become more critical. In the following introduction to the Tri-State Regional Planning Commission's Regional Development Guide, 1977-2000, the commission projects the consequences for the New York City's metropolitan region if current trends persist. The key question for planners has always been whether to accept current trends and work within the limits imposed by them or to attempt to "bend the trends."

"ACCEPT OR RESIST THE TRENDS?"

The Unwanted Results of Trends

As New York, Newark, Jersey City, Bridgeport and the other cities of the Region and their suburbs have grown, the Region's settled land area has doubled with each succeeding generation. This expansion became most dramatic in the latest years when urban land use pushed as far as 40 miles from the old city centers. Along with this rapid development, a series of undesirable results was produced:

Environmental Degradation

Some lands were built upon that should have been conserved for natural uses - wetlands, watersheds, flood plains, prime farmland, mountainsides. Some development took place without adequate concern for untreated pollutants running into waterways, sinking into the ground water supply or rising into the air.

Operational Inefficiency

Often new land uses were so spread out that public services became overextended and expensive - especially new sewers, water lines, other public utilities and streets - although much development was dense enough to make such services necessary. This low-density style also made public transportation impractical, requiring virtually total dependence on automobiles to serve the new growth.

Social Inequity

Outward expansion accelerated a decline of the older cities, large and small. Middle-income families moved out, leaving the cities with a growing share of the Region's expensive social responsibilities--subsistence, health care, housing and many other needs of the poor. Stores, movies and other services followed the population, eroding the off-peak ridership of subways and buses and escalating mass-transit deficits. Factories and offices moved also, often leaving low-paid workers with unreasonable distances to travel and little chance of finding suitable homes near the new work sites. Intentional or not, the trend left the poor--black and Hispanic mostly -- in the cities. It also left some cities on the verge of bankruptcy.

The cities of the Region had always been centers for cultural and economic advancement, welcoming wave after wave of new migrants and helping them into the middle classes. Now this role, characteristic of a growing region, seems to be gone.

The results of this ill-planned expansion have now become virtually permanent, and suburban migration continues. The suburban way of life has undeniable appeal to both homeowners and businesses. Continued migration from older centers to outlying rural areas of the Region will only be stemmed by strong dedicated and persuasive leadership.

Changing the trends of haphazard expansion, while not easy, must be done. Two recent phenomena may help. One is the increasing likelihood of energy shortages. Rising prices for gasoline, heating oil and electricity have already heightened public awareness of the need for such fuel conservation measures as less auto use and more efficient building uses and construction. Deliberate policies to encourage growth in cities or to promote higher densities in the suburbs could conserve energy. (The average Tri-State regional worker currently uses less than half the energy of one in Phoenix or Los Angeles because of the relatively dense settlement here. But further conservation is needed and possible.)

The second recent phenomenon is the slowing of regional growth. During the last five years, the Region's population and employment actually declined. The projection of trends by each of the three states would increase the Region's population by no more than 1.2 million during the next 25 years. While this slowing or cessation of population growth has contributed to the plight of cities, it has also slowed or stopped much of the suburban expansion. The constant growth of the fifties and the sixties is no longer expected. It seems realistic, however, to plan for about 2 million more people in the next 25 years. This is also much less than the 4.3 million of the previous 25 years but more than is suggested by the trend of the last five years. A slower rate of growth will ease the pressures to subdivide the next tract of land.

What if Trends Continue?

But even with energy conservation and a slower growth rate, the trends will be hard to change. They are built on consumer preferences and numerous private decisions. Clearly, if the Region is to avoid more sprawl, new policies and additional public controls or incentives will be required. Otherwise, another 27 years or a generation of current practices and trends could lead to very undesirable results. For example:

