NEW TOWNS AS PART OF URBAN GROWTH

Aspects of land use policies in Finland and the United States

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I. Urbanization in Going On

Urbanized societies represent a new and fundamental step in man's social evolution. Although cities themselves first appeared some 5,500 years ago, they were small and surrounded by an overwhelming majority of rural people. The urbanized societies of today in contrast not only have urban agglomerations of size never before attained, but also have a high proportion of their population concentrated in such agglomerations. For instance, in the United States in 1960, 63% of the nation's population was living in metropolitan areas, and in 1970 this amount increased to about 70%.*

Before 1850 no society could be described as predominantly urbanized, and by 1900 only one - Great Britain - could be so regarded (Figure 1). As this figure indicates, urban population for this period in England and Wales was almost 80%. In the United States it was 40%, while in Japan and Finland it was around 15%.

Today, 70 years later, industrialized countries are highly urbanized. For instance, Japan and Finland, where industrialization and urbanization began at a much later date, have now reached a stage of urbanization between 60-70%. However, the urbanization is still in most cases so recent a phenomenon that most urbanized countries still exhibit the rural origins of their institutions. This has a significant impact on the society as a whole because those traditional institutions do not usually offer the proper tool to manage the problems in urbanized society.†

* Standard metropolitan statistical areas
Industrialized nations underwent a process of urbanization that is typified by the curves shown here for four countries. It was closely related to economic development. The figures for 1950 and 1960 are based on a classification that counts as urban the fringe residents of urbanized areas; that classification was not used for the earlier years shown.

FIGURE 1
Source: Reference No. 1.
The diagram indicating urbanization in Finland was constructed by the author of this paper.
II. Does an Urban Problem Exist?

Some observers share the opinion that an urban problem does not really exist, or that it is exaggerated. They argue that in every case people in developed countries have more money, better housing conditions, and generally a more convenient life than ever before. More numerous however, are the number of observers who share the opinion that throughout the world there exists severe problems which were caused by urbanization.

A. Problems are Different

As a result of history and the present stage of urbanization, problems are however quite different in the various countries. In early urbanized countries, the renewal of old cities has become a central problem. At the same time, these nations are changing from a highly industrialized stage to a post-industrialized society, where population in manufacturing is decreasing and the demand for labor in services is increasing. Nevertheless, even if there occurs this kind of shifting in livelihood structure, the people who are moving into the cities will usually find work.

People are moving out from the inner cities because the disadvantages are greater than the advantages by staying. In many cases this development has resulted in a so-called mushroom agglomeration. The city is growing outward, filling most of the usable land. At the same time planners and administrators are actively discussing guidelines for metropolitan growth. Private versus common interest, the relationship between mass transit and private car, and the possibilities to reshape the urban sprawl with sub-communities or new towns have been the most important topics discussed concerning urbanization problems in developed countries.

The situation in developing countries is, however, quite different. United Nations publications point out that in most cases both rural and urban population is increasing very rapidly (Figure 2). Originally, urbanization in the so-called "developed" countries took place at a time when industry was still very labor intensive. The growth of cities was steady, and immigrants could find work easily. Urbanization in developing countries is going on now when modern industry is more capital than labor intensive. Consequently, this has resulted in an odd situation. Developing nations lack money, but they have plenty of labor. However, people are immigrating into cities which cannot offer proper working possibilities. For instance, the unemployment rate rises to 25-30 percent in the major cities in Latin America while in India it is even higher.2

B. How to Identify Problems

Both in developed and developing countries social scientists and administrators are trying to develop indicators to measure economic, social, and physical conditions in urban and urbanizing areas. The United Nations has taken significant initiatives in this field. Various attempts were made to coordinate the problems and develop guidelines for continuous work in this field.3
RURAL AND URBAN POPULATIONS of several undeveloped countries are compared with those in the currently developed countries at a time when they were undergoing rapid urbanization. It is evident that in the undeveloped countries the rural population is rising in spite of urbanization, whereas in the earlier period it rose slightly or dropped.

