A Contextual History of Social Planning
in New Town Developments

by

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ABSTRACT

This two phase thesis examines the issue of social planning in new town developments. The first phase consists of a historical survey of utopian efforts dating from the Industrial Revolution which have exhibited a great deal of concern for the social aspects of planning. It also explores the relationship between the ideal physical organization of the developments and their consequential social organizations. The second phase of the survey regards modern American new town developments in light of the strong utopian social tradition, and discusses the current directions that modern social planning is taking, especially with concern toward the ever-present reality of increasing urban and social problems.

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PREFACE

"From mythical times onward there was a succession of lawgivers for ideal societies, reaching its zenith in Plato (fourth century) and continuing after him.[1] The legacies of ideal or utopian societies, although diverse in nature and character, have been passed forth not only by a succession of lawgivers, but through a prolific literary tradition which has strongly influenced the development of utopian societies to the present. Four legendary Greek writers, Plutarch, Aristophanes, Lucian, and Plato, wrote accounts of four model societies which have been especially pertinent to later developments in Western societies, and should be mentioned briefly. These model societies -- the cities of Athens and Sparta, the Pythagorean settlements of Magna Grecia, and to a much lesser extent the kingdom of Persia -- came to have especially potent images in Western Europe during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the period of time generally considered to mark the birth of the Western idea of utopia.[2] The succession of utopian social-thought concepts continued, further influencing widely-acclaimed humanists and philosophers such as More, Erasmus, and Rabelais, who in turn set the ideological stage for the development of modern society.

Interest in the myths of ancient Athens and Sparta,

in particular upon European humanists, continued into the eighteenth century. Plutarch's writings described the society of Athens through the accounts of a fictitious character, Solon; he provided the legend of Sparta in much the same way through the accounts in the life of Lycurgus. In remarking upon these cities' symbolic significance for later societies, Frank Manuel, in Utopian Thought in the Western World, commented,

> In broad terms, many Christian utopias from the Renaissance through the French Revolution were either ascetic and communistic in the image of Lycurgus' Sparta, or loosely democratic and tolerant of sensate pleasure in the image of Solon's Athens.[3]

Solon's society of Athens was neither too free nor too oppressed. His plan for a democratic society combined the concepts of "eunomia"(lawfullness and order) and "arpos" (that which is fitting); this combination extolled a life of moderation in a democracy rising above factional interests. Solon ended the practice of enslaving farmer citizens for debt in an attempt to help the poor; he also encouraged the rich to use temperance in the spending of their wealth. These democratic concepts of society reappeared in the nineteenth century in the theories of Saint Simeon, and are not far removed from some appeals made in modern democratic

societies.

The ascetic image of Sparta would appeal to later social visionaries who intended to create utopias through the imposition of control from above. Sparta came to stand for an ideal society of perfect social cohesion and patriotic devotion, worthy of emulation because of its military success. The very regimented lifestyle and strict educational system would produce an ideal society of equal individuals known for their abstinence, obedience, and egalitarianism. Future communist agrarian plans would directly employ Sparta's pattern of land distribution, that of equal lots of the same size. Finally, the Spartan social practice of restricting access between married members of the opposite sex could be seen advocated as late as the eighteenth century in the writings of the French utopian, Restif de la Bretonne.[4]

Although the Pythagorean settlements of Magna Grecia did not exert a great impact on future societies, they are possibly the most famous utopian experiments of the ancient world. Plato's Academy trained some of its disciples as constitutional advisors, and sent them to these Hellenistic settlements to foster the development of ideal societies.

Pythagorean society differed from those of Athens and Sparta in its somewhat mystical organization, resembling a religious brotherhood of sorts that attempted a moral and religious reformation of Greek society. Religious obser-

vances of the society included an abstinence of flesh and of belief in the transmigration of souls;  although they were marked less scientifically-inclined than the larger body of Greek citizenry, the Pythagorean society is credited for the anticipation of Copernicus' heliocentric theory of the universe.  Ironically, the political shortcomings of this societal organization of Greek colonists was responsible for its eventual demise.  It has been suggested that the Pythagorean society served as the model for utopian German Rosicrucian settlements in the early seventeenth century.[5]  Inasmuch as the Rosicrucian society championed moral and religious reforms and promoted scientific discoveries in directions approaching the occult, the comparison is surprisingly accurate.

The writings of Aristophanes, although not directed to a specific ancient society model, seem to address utopian ideals very similar to that of nineteenth century Fourierist theories.  In a direct appeal to the working class, poverty-stricken masses, Aristophanes attempted to expose the religious, political, and philosophical frauds who offered only empty promises.  He countered the prevailing orthodoxies with the arguement that man's most reasonable goal was the achievement of robust, sensate pleasure.  Aristophanes resorted to these utopian visions in the hope that efforts toward more decent conditions of life would promote the domestic virtues he felt were necessary for improvement of all the classes of society.

True Story, an account written by Lucian, is credited for providing the colorful imagery of the novelistic Greek utopias, but more importantly, it explained in detail the banal daily events occurring in these ideal societies. Influential to many seventeenth-and eighteenth-century humanists and philosophers was the analyzation and critique Lucian somewhat sarcastically included in his work, providing further insight into the social aspects of these idealized model societies.

Finally, Plato's Republic, another non-specifically oriented work, described a perfect society of "hard primitivism" where man's actual needs were simple and few. The austerity of lifestyle became a dominant element of many utopian conceptions well into the eighteenth century. In this society, man was to define his authentic needs and talents, and to then combine them in perfect mechanisms which held the city united. Plato envisioned grand public buildings in this utopia which would elevate the soul in its quest of forms of perfect beauty. Moreover, Plato left for posterity the conviction that the creation of an ideal society was not only in some measure possible, but that man could not realize his full potential outside of such society.