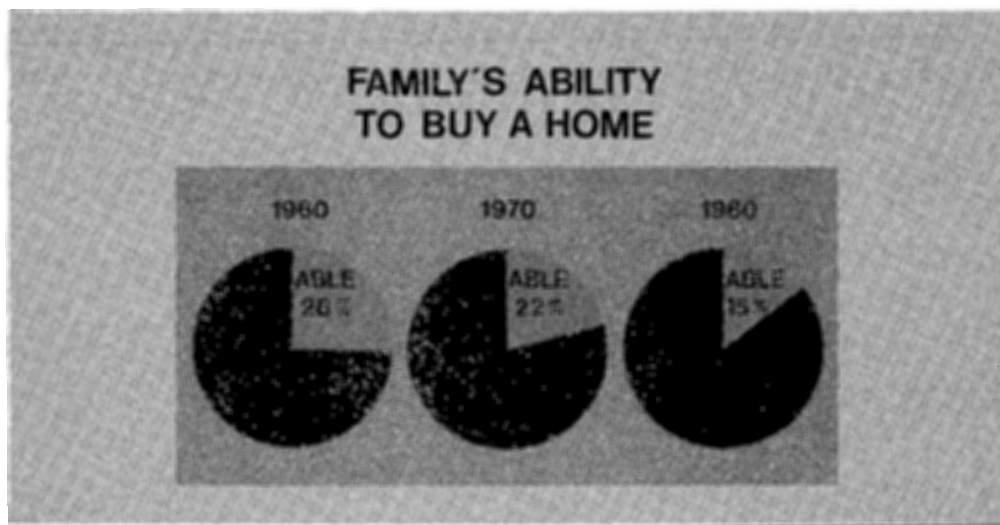
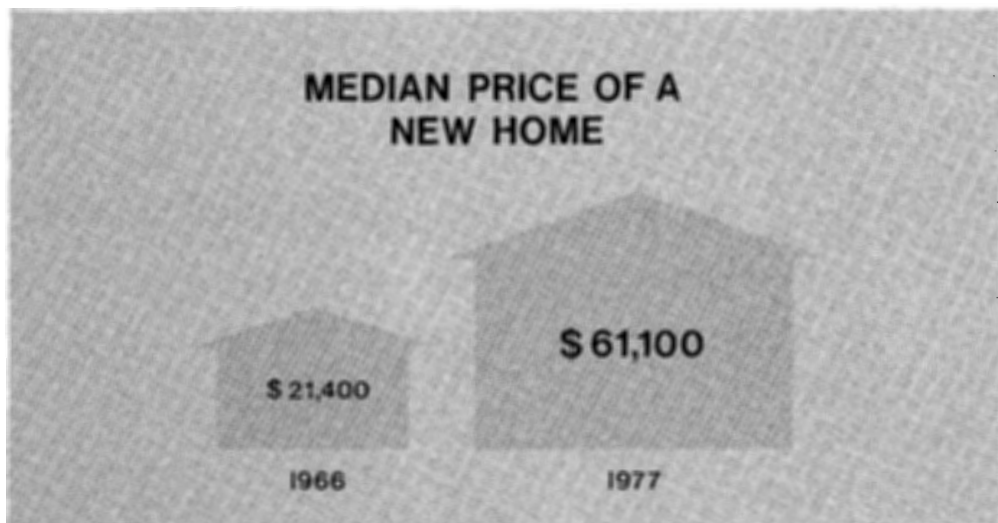
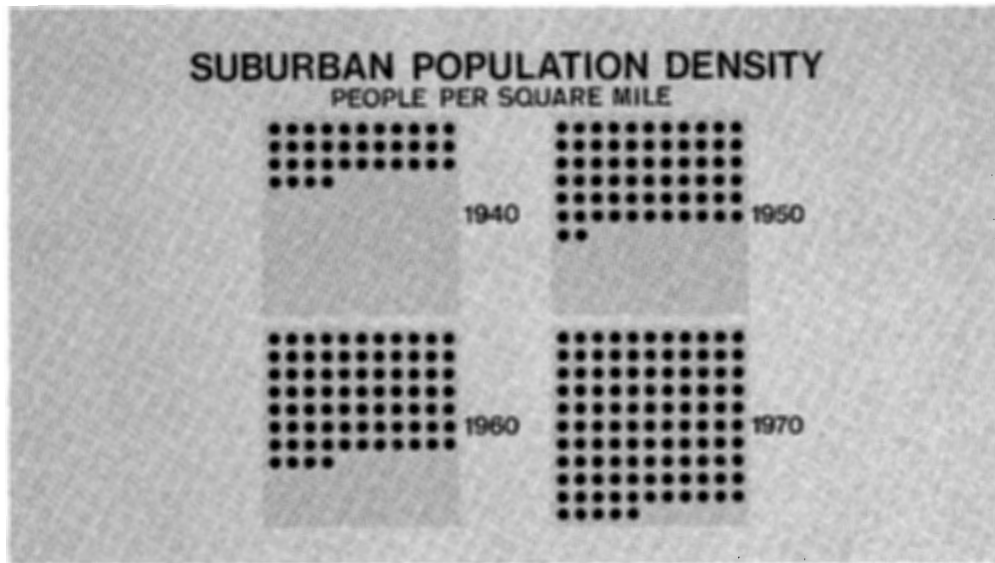
- Many more acres of land would be built upon. This would amount to some 1.2 million acres or 1,880 square miles, an increase of 50 percent. Much of this acreage is likely to be taken from such critical lands as agricultural areas, flood plains or watersheds.
- Sewer and water systems would have to be extended with costly mains and new treatment plants. It is estimated this would cost an additional \$2.4 billion.
- New roads, schools and hospitals would be required in the newly developed sectors.

- Ridership on public transportation would continue to decline and auto travel would increase. Present trends suggest 10 percent fewer transit riders by 2000 than otherwise, increasing the operating deficit by about \$150 million per year.
- More low-paid workers will be located an excessive distance from their jobs or become unemployed - perhaps 250,000 more than would otherwise be jobless.
- The population of the Region's larger older cities would decline by more than a million. According to New York State's Economic Development Board, the population of New York City alone would decline 1 million from its 1970 level. Jobs would continue to leave, going either to outlying sectors or out of the Region.
- Migration of the younger, more mobile workers from the Region would raise the proportion of population in the nonworking ages.
- Housing problems would be greater in the suburbs because jobs will have moved there from the cities and created an even greater housing demand, especially from the low-income and moderate-income households. Conversely, the cities would have greater difficulty conserving the already deteriorating housing stock.

Tri-State proposes a plan for development that resists current tendencies so as to avoid or lessen the unwanted results. If these trends cannot be altered by development policies and programs, and cooperative state-regional-local efforts, we are left on a lowered level of crisis planning, where sacrifices may be greater and results far from equal to our goals.

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Tri-State Regional Planning Commission, Regional Development Guide 1977-2000,
March, 1979.



The urbanization of the suburbs is most clearly seen in the increasing population density in the "middle landscape." One of the prime reasons for inflated housing costs resides in the intensification of land use. If present trends continue, the vast majority of Americans will not be able to afford a private, detached home.

PROGRAM 23

PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS

An interview with Henry Lieberman, New York Times

The suburb is in part perception, but the way people feel about the "middle landscape" has rarely been scientifically analyzed. It is often felt that standard interpretations of the suburb reveal more about the values of the analysts than they do about the attitudes of the people who live there.

In an effort to uncover how suburbanites perceive their environment and to separate the myths from realities, the New York Times conducted an extensive survey of the sprawling suburbs in the New York Metropolitan area. According to Henry Lieberman, the Assistant to the Executive Director of the New York Times, the survey revealed that beneath the conventional contours of the suburban landscape exist a good deal of diversity. The suburbs consist predominately of white middle-class professionals living in detached, privately owned homes. However, there is a good deal of economic and ethnic diversity. Moreover, residential environment is complimented by urban centers and rural tracts of land that make the suburbs difficult to describe. This diversity, according to the guest, does not completely undermine the traditional portrait of suburban America, but rather adds several variations to the major themes.