> Greek writers obliquely attacked flagrant evils,
> such as the devastations of war, the blind lust
> for possession among the wealthy, the devious
> ways of slander, the pretensions of the philoso-

phers and system-makers, (and) the hollow prom-
ises of demagogues, all of which were normally
accepted in the course of human affairs, by
daringly experimenting with the opposite con-
dition.[6]

It is against these same circumstances, compounded by the
effects of the Industrial Revolution and other continually-
rising urban problems, that modern society could begin to
work with programs geared to improve the quality of life
of its members. Social planning is a basic step in that
direction.

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in New Town Developments


Although its existence in a variety of forms may be
somewhat misleading, a new town should be defined as a plan-
ned community which is consciously created in response to a
set of clearly stated objectives.  These planning objectives
are most often of a social, political, or economical nature.
In this paper I will be examining solely the social objec-
tives in planning of new towns.

Gideon Golany, in New Town Planning: Principles and
Practice, states that social planning as a planning exercise
in itself is largely a twentieth century phenomenon.  He
defines modern social planning as a goal-oriented planning
exercise which takes place in the premier stages of the plan-
ning process.  It is then added that the main goal of social
planning is the improvement of the quality of society.
Secondary goals, to be written into an overall social plan,
include:  first, a search for a unique set of community
values which will lend character to the new town, while en-
hancing the standards of living;  and second, specification
of the type and quantity of the social services needed in


Matters of form and style conform to the guidelines of the
Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians.

the community.[7]  However, if these stated goals completely embody the parameters of social planning, one should contend that it is not entirely a modern phenomenon.  The practice of planning new towns under the guise of social reform (this entailing an effort toward the improvement of the quality of society) has easily been occurring for several centuries. The tradition of these earlier planning efforts has strongly and profoundly influenced both the evolution of modern society and the notions of planning.

Probably the first incidence of social planning in its infancy occurred during the Greek colonization of Magna Grecia in the fourth century.  Disciples of Plato's Academy were trained as constitutional advisors and dispatched to help institute an ideal society.  For the purposes of this study, though, I have limited the historical survey to examples developed since the Industrial Revolution because the issues faced then most closely parallel those of modern society.[8]  This limitation has also been imposed to avoid the instances of making extremely broad or generalized comparisons between modern developments and those of antiquity which may suit the arguement, but which by their nature cannot be particularly accurate.

In the first phase of this paper I will identify the utopian planning efforts of the Post-Industrial Revolution era which have had the greatest influence on social planning efforts in modern society.  Utopian planning efforts, al-

though sometimes radical departures from the mainstream principles of society, conceivably represent the most direct responses to the social problems present in these societies. The second phase is a brief examination of the modern social planning efforts in new towns of the United States. Although modern social planning in the United States has been slighted by overriding economic concerns, the increasing scope and complexity of modern urban problems continues to force the issue.

UTOPIAN VISIONS


A number of responses to the poor social conditions of
Industrial Revolution society have been offered by social
visionaries and theorists, planners and architects, and re-
ligious sects and orders.  These groups attempted social
planning, in a sense, through their efforts to improve the
quality fo urban life.  Each hoped to bring a particular
brand of social reform to the growing crises fo modern soci-
eties by means of some type of ideal settlement, be it a
commune, phalanstery, or contrived new town.  One of the
earliest, the ideal city of Chaux, France, developed by arch-
itect Claude-Nicholas Ledoux, exemplifies great social con-
sciousness in both the realms of architecture and planning.
Three famous utopian socialists, Count Claude Saint-Simeon,
Charles Fourier, and Robert Owen, seemed to be united in a
common objective, that of resolving the crises in man's ca-
pacity to find satisfaction in work, increasingly emphasized
by an industrial society, with that of his emotional relation-
ships.  Simultaneously in America, a host of religious sects
and orders began to explore their concepts of the ideal com-
munity through attempts to develop perfect utopian settle-
ments.  Ebenezer Howard sought to integrate town and country
in his Garden City concept.  Finally, two other visionary
architects, Le Corbusier and Frank Lloyd Wright, developed

their ideal responses to social problems in the form of new towns.

La Saline du Chaux, the French national salt works near Besancon, could be considered as the first visionary industrial city -- it consciously integrated productive factory structures with worker's housing. Probably more important, though, is the degree to which Ledoux' keen sense of social consciousness is evident in both its architecture and planning, an effort which he later enlarged in a book he prepared while in jail, L'Architecture consideree sous le rapport de l'art, des moeurs et de la legislation, 1804. Ledoux attempted to develop a typology under which each social institution would be rendered architecturally according to its character. For example, the neo-classical facades of the Pacifere, the courthouse, recalled an image of justice and unity. Probably the most curious social institution of Chaux was the Oikema (Greek, for love temple), also rendered in a pedimented, neo-classical style. Ledoux' efforts toward improving the quality of society apparently demanded a structure in which an individual would abandon himself to a torrent dose of pleasure, which would lower his virtue to its ultimate abyss, at which point he would instantly realize true virtue.

The Utopian Socialist movement consisted of vastly different intellectual responses to the social conditions of modern Industrial Revolution societies. Often holding

revolutionary views of work and love, these founders frequently sought to reorganize radically those aspects of society that stood at the base of contemporary social ills. The intellectual responses of Saint-Simeon, Fourier, and Owen had three vastly different extensions into the realm of social planning, and consequent difference in physical planning of their ideal settlements.