The survey revealed that the vast majority of people living in the suburbs enjoy their life-styles, (over 90 percent of the respondents claimed that they were very or relatively happy). Accessibility to recreational activities, the ability to pursue personal hobbies, neighborliness, affluence, privacy, and a pleasing environment were the reasons most often cited for their satisfaction. The survey also uncovered a growing apprehension about the future of the suburbs. The interviewees expressed concern for juvenile delinquency, crime, congestion, taxes, energy, and municipal services. The suburbs are not in crisis, but its residents believe that the physical and social environment in the "middle landscape" is becoming more like the cities.

Mr. Lieberman is convinced that suburbanites view these problems as local concerns, and not as part of a regional or national trend. The call for metropolitan coordination or regionalism, which planners and political officials hope will shape future policy, has not yet become central to the suburbanites' perception of his or her environment.

QUESTIONS

1. How do you think Mr. Johnson would respond to the evidence uncovered by the survey?
2. If a similar survey would have been taken in 1945, how do you think the results would have differed from the present survey?

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In 1967, President Johnson appointed a task force to study suburban problems. His subsequent decision not to run for another term relegated the report to the nation's historical archives. Indeed, it did not receive wide-spread study until six years after it was written. In the following excerpt, task force members present a bleak picture of the social costs of suburban sprawl, especially on the nation's cities. When read in conjunction with the Regional Development Guide in the previous program, one can only conclude that planners view suburbanization as costly, inefficient and detrimental to the well-being of American society. It is a perception that differs substantially from the attitude held by most suburban residents. How to match the planners' proposals with the residents' perceptions continues to be a perplexing problem. Without suburban support, plans for alternative land use patterns will be dismissed as dictatorial and authoritarian.

"THE PRESIDENT'S TASK FORCE - FINAL REPORT"

Edited by Charles M. Haar

The Suburbs Need Help

Most problems of the suburbs derive from rapid, unregulated, confusing growth. The suburbs contain over 66 million Americans, and by 1985 they will be home for nearly 124 million.

Historically, the United States first migrated westward. The second great migration was towards the cities, which transformed the nation in less than a century from a mostly rural to a mostly urban society. But in the past twenty years these historic migrations have been overwhelmed by the rush to the suburbs. While central city populations increased by 14% between 1950 and 1966, suburban areas increased 79%, and the rate of increase is expected to continue.

During the sixteen years from 1950 to 1966, the net population gain of the suburbs of 30 million more than doubled that of the rest of the country. They now lead the central cities in population--66 million to 59 million in 1966. At present suburbia gains more people each year and builds more housing units than all the rest of the country combined. Suburbanization--as a distinctive aspect of urbanization--has become the dominant growth pattern of the United States.

This is exciting, this is the nation's greatest growth industry, the new frontier. This is where the nation's major economic and social activity has been and will continue to take place for as long as we can now foresee.

The millions of American families that have moved to the suburbs have gone there in search of space, quiet, decency and comfort. They have gone there for a modern counterpart of the New England village, a model of prosperity and order, small enough to be understood and managed by its citizens, cherished for its beauty and its friendliness. Such are the ideals that have made the suburb a characteristic feature of American life.

But reality in the suburbs no longer corresponds to that ideal. In the characteristic manner, we have built our suburbs enthusiastically but somewhat recklessly. In the rush to provide facilities that so many citizens wanted, suburban land has been cut too fine and built up too thick, and what should have been shapely towns have grown formlessly until suburban sprawl has destroyed the sense of community as well as the sense that the citizens could control their own environment.

Blight and decay have begun to set in, as they do in any community that has lost the love of its inhabitants. Industry has been moving in (as it should in order to provide jobs near people's homes), but in unordered and unprepared fashion, resulting in pollution of air, water, and landscape.

The contrived homogeneity of many suburbs, in violation of the American tradition of pluralism, has produced a kind of cultural dehydration. The dullness of existence is acutely felt by many older suburbanites, and is often tragically reflected in the behavior of their children. Suburban vandalism, drug offenses, and larceny by the young are on the rise.

In other ways, too, the formless movement to the suburbs has produced human and social damage--to those excluded or left behind. For the average black or Mexican-American family, the suburb is not a land of promise and opportunity. To millions of them and others the boundary between city and suburbs has been sealed off.