Count Claude Saint-Simeon attempted to develop an ideal, controlled society in which an unprecedented industrial and scientific dynamism would create order and harmony out of the chaos of modern industrial society. Antagonism between existing religious orders and the scientific-industrial world was at the focus of this social disarray; Saint-Simeon referred to his solution as being controlled by a scientific priesthood in th religion of Newton, and hoped that it would do for the social world what Newton did for the physical.[9] This was an industrial social system, characterized by a wilful placement of man into his rightful psycho-physiological division of occupations in a tripartite organization. Characteristic at Menilmontant, the ideal commune, were these three divisions of occupations: motor, being administrative and laborers; rational, that of scientists and mathematicians; and innovative, those of humanities and creative artistic fields, which would initialize innovation. The entire system raised as its highest value organization, but wrongly presupposed that each individual either knew exactly

into which division he should go, or that he desired to be productive in the first place. The scientific priesthood placed all those unsure members of the commune into categories it chose. Ideally, though, Saint-Simeon believed that maximization of man's occupational talent would bring ideal social progress, and in knowledge of working toward this ideal progress came a universal love so intense that it would "blur the boundaries between (individual) ego and the outside world."[10] Colorful parades and not-so-colorful sexual rituals celebrated the virtue of this work at Menilmontant, which became the popular object of Parisian outings to the country for several years.

Charles Fourier's radical critique of the effects of the Industrial Revolution on society appeared in 1829 in Le Nouveau Monde industrial. Fourier argued that industrial production and social organization had indeed done nothing for the wellbeing of all the social classes, despite industrial progress. Poverty, on all levels, became a central issue in Fourier's reforms -- his conviction that "poverty is worse than vice" must have been a rationalization for some of his social reforms.[11] Attacking industrial production on the poverty issue, Fourier noted that among the hardest working nations -- England, Ireland, and Belgium -- poverty afflicted 30 out of every 100 citizens, while in the least developed nations, such as Russia and Portugal, it accounted for only 3 of 100.[12] The ideal settlement of Fourier, the Phalanx,

accordingly operated on an agrarian and light manufacturing, commerce and housekeeping basis rather than on advanced industrial processes. Working facilities were located in the wings of the phalansteres, large structures modelled after Versailles in an attempt to evoke an image of grandeur to replace the "petit-bourgeois squalor" of the small individual worker's houses which were beginning to accumulate near industrial cities.[13] Fourier described the phalanstery as being a miniature city whose streets were not exposed to the weather.

Radical social reorganization occurred under Fourier's concept of "passional attraction". Fourier's critique again centered on the issue of poverty, this time saying, "virtually all men are poor, because their passions are unfulfilled, senses not appeased, amorous emotions abused, and their naturally complex social sensibilities can find outlets only in pityfully limited channels".[14]

Fourier held an intense hatred for all the past social and philosophical institutions which had brought society to this state. Instead, he observed, "I am the only reformer who has rallied around human nature by accepting it as it is, and divising the means of utilizing it with all the defects which are inseparable from man."[15] The first phalanstery, located in Scaeni, Romania, accepted man as he was, a creature of passions and desires, and by combining these passions, rendered him happy. This free exchange of passions and

desires was enhanced in the physical planning of the phalanstery, in that the residential wings, or caravanseray, were geared for flexible sleeping arrangements.

"Passional attraction" as a societal organization on the whole identified the fundamental passions, or instinctual drives of man, and divided them into a system of twelve passions. Fourier considered each of these passions to be fundamental rights of man (each being fundamentally instinctive) and encouraged interaction between members of the society who shared like passions equally. Some of the passions, divided into a three branch system, include the desire for respect, for love, for friendship, and for work, the fundamental passion which kept the society operating. Passional attraction dictated the ideal number of residents in the phalanstery as being in the range of 1700-1800 persons, twice 810,(the number of fundamental passionate combinations between people) to account for both sexes. Fourier's radical reforms were exported to America, phalansteries being constructed in both New Jersey and Wisconsin, which enjoyed a tremendous profitability and was sold, but the ideology was not compatible with that existing in the United States, and the movement consequently waned. It has been suggested, though, that impact of the Fourierist doctrines could be seen in nineteenth century American prairie settlements and stll influences the planning of modern Israeli new towns. John-Paul Godin modelled the familstere at Guise, France, developed between 1859 and 1870,

after the phalanstery of Fourier. The familstere, a coop-
erative family living arrangement, proved that the less rad-
ical aspects of the Fourierist doctrine, namely that of pas-
sional attraction, could be successfully adapted for the
mainstream of society.

Robert Owen, an English social theorist, began to de-
velop social industrial reforms while directing the cotton
mills at New Lanark, Scotland, in 1799. Owens was a self-
made man intimately familiar with many aspects of industrial
production;  his social thought was in line with that of the
normative, rationalist Enlightenment school, which held that
man was an innocent product of his environment, capable of
being morally transformed if persuaded by the "voice of rea-
son", and then through systematic training, leading to pos-
itive habit formation.[16] Children were carefully indoctrin-
ated under this system, as they were populating a future moral
order, aware of upright virtues, free "from all the evils
induced by ignorance, bad habits, poverty, and want of employ-
ment."[17]

Although gaining popularity for rapid improvement of the
mills at New Lanark, Owen felt that industrialized production,
as a specialized activity, was basically wrong for society,
calling factories "recepticles, in too many instances, for
living human skeletons."[18]  Instead, Owen's first utopian
settlement, outlined in the Report to the Community of the
Association for the Relief of the Manufacturing and Laboring

Poor, March 1817, suggested a return to an agrarian based "village of unity and mutual cooperation", which would begin to duplicate into a system of cooperative socialism that would encompass the Earth.[19] The ideal rectangular townships, described in The Revolution in the Mind and Practice of the Human Race, avoided acquisition of private property by centralizing the residents in more efficient, communal domestic arrangements that recalled Fourier's phalanstery. Housing for the entire settlement, preferably numbering between 800-1200 residents, was again centralized as to allow communal exploitation of township fields. This plan created an optimum environment, free fron the "inconvenient alleys, lanes, and streets which were injurious to health and destructive to all of the natural comforts of human life,"[20] and provided protected and easily-supervised quadrangle play areas for children. Owen attempted to construct this plan first at Orbison, England, and was not successful; another attempt in 1825 at New Harmony, Indiana, although not conforming to the rectangular plan specifications, likewise failed similiarly due to heated disputes over the division and ownership of private property.