Yet the situation is far from uniform. Racial ghettos and high welfare costs are beginning to typify some of the suburbs--many more than most Americans suppose. Although the average suburb is socially homogeneous and economically prosperous, many are not. In 1960 there were more substandard dwellings in the suburbs of Pittsburgh than in the city, and there were more poor families in the suburbs of Los Angeles than in that city. Forty percent of the metropolitan poor live in the suburbs, and those 1.7 million families face acute and special problems. Some lack such rudimentary facilities as paved streets and sewerage; many lack facilities for the cheap public transportation enjoyed by their counterparts in the cities.

Another large group of the disadvantaged add to the suburbs' problems and suffer from their inadequate resources. They are the aged, of whom a good proportion live in suburbs. They are subjected to rapidly rising taxes, the inaccessibility of scattered public services (for instance, medical clinics), the lack of community facilities, and the burdensome fact of physical sprawl. They are especially exposed to these difficulties because they tend to live in the suburbs that are older and more likely to exhibit decay and industrialization.

In truth, the suburb is more than a place of green lawns, barbecue pits, and two-car garages.

For all the suburbs of whatever age have a range of distinctive problems: special transportation needs, special housing problems, special problems of crime and control (the growth of suburban crime is often shocking). Many suburbs cannot afford adequate police forces; and low density of population as well as confusing political boundaries make law enforcement especially difficult and create special needs for the expansion and rehabilitation of public services of all kinds. Indeed, many of the suburbs are in serious financial trouble, yet growth will not let up.

These are huge problems, yet they present huge opportunities. Timely action can be taken now. We who know the cost of rebuilding our central cities cannot allow the same process to occur over and over again.

Help to the Suburbs Must Heal the Whole City

Great problems call for great efforts. Help is needed, but not any kind of help will suffice. If efforts to help are ill-conceived, piecemeal, or discriminatory, they may worsen conditions in the cities, the suburbs, or both.

Suburban problems are deep and complex because suburb and city are no longer separable. Once upon a time the suburb was a distinct unit, standing downhill from the city, below its fortifications, outside its walls, and beyond its laws. It had been settled by exodus from the city of hardy colonists who were willing to forego the city's safety to escape its crowding, confusion, and constraints.

That was long ago. Now cities and their problems are no longer set apart from the suburbs by walls or even by political boundaries. The realities of civic life--human, economic, technical--no longer correspond to the inherited dividing lines. Urban problems have spilled out into the suburbs and even beyond them into the "rural" peripheries. Any attempt in today's circumstances to solve suburban problems in isolation--as though they could still be solved separately from the general problems of metropolitan areas--is doomed to fail.

Unless all parts of the metropolitan system work effectively and work together, the whole system will break down. Suburbs depend on the central city as a place of employment, the center of commerce, the focus of cultural life, and the source of regional services performed by universities, government offices, medical centers, theaters, and sports arenas.

The central city depends on its suburbs to supply workers for its industries, consumers for its products, housing and municipal services for its workers, a pleasant retreat for its aged, and a healthy place to bring up many of its future citizens. Suburbs and city complement each other; the combination widens the choice of life styles open to citizens--a choice that must be made available in fact to every citizen.

Despite this real interdependence, however, all sorts of outdated divisions tend to fragment and subdivide the metropolitan areas. Inherited obstacles and antiquated habits of thought artificially divide the metropolitan areas, not only politically but also socially and racially. Uncoordinated programs of reform and improvement frequently hinder real solutions and intensify the disorganization and the destructive disparities among various parts of the great urban complexes.

If the metropolitan areas are to be made more efficient, their vitality released by the reduction of economic distress and racial tension, their mobility freed from the bottlenecks of inadequate and ill-coordinated transportation, it is essential to apply policies that are comprehensive, that treat the metropolitan area realistically as an organic whole. Disorder, crime, pollution, overcrowding, housing shortages, the noise of aircraft, and the congestion of roads--these and the host of other problems are no respecters of antique jurisdictional frontiers. They must be dealt with comprehensively.