Despite Owen's failings in fabricating these ideal rectangular settlements, the Owenite example of small planned agrarian villages with limited industrialization has influenced many aspects of the social and political structure of modern societies.

Although probably not exerting much of an influence on society during the Industrial Revolution, a host of American religious sects and orders, most notably the Shakers, the Rappites, the Perfectionists, and the Union Colonists did attempt to bring forth a variety of ideological and social reforms. Development of model utopian settlements, hoping as a secondary goal to halt land exploitation practices of the westward moving nation, centered around the creation of community, which, as Delores Hayden in Seven American Utopias points out, had three basic extensions into the realm of planning.[21]

The first extension centered around the idea of community as a garden. In some cases, such as for a German Pietist colony, literal references to the location of the community as being the actual site of the "Garden of Eden" were made, and the community was developed as closely as possible to Biblical discription. One Theosophist sect located in Point Loma, California went so far as to collect exotic plants from all over the world and develop their central "Garden of Eden" around which the community was arranged. Other less literal interpretations of the community as a garden have more significance for the planning of today. From the perspective of the Shaker colonies, development centered around the image of the communal settlement acting as a pastoral retreat, away from the "great and wicked cities of the world", as they were commonly called. Also from this perspective came a renewed appreciation of the relationship between nature and man, a

principle to be exploited many times over in future plan-
ning developments.

The second of the extensions into the realm of planning
centered around the community as a machine. From this pers-
pective, it was thought to be possible to solve social prob-
lems through innovation and development of socially-equalizing
settlement patterns. The contributions of this extension to
society were best expressed in its practical and direct ef-
forts in the development of labor-saving devices and machinery,
usually viewed as gifts of God, especially by the Shaker com-
munities. A governmental extension of this ideology was the
1785 Land Ordinance of the United States, introduced by
Jefferson, which established a physical grid for development
as a social equilizer for democracy.

A third and final extension of this American religious
ideology was the concept of community as a model home. Under
the guise of family/home orientation, the Oneida Perfectionists
were opposed to the "gloom and dullness of excessive family
isolation" that they felt characterized Industrial Revolution
housing. They sensed that the social organization of individ-
ual family units was wasteful, uncomfortable, and demanded
too much work. Their solution of community organization in a
communal type atmosphere was greatly enhanced by the physical
organization of their communal homes. This ideal hearth
represented a close-knit family organization; the ideal
facade was supposed to inspire respect and aesthetic

pleasure; lastly, the ideal plan was characterized by an efficient organization, promoting quality of life without isolation of the individual.

All these communities were frought with problems, however, including tensions between authority and participation, and community and privacy, which plagued these communal social organizations. If duplication of a settlement was in order, the question of uniqueness or replicability arose. As most of these agrarian communities desired to be economically self-sufficient, industrial provisions were necessarily made and often resulted in a portrayal of the urban city character these attempted to avoid. Finally, the communities had to limit population to a certain number, knowing that if not, the community organization would gradually lose influence and disband. A case in point is that of the Unionist Colony established in Greeley, Colorado, which, with a rapid influx of people, quickly disbanded and rescinded its communal organization.

The Garden City Theory, developed by Ebenezer Howard and first published in 1898 in Tomorrow: A Peaceful Path to Reform, probably has been the most influential utopian planning movement to date. The general theory, part of a much larger social reform, seems to show an affinity for a variety of earlier utopian schemes, some dating back to the Renaissance. More closely, Howard was influenced by Robert Owen, who impressed upon him the need for a self-sufficient

community, having a perfect balance between industry and agriculture. Of direct influence were the writings of Kropotkin, a Russian anarchist, who advocated a system of decentralized industrial villages in which worker's housing was dispersed into the healthful countryside. Howard, a modest and unassuming "inventor", as he called himself, also gradually accepted the principles of the English Radicalist movement, a group of ideologists attempting to bring forth a new society, based on a life of cooperative-socialism in decentralized, organic villages. In his terms, this "unique combination of proposals" would be aimed at "laying a foundation upon which other schemes of social reform may securely stand."[22] Howard first became an activist in applying his broader social schemes to a Garden City, or a new town context after being profoundly influenced by the work of Bellamy, Looking Backward, in 1888.

Howard felt that a complete transformation of both the industrial environment and society of the nineteenth century England would be needed to bring about a new cooperative-socialist society. The previous industrial environment, characterized by crowded housing conditions and pollution, would be transformed by the relocation of workers into a decentralized, low-density, country village which would be healthful, pure, and provide daily contact with nature. Howard, as a humanist-radical, felt that deeply ingrained in English industrial society was an unjust, corrupt, and inhumane social order that exploited man economically and promoted class

barriers. His transformation of society focused onthis sys-
tem of cooperative socialism, which provided for communal
ownership of land and profit sharing techniques, erasing the
barrier between employer and employee, and thus ending class
struggles. In any event, the Garden City solution attempted
to compensate for the deficiencies of rural life through the
context of the self-sufficient, socially-planned villages,
but also to compensate for the squalor and social alienation
of England's industrial cities.