The future growth of the metropolitan areas must be shaped by coordinated public planning that recognizes the interests of all citizens. Effort must be made to shape the development of metropolitan areas, not only physically in accordance with standards of efficiency and beauty, but also politically in the directions suggested by our prime national goals: equality of opportunity, easy mobility, and evenhanded justice for all. Only such an effort, acknowledging the real interdependence of all urban life and the deepest objectives of American politics, can hope to succeed.

Therein lies the challenge: To help the suburbs and the cities broadly and wisely open a truly vast and hopeful expanse of constructive, possible actions. To fail to do so, or to do so on a narrow and divisive basis, will condemn the central cities to even worse difficulties in the future without protecting the suburbs from the seeds of decay that are already visible.

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Charles M. Haar, The President's Task Force on Suburban Problems.
Cambridge, Mass.: Ballinger Publishing Company, 1974.

PROGRAM 24

OVERVIEW

An interview with Stanley Buder, Baruch College

Predicting the future is a risky venture at any time, but in a period of rapid change, like our own, it may be impossible. During the mid-nineteenth century no one could have anticipated the enormous impact of the automobile, electricity, and new forms of communications. Yet one hundred years later, dispersed suburban settlement has become the dominant feature of the American landscape. In the past, suburban design has been molded by the prevailing means of transportation and communication, and one must assume that the shape of the suburban container will change as our technology changes.

Dr. Buder provides three ways of predicting the future of the suburbs:

1. One may assume that existing tendencies will continue. If this is the case, the suburban landscape in the future will resemble the present environment. As the rate of the nation's population growth declines, however, suburban expansion will slow down.
2. One may attempt to shape future development by establishing goals and then implementing a program to achieve these goals. The planning profession has traditionally advocated this approach. Planners in the United States, however, have not had a significant impact on the nation's patterns of land use. The poly-nucleated scheme, which many planners advocate, has been ignored in favor of haphazard suburban sprawl.
3. One may predict the future by anticipating dramatic changes in the process of development, changes predicated on unforeseen alterations in technology.

The American suburb has been built on a solid foundation of affluence, the automobile, and cheap energy. These conditions have existed in the United States for over fifty years. Whether post World War II patterns of suburban growth will continue depends on how optimistic or pessimistic one is about the future availability of these necessary pre-conditions for suburbanization.

QUESTIONS

1. Why has the planning profession in the United States had such a dismal track record? Do you foresee a greater role for planners in the future?
2. Do you think that traditional patterns of suburban land use can continue in the future given our dwindling supply of natural resources?

An alternative scenario for the future was proposed by Peter C. Goldmark and Anne B. Kraig in the following paper which was written in 1976. The late Peter Goldmark served as President of CBS Laboratories and was a noted inventor with over 160 patents credited to his name. Anne B. Kraig is now President and Chief Executive Officer of Goldmark Communications Corporation, a firm Peter Goldmark founded.

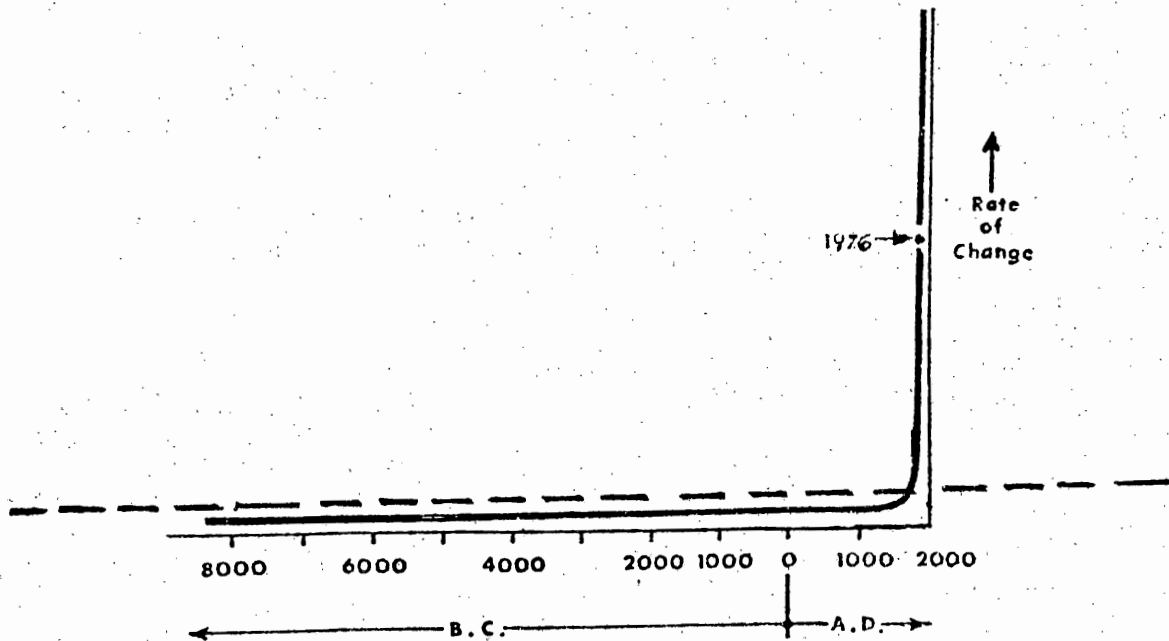
Peter Goldmark for years had evidenced an interest in the broad scope of American society. In 1972, Mr. Goldmark began a study on the effective utilization of tele-communications in rural areas. Specifically, he wanted to encourage better education, to improve health care, to provide more jobs, and to enlarge cultural opportunities in America's rural areas. In order to deal with these specific problems, he first had to present a new perspective for America's future.

THE NEW RURAL SOCIETY

by Peter C. Goldmark
and Anne B. Kraig

The last two centuries were triumphs for science and technology; but have they been equally successful for mankind? At this point in history, scientists everywhere face a responsibility and a challenge which we must not fail to meet. We should apply at least a fraction of our diverse talents and training towards meeting our major national and social needs. It is a regrettable paradox that our accomplishments in communications and transportation have made the world much smaller, yet the distance between individuals grows larger.

We felt it useful to examine how the changes in man himself, from an anthropological point-of-view, compared with the rate of changes in the world he created around himself, which we illustrated in the following graph:



The horizontal or time scale is 10,000 years, and the vertical scale shows rate of changes. The horizontal line in dashes illustrates man's physical, mental, and behavioral development, which remained essentially constant during this period. The solid curve, representing changes created by man, remained equally flat up until just the last 2000 years. The sudden vertical upturn, reflecting the results of science and technology, is composed of such data as population change; life expectancy; speed of travel; power of explosives; consumption of food, energy, minerals, etc. For instance, ten thousand years ago, the world population was no greater than New York City's today, and during almost all of this period the doubling rate was about 2,000 years. Today it is 35 years.

The steep slope of the curve, which only occurred during the past two centuries, also indicates the reckless rate at which we are consuming our non-replenishable resources. It is alarming that the increasingly rapid changes, now pointing in a vertical direction, were neither anticipated nor planned and the slow rates prevailing during our history did not equip us to cope fast enough with the actual stresses and strains that befell our civilization.

Our major national problems involve the urban, rural and energy issues. These three are closely interrelated and will become critical beyond reversal unless concrete plans, aimed at dealing with them are developed and implemented quickly. An important effort to apply science and technology, in particular communications technology, to the solution of these national problems took place in the National Academy of Engineering's Committee on Telecommunications in 1971. A significant conclusion was the proposal to create a special project, called the New Rural Society (NRS), funded for the last five years by the Federal Government. It examined the application of telecommunications toward upgrading life in rural communities to encourage a voluntary decentralization of people, business and government. It was felt that because of the strong interactions this would initiate relief for the urban and energy crises as well.

At the start of this century, one-third of the U.S. population was urban and two-thirds rural. Subsequently, one of the largest migrations in history took place, as people from rural areas, searching for better job opportunities and other attractions the city offered, moved there. This totally unplanned redistribution led to the current population pattern of 75 per cent urban and 25 per cent rural. The population of our cities had to expand rapidly within finite physical boundaries, thus creating unprecedented social, economic, and environmental problems.