Development of the Garden City theory by Howard gives
rise to several interesting implications. The utopian qual-
ities of the theory seem to arise almost exclusively out of
social planning concerns, and not from any physical planning
innovation. Howard developed the physical planning concepts
only to a theoretical extent, preferring not to be involved
in any of the actual site constraints of village construction;
Parker and Unwin developed the actual plan of Letchworth, the
first Garden City, in its entirety in 1903. Welwyn Garden
City was planned in 1919 according to a more suburban context,
further loosening the Garden City concepts. The questions of
architectural style or construction methods in these cities
were completely ignored. One could conclude then, that to
Howard, physical planning concerns were not as critical to the
development of the new society as were the broader schemes of
social reform.

Even if Howard felt that his social reforms were realized

"only to a small degree", the residents of Letchworth, although numbering only half of the expected 32,000 population, seemed to experience a flourishing social life.[23] The pioneering spirit that Howard felt was so obviously lacking was described as "infectuous" by one Sir Frederick Osborn, who recalled a certain "pride everybody took in the continuous opening of new institutions and facilities; the whole place was imbued with the constructive spirit."[24] Bizarre social institutions, such as the Alpha Union of Universal Brotherhood and the Letchworth Esperanto Society, seemed to form quickly, indeed. Howard's wilful flexibility in physical planning also allowed for the construction of several curious social institutions. The most notable of these was The Cloisters, a brick and mortar structure housing an "open air school for adults" and "a center for the propagation of ideals on living" at which adults would benefit from a rigorous regime of fresh air, exercise, and hygiene.[25] Finally, experiments at cooperative living and housekeeping were attempted, recalling both Fourierist and Owenite doctrine. The goal of the experiment was to free women from the drudgery of the housework, and thus introduce "a new and brighter, a juster, and a happier social order."[26] Another Garden City was developed shortly after World War I, Welwyn, located about forty kilometers from London. This proximity to central London and a more suburban design concept greatly lessened the social cohesiveness of its residents.

Frank Lloyd Wright held a long-standing belief that the role of the architect in society was to give humane form to the city environment. Development of the Broadacre City plan, expounded upon in the Disappearing City, 1932, occurred at a time when, shortly after the stock market crash of 1929, American society greatly exhibited the stress of industrialization and the detrimental effects of monopolies on the capitalistic economy. Armed with great self-reliance and strong personal convictions, Wright attempted to resolve these societal conditions in a program which would decentralize the urban population to an unprecedented extent, an extent made possible by the advancement of the automobile as personal means of transportation. The decentralized design of Broadacre City would foster a new society in America, and one that Wright thought had indeed already begun to emerge on its own, the Usonian society, which thrived on the basis of a grass-roots individualism and widely-held means of production. This society -- marked by complete physical and economical independence, and thus freedom of its citizens -- embodied Wright's personal hopes for a democratic society of the future, and one that continuing developments in technology would perfect in time.

Wright's two major directions in life seemingly converged in the development of the Broadacre City plan: the architect's role as master-builder of society, as previously mentioned, and a consuming interest in the design of houses.

Wright believed that the family unit established the basis of Usonian society, and he constantly strove to develop an ideal environment for its preservation. The ideal environment consisted of a single family home (by Wright's definition, the only suitable residential arrangement for democratic societies) which provided each family with an "inviolable sanctuary of their own".[27] Wright, under the influence of Jeffersonian agrarian principles, placed each home on an individual homestead of workable acreage, hoping to tie man to his natural home, the land. Demanding the largest percentage of Broadacre City land area, these standardized acreage homesteads may seem to have imposed a uniformity on the character of the development as well as the residents, but this is not necessarily so. Wright thoroughly integrated each residential area and encouraged individual homeowners to construct homes according to their personal needs, thus accommodating social and physical diversity. The rigid geometry of the large-scaled agrarian grid was softened visually somewhat by the natural features of the site, as well as by the organic siting of public facilities.

Public facilities and work places were interspersed throughout the remainder of the Broadacre City plan, so as to avoid any of the agglomerations of large centralized social institutions and industrial hierarchies of power that Wright found in industrial cities, which he considered the greatest barriers to democratic social progress. Instead, smaller

commercial clusters and roadside markets acted as social gathering centers, becoming the places for "entertainment, mutual enjoyment, and a ritual of social solidarity".[28] Public utilities, the sizes scaled-down to facilitate public ownership, were relegated to the periphery of the agrarian grid so as to be readily accessible without being an eyesore.

Broadacre City has found its place among other utopian efforts by virtue of the fact that Wright did not have any specific political strategy of means to achieve its development, only hoping that it would evolve naturally with the needs of newly recruited members of the Usonian society. Several other fundamental problems plagued the scheme. Wright's creation of the County-Architect official, the central figure of authority, enabled one individual to have unparalleled powers in controlling many aspects of the social life at Broadacre City. Motions to replace the United States monetary system with some form of social credit, as a direct agent of exchange, were discussed at one point. Individual homesteads do not necessarily guarantee family stability. Finally, decentralization of society onto small scale agrarian plots may have held a moral superiority during the Jefferson era, but the premise of such has not been proven either logically or historically; physical and economical separations do not necessarily produce a free society. The Broadacre City plan has, however, anticipated several modern urban conditions in several ways. American society has been markedly decentralizing

on its own for several years now, even without counting the traditional urban-suburban flow.[29] The relocation of utility and parking facilities from congested inner-city areas to the urban periphery has been commonly occurring. Lastly, Broadacre City's location of light industry on the grid periphery finds parallels in some modern city outer expressway-industry belts.

Charles-Edouard Jeanneret, popularly known under the nom de plume Le Corbusier, attempted to restructure industrialized society in a series of urban planning developments showing an unprecedented incorporation of the technological advances made during the Post World War I period. Convinced that social unrest resulted from a misdistribution of the benefits of industrial society, Le Corbusier hoped to develop a new society that would not only address the basic needs of man, but that would be industrially efficient in the means of doing so. Physical reorganization of the city would be the fundamental act heralding the beginning of future society.

Jeanneret, born in La-Chaux-de-Fonds, Switzerland in 1881, experienced the industrial revolution first hand, seeing the arts and crafts occupations of his prosperous industrial village become outdated in the light of new advances made in the development of machinery and technology. Educated and skilled as a craftsman, he was influenced greatly by the philosophy of his early mentor, L'Eplattenier, who left with him the belief that "all true art must have as its ultimate aim

the regeneration of society."[30]  As Jeanneret matured, how-
ever, a fascination for the continuing development of tech-
nology and modern architecture began to lure him away from
his arts and crafts heritage.  After an extensive period of
travel, Jeanneret moved to Paris, a city that he felt repre-
sented the detriments of misguided mechanization (it later
became the site for his planning reforms), and began to ex-
plore the basis of modern architecture and rationalism.
Eventually directed to the French engineer Auguste Perret,
Jeanneret became enamored of technological rationalism and
the belief that future developments in technology were the
hope of architecture and society.  Realizing that these
philosophies directly conflicted with those of his first pro-
fessor, L'Eplattenier, he therefore sought to synthesize the
two.  This effort at synthesization begins to explain the
great complexity and dialectic content of all of Jeanneret's
works, especially with regard to the social aspects of the
urban planning schemes he developed.

All individual members of the industrial hierarchical
society Jeanneret developed were entitled to the basic needs
of man in these two levels:  the physical level, needs of sun,
space, and vegetation;  and the cultural level, means of so-
cial interaction, and the ideal type(s) of dwellings for uni-
versal man.  His humanitarian stance seems to have indicated
a synthesis of the philosophies expressed in earlier centuries,
those of the eighteenth century enlightenment philosophers

and the nineteenth century utopian socialists, postulated
as follows,

> "men are all equal, endowed with the same funda-
> mental needs, no matter what their cultural levels;
> because of this, they all have a right to happi-
> ness -- this must be assured by the progress of
> technique, put at the service of the architect..."[31]

Of course, the above mentioned "progress of technique" re-
ferred to the utilization of technology toward beneficient
social ends. Jeanneret began on a small scale his social
architecture with the design of the Maison Dom'Ino, a stan-
dardized, concrete dwelling unit whose unity and balance
became the basis of a new industrial beauty, a new aesthetic-
ism. He intended for the architectural unity of the plan to
express the social unity of the residents, and through crea-
tion of these standardized units he hoped to nullify all so-
cial differences.

Standardization on a much larger scale, however, required
a centralization of authority if, as is evident in the Ville
Contemporaine (a theoretical city for three million people,
1922), the city were to display adequately the efficiency in
distribution of industrial resources made possible by contin-
uing technological developments. The antithesis of Wright's
individualistic democracy, Jeanneret's Ville Contemporaine
exalted a central elite composed of experts in various

industrial fields who would maintain and direct the social order under this industrial hierarchical societal system. This elite resided in centrally-located vertical apartment blocks offering a wealth of personal services and luxury, re-calling to an extent both Fourier's phalanstery concept and Howard's Letchworth cooperative domestic schemes. In this manner, the urban elite would engage in their operative roles, free from social pressures, and would enjoy contact with the whole elite as their social circle. Meanwhile, Jeanneret as-sumed that the proletariat were basically indifferent to any but the fundamental questions of employment and prosperity, and provided for their needs efficiently and with economy. The city plan itself demonstrated a rigorous geometry and logic that celebrated interaction of man, machine, and nature; the basic city existed for the rapid interchange of ideas, in-formation, and talents. The city began to function as a mach-ine, expressing a precise adaption of each organization to its function. By examining man's basic needs and philosophies, then, Jeanneret hoped to ease the tension of social differences through development of an efficient superstructure which was made possible by developments in industrial technology.

Jeanneret had yet to resolve the social tension between individuality and participation in the Ville Contemporaine society; an individual's privilege existed only within the bounds of the collective hierarchical order. Instead, a new ordering system of syndicalism (the takeover of factories by

workers) heightened the efficiency in the means of production and distribution in the VilleRadieuse, developed in 1930. The Ville Radieuse transformed the hierarchical society of the Ville Contemporaine to one of a classless, egalitarian society, with a complex arrangement of city sections in parallel zones. Jeanneret's ultimate expression of basic human needs occurred in this open city concept, as all buildings were elevated on pilotis (columns), leaving open green space (the ground floor) unrestricted in the form of a continuous park. The family residential zones were arranged in a complex pattern in an effort to resolve the conflict between organization and freedom. The overall plan of Ville Radieuse, much like that of Jeanneret's other urban developments, reflected symbolically the social order created by a rigorous geometry and symmetry in zones (organization) but in its final form, no longer relegated to a strict boundary system (freedom). The synthesis of these polemical elements, although not complete, reflects a possible solution to the current social planning dilemma of organization versus freedom.

> "The twentieth century hasn't built for men; it
> has built for money. Jeanneret never dissociated
> town planning from architecture. He saw building
> as essentially a social action aimed at man and
> at the solution of his problems."[32]

In fact, all the utopian or radical planning movements discussed to this point directly dealt with the social issues of planning. Each had clear visions of the detriments to society caused by industrialization. Each planner believed firmly in his authority to organize society and determine the common good. Finally, these planners believed that their actions were well grounded in an ability to perceive truth; that is to say, they directed the proper alignment of society with respect to utopian ideals such as harmony, balance, and order, or even in some cases with a broader, almost cosmic means of guidance. This authority based in a utopian planner's perception of truth transcended simple political means of control in every instance; common people were expected to readily, if not naturally, adapt to the newly expressed social tents developed by the planner, no matter how foreign or radical they might have seemed.