There exists a communications paradox where in densely populated metropolitan areas people live so tightly packed that they cannot communicate; they are gripped by fear, suspicion and desperation. Yet in the countryside, in spite of large distances, people desire to communicate and find it easy.

Many families and businesses able to do so, moved out of the city and have relocated in the suburbs in order to escape from the urban problems. This has merely expanded the boundaries of urban areas so that sprawl and over-crowding have begun to impair the quality of suburban life as well. Certain out-migration into rural areas is also taking place, but those who remain behind, usually the poor, dependent on welfare, further aggravate the already critical urban economic conditions.

The exodus from rural America to the metropolitan areas resulted in lack of employment and of many vital services, as well as of the cultural and recreational amenities of a large city. These became factors that discouraged people from returning to rural communities and where communications technology can be of considerable help.

An unexpected consequence of the huge population dislocation has been the rapid exhaustion of our energy resources. To minimize pollution in urban areas, electric power had to be generated from low-sulfur oil rather than coal, our most abundant energy resource. If the population were more evenly distributed, we could return to a greater use of coal. Also, today one-third of the country's gasoline consumption is due to the daily commuting by cars to and from work in the metropolitan centers. Other opportunities to make significant fuel savings have to do with the expansion of rural communities so planned that people could live, work, shop and play with minimum need for transportation, relying on walking or bicycling.

With three-quarters of our population struggling to survive in metropolitan centers, it can be shown that the recovery of the cities and of rural communities would require a massive planning effort toward the decentralization of business, government and people, so that by the year 2000, some 140 million people, half the population, have the opportunity to live by free choice in attractive rural communities, which, according to surveys, they would prefer to do.

Regarding places for this expansion into rural communities, our studies have shown that there are no additional land requirements. We have some 4200 rural communities, ranging in size from 1500 to 150,000, which could accommodate readily over the next 25 years the 25 million families involved in the proposed voluntary redistribution. Based upon a more or less uniform pro rata basis, the additional averaged yearly growth rate per community would not exceed three per cent between now and the end of the century. This is well below rates encountered by many communities in the past, and permits gradual development of existing services and land resources.

The other half of the population would opt to live in metropolitan areas, provided these can be transformed into truly twenty-first century cities, where poverty, crime and pollution have been brought under control. The city then will become headquarters for government, business, finance, education, medicine, culture and recreation.

All this could happen only if we combine a massive national planning effort, with a continuous adult educational program, reaching all people in rural and metropolitan areas. The purpose would be not only to provide conventional continuing education brought to everyone, near where they live and work, outside of the campus, but to inform and teach about current issues, problems and crises as they affect individuals and the nation, especially in the future.

Most of the nation's urban and rural problems occur within a relatively few number of states. Based upon our experience, their solution could be left to local initiatives and resources. However, stimulation, coordination, and incentives should be coming forth from federal levels. This would require the creation of a national land and population policy, heavily oriented towards the conservation of human, energy, and environmental resources.

The proportion of the American labor force engaged in agriculture and non-farming jobs has declined sharply over the past fifty years. A focus of the New Rural Society Project was on the development of opportunities for employment in rural areas, to keep people who might otherwise leave, and also to attract new residents from congested cities. In order for businesses and government to consider decentralization or complete relocation to a rural area, such a move should result in a more cost-effective operation.

The improvements in various local and state services can be brought about, through community participating in learning and planning, in a much more effective way. In particular, preparing for the future by the members of the community as a result of learning about national issues, problems and options, will be invaluable and necessary. This is particularly so, if we keep in mind that our human, earth and environmental resources are limited, yet could be made to last for many centuries if we match our way of life to what we can afford, without dependence on outside sources, and keep house not as a society heading for bankruptcy, but think of the generations beyond us.

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Peter C. Goldmark and Anne B. Kraig, The New Rural Society. Stamford, Conn.: Goldmark Communications, 1976.