The ability of utopian planners to confidently express

a common good for society, albeit generated from a limited
perspective in most cases, raises questions about the abil-
ity of modern social planners working in more rational ef-
forts to do the same.

America has never been a planned society; goals form-
ulated for the common good would center around certain demo-
cratic ideals, for instance, the maximization of an individ-
ual's opportunity to pursue his own ends. It is under this
democratic system that the concept of social planning has met
with a difficult entry and gradual acceptance, increasing in
necessity as the modern urban problems of congestion, segre-
gation, and deterioration have increased. In the United
States, however, it is doubtful that future social planning
efforts would ever have to be incorporated to the extent they
were in the utopian efforts (ie. total reorganization of
society to solve greatly escalated urban problems), but it
will have to respond to the same basic concerns found in them,
those of improving the quality of life and society, and making
more efficient the delivery of services. Especially important
to present social planning efforts, however, has been a con-
tinuing analysis and awareness of the social implications of
the physical elements and organizations found in model
utopian plans.

Founded in 1923 and deiected by Clarence Stein, the
Regional Planning Association of America set a precedent
in securing the representation of members of a wide variety

of occupational fields for an approach to planning on a much
broader professional base. Of social concern to the RPAA was
the creation of places that would improve the quality of life
of its residents both physically and psychologically. Hous-
ing reform was also stressed, as was the lessening of urban
congestion and the impact of the automobile on American life.

The first new town designed by the RPAA in 1927 was
Radburn, located in the New Jersey suburbs of the New York
City metropolitan area. Notable in the plan is the extensive
use of the "super block" concept, residential cul-de-sac
clusters of housing surrounding central commons. These com-
mons were connected into greenbelt pedestrian ways which lin-
ked the main civic centers; vehicular traffic was relegated
to outer connecting streets, and intersected the pedestrian
ways at a minimum of locations. Segregation of the means of
circulation provided safety for pedestrians and encouraged
social interaction in the greenbelt spaces. Radburn, although
never completed due to the onset of the Great Depression in
1928, became a model planning community, and bestowed upon
Stein his popular title, "the father of American new towns."[33]

Beginning in 1933, Greenbelt Cities were planned under
the direction of the Roosevelt Administration and under the
guise of creating work during the Great Depression. Developed
according to a master plan, showing the influences of the
"Radburn concept" and of Howard's Garden Cities, these towns'
basic purpose was to make a community for families of modest

income that would be protected by an encircling greenbelt.
Unfortunately, all three of these towns stagnated following
withdrawal of government support and funding;  Greendale,
Wisconsin, however, did continue building efforts for quite
some time after formation of a public interest investment
group.  Economic reasons  precluded any real accommodation
of lower-income residents; the basic profit motivation was
realized in the accretion of land values over the original
(low agricultural) prices.[34] Compounding this problem was a
decentralization, away from central city locations, of the
industry.  In effect, the dynamic factor of land sales and
availability of employment worked against a balanced socio-
economic population, a situation to be later encountered
in privately developed new towns.

Interest and support in new town development in the
United States waned until the advent of "Washington: Plan
2000" in 1961, which pinpointed satellite sites around the
Washington, D.C. metropolitan area for urban decongestion
purposes.  Two of these sites were later to be privately
developed, those of Reston, Virginia and Columbia, Maryland.
Both of these new towns had similar characteristics:  resi-
dents with a high median income, professional, white-collar
occupations; an emphasis on leisure activities and facili-
ties; low densities; and, primacy accorded to the automobile
as transportation.  Social planners participated in the
initial stages of development and concentrated on the social
implications of the physical residential areas; the socio-

economic balance of population in Reston was determined
largely by the same economical considerations of land resale
first encountered in the Greenbelt Cities.  The resulting
resident mix, unabashedly upper-middle class, was oriented
mainly toward leisure activites.  Columbia, Maryland devel-
oped by J. Rouse, began much in the same way as Reston, but
later changed its population mix after attracting a General
Electric appliance factory, which hired unskilled workers.
The present residents seemed reluctant to accept such a
large-scale intrusion of unskilled residents into the com-
munity.

> "Large-scale development embracing ambitious
> social, envirnomental, and economic objectives
> is finally part of the American scene, and in my
> opinion, is here to stay",[35]

stated HUD (Department of Housing and Urban Development)
Secretary James Lynn during the hearings on TITLE VII of the
Housing and Urban Development Act of 1970 in May, 1973.
The ambitious social objectives mentioned embodied clearly
stated differences between the new town development and tra-
ditional tract developments, specifically in the creation of
a socially-balanced community and environment that would
foster a better quality of life for its residents.  The
TITLE VII program required that, for the first time, a
social plan and its corresponding goals would act as the

guiding system in the development of this new town. All other disciplines associated with planning, including economic modelling, market analysis, and design, for the first time comprised a technical support system capable of assuring success for the goals of the social plan.

The Woodlands, Texas, one of the more successful of the Title VII new towns to be developed, approached social planning in rather a unique way. George Mitchell, President of the Woodlands Development Corporation, likened the overall planning process to that of a three-legged stool. The three legs in this analogy, symbolizing social, physical, and economical planning, were carefully balanced during the conceptual stages of development, and have resulted in a community organization which is, for the most part, adaptable to change and growth in each of these areas. The town's social plan proposed a total of six villages, each a socially integrated unit providing for the basic needs of its residents. Each of these villages number less than 18,000 in population, that limit creating a more active social integration not unlike a small town social atmosphere. Physical development of these villages has been guided by a sensitivity toward the forest ecology. In general, the social implications of the plan have been well studied; continuing development of social service programs has been left to a professional staff of social workers in the Interfaith Center.

Title VII of the Housing and Urban Development Act

of 1970 does advocate the practice of social planning in a series of broadly stated requirements, which once satisfied, begins the flow of low-interest government loans. Despite these requirements, a great deal of autonomy can be witnessed in the development of overall social plans among the various new town development corporations. This autonomy remains largely unchecked in the case of private new town developments, such as Reston, Virginia and Columbia, Maryland. The point is that, due to the lack of an effective central planning authority, social planning over large scale issues and policies, although now of popular concern, has met with somewhat ambiguous results. The Woodlands, Texas provides a new town model espousing the social concerns of integration, assimilation, and a balanced-employment provision, all having larger beneficial social ends. However, there are just as many privately developed new towns operating solely for economic gain, those including Reston, Virginia, and the somewhat questionably categorized Las Colinas, Texas development, which effectively promote the opposite ends, those of residential segregation, unbalanced-employment provisions, maintenance of social class barriers, and even restricted access. One may find even more disturbing recent governmental interest shown for the creation of Black new towns, or new towns developed solely by a Black power structure, one reluctant to attempt integration into non-minority suburbs or residential areas of the city. Floyd McKissick, of the Congress of Racial Equality,

has recently completed the initial stages for development of Soul City, N.C.; several other Black new towns have been proposed in other areas of the South.  One may seriously question the motivation behind governmental support of new town developments which most probably would result in a total segregation of one societal ethnic group from the remainder of society.

CONCLUSION

The Industrial Revolution had a dramatic impact on nineteenth century society. Utopian efforts struggled against the detrimental effects of industrialization, hoping to reform poor social conditions and bring about a new ideal society not only able to cope with the increasing developments of technology, but to prosper from them as well. In short, utopian planners confidently developed a set of social goals through which society could directly advance, ideally, toward more beneficient ends.

Modern new town developments on the whole, however, have not exhibited nearly the same degree of concern for the social planning processes as have their utopian predecessors. Economic factors have, by and large, been the overriding control in development of modern new towns. While utopian societies obviously did not even closely approach their panacean status, they did attempt to redirect to more humanitarian ends the economic forces, just coming into existence on a large, industrial scale,that were blind to the social needs of man. These same blind economic forces will only continue to increase both the scope and complexity of urban problems if the same effort, minus the utopian label, is not made.

NOTES

[1] Frank E. Manuel and Fritzie P. Manuel, Utopian Thought in the Western World (Cambridge,Mass., the Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1979), p.94.

[2] Manuel and Manuel, p.93.

[3] Manuel and Manuel, p.94.

[4] Manuel and Manuel, p.94. This social practice was restrictive of easy access between married couples so as to stimulate a healthful and vigorous desire within them.

[5] Manuel and Manuel, p.94.

[6] Manuel and Manuel, p.100.

[7] Gideon Golany, New-Town Planning: Principles and Practice (New York, John Wiley & Sons, 1976), p.98.

[8] Clark and Fourastie's theories of social evolution generally indicate that in periods of social transition, especially like that of the Industrial Revolution, social issues and consequent reforms are the most evident and influential.

[9] Manuel and Manuel, p.596.

[10] Manuel and Manuel, p.635.

[11] Manuel and Manuel, p.654.

[12] Manuel and Manuel, p.653.

[13] Kenneth Frampton, Modern Architecture: A Critical History (New York, Oxford University Press, 1980), p.22.

[14] Manuel and Manuel, p.654.

[15]Manuel and Manuel, p.647.

[16]Manuel and Manuel, p.679.

[17]Manuel and Manuel, p.680.

[18]Manuel and Manuel, p.682.

[19]Manuel and Manuel, p.679.

[20]Leonardo Benevolo, History of Modern Architecture, Vol. 1, The Tradition of Modern Architecture (Cambridge, Mass., The M.I.T. Press, 1971), p.150.

[21]Delores Hayden, Seven American Utopias (Cambridge, Mass., The M.I.T. Press, 1976), p.14.

[22]Robert Cowan, "From Garden City to New Town," Town and Country Planning, 46 (Dec., 1978), p.543.

[23]Robert Cowan, "The True Heirs of the Founding Fathers," Town and Country Planning, 46 (Oct., 1978), p.447.

[24]Cowan, "Heirs," p.448.

[25]Cowan, "Heirs," p.447.

[26]Cowan, "Heirs," p.449.

[27]Robert Fishman, Urban Utopias in the Twentieth Century (New York, Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1977), p.129.

[28]Fishman, p.134.

[29]Robert C. Twombly, Frank Lloyd Wright: His Life and His Architecture (New York, John Wiley & Sons, 1979), p.230. America's eight largest metropolitan areas suffered a sharp population decline since 1970, according to the Census Bureau. The nation's growth since 1970 has occurred in metropolitan areas fo fewer than 1,000,000 and in nonmetropolitan counties

smaller than 50,000 inhabitants.

[30]Fishman, p.168.

[31]Francoise Choay, <u>Le</u> <u>Corbusier</u> (The Masters of World Architecture Series, New York, George Braziller, Inc., 1960), p. 19.

[32]Choay, p.18.

[33]Martin Filler, "Planning for a Better World: The Lasting Legacy of Clarence Stein," <u>Architectural</u> <u>Record</u>, 170 (Aug., 1982), p.122.

[34]Albert Mayer, "Green-belt Towns in USA (and new towns)," <u>Town</u> <u>and</u> <u>Country</u> <u>Planning</u>, 37 (Jan.-Feb.,1969), p.37.

[35]Felicia Clark and Todd Lee,AIA, "A Broad Concept of 'Community': What's New about New Towns," <u>Architectural</u> <u>Re-</u><u>cord</u>, 154 (Dec., 1973), p.130.

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