FIGURE 2

Source: Reference No. 1
The lack of methods and the inability to estimate existing situations and possible constraints can lead to severe conflicts in the society and can result in far-reaching political difficulties, as for instance, the riots in many of the American cities during the summer of 1967 indicate.
III. Urban Growth Where

A. Urban Renewal - Urban Extension - New Towns

Because urbanization is accepted in most countries as being inevitable and many times even emphasized as a prerequisite to economic and social development, the question then arises where people who are coming into the cities will be located. Usually the cities have expanded into the outskirts. At the same time older cities intensified the land use in inner cities with urban renewal projects. Depending on existing administrative structure, planning tradition and the role of land ownership, urban extension - the growth into the outskirts has taken different forms in different countries. In some countries the problems were so diffuse and complicated that no policies to manage the urban growth could be developed. In these cases, the city regions were growing after market forces in a "natural way". Again, in some countries solutions were developed to resist the "natural growth" or "urban sprawl" and to give the growth form which was considered to be more meaningful. In this connection the concept new town was developed.

B. What are New Towns

The definition of the term "new town" as it appears in the history of urbanization is often inaccurate. Clapp pointed out recently that even the word "city" has never been defined to general satisfaction. Wirth who observed in 1938:

"Despite the preponderant significance of the city in our civilization... our knowledge of the nature of urbanism and process of urbanization is meager. Many attempts have indeed been made to isolate the distinguishing characteristics of urban life. Geographers, historians, economists, and political scientists have incorporated the points of view of their respective disciplines into diverse definitions of the city." 5

New towns, as forms of urbanization, present similar problems of definition. Depending on the situation and the users of the terms, definition may emphasize physical, social, legal or organizational factors. Ebenezer Howard often used the term new town interchangeably with the term "Garden City" and offered a definition which summarizes the major elements of his thesis:

"A Garden City is a town designed for healthy living and industry; at a size that makes possible the full measure of social life but not larger; surrounded by a rural belt; the whole of the land being in public ownership or held in trust for the community." 6

Some additional definitions of new towns exhibit greater detail and more precise requirements. The United Nations Centre for Housing, Building and Planning has recently defined:
"New town is a town planned as a self-contained economic entity, including housing, work-places and service facilities that may be an expansion of an existing village or may be entirely newly constructed. Such new towns were initiated by the British New Towns Acts 1946, 1965 and 1966 and were planned along the Garden City lines recommended by Ebenezer Howard. They have been introduced in other countries including the U.S. as preferable to the uncontrolled spread of existing urban centres and are frequently planned as satellite cities to existing centres."7

Pierre Merlin* defines in his recent article 3 new towns according to three types of locations:

(1) New towns established outside urban regions.

(2) New towns established within the framework of an urban region, but not as a continuation of the urban center.

(3) New towns as a continuation of existing centers.

(1) For this type, Merlin finds examples in those countries where official development policy attempts to assure a balanced development of all regions of the country. In these cases the site most often was chosen for economic reasons and was tied to the availability of raw materials. This kind of location was mainly used in eastern Europe, but also in Western Germany and England.

(2) As examples of new towns established within the framework of an urban region, but not as continuation of the urban center, Merlin mentions the new towns around London, Paris and Randstadt in Holland. In London new towns are located beyond the green belt which was developed in Abercombie master plan for greater London. Some of them are 60 miles from London.

(3) New towns which are continuations of large urban areas are to be found mainly in Scandinavia, as a result of "The Stockholm School of Planning". Here Merlin mentions Stockholm, Copenhagen, and Helsinki. However, this principle was applied in some cases in Holland and Western Germany and also until recently to the Paris region.

Because the land use policies, including new towns, in Scandinavia were in recent years considered to be very advanced, in the following chapter the system of land use planning and administration in Finland, which is very similar to the one in Sweden, will be described. In the last chapter some comparisons between land use policies and administration between Finland and the U.S. will be discussed.

* Pierre Merlin, professor, University of Paris - Vincennes
  Director, Scientific Advisor at the Institute of Development and Urbanism of the Paris Region.
IV. Land Use Planning and Administration in Finland

A. Administration

In Finland there are three levels of administration: local, regional and national level. The administrative systems indicated by the Building and Planning Act are as follows:

1. National Level

After the Planning and Building Act, the supervising and ratifying of land use plans is the matter of national authorities. In the vertical dimension, tasks are divided between the Ministry of Interior on central level, and counties (State District Authorities) on regional level.

In the Ministry of Interior, tasks are divided between Planning and Building Division and National Housing Board. Planning and Building Division is in charge of supervising land use planning on the national level. Connected with Planning and Building Division, the Research and Development Section was founded to develop standards concerning environmental quality to act as guidelines for municipalities.

National Housing Board is in charge of National Housing Programs and supervision of subsidized housing. It also provides standards for subsidized housing and supervises municipal housing programs on the national level.

2. Regional Level

On the regional level, the country is divided into 12 state districts or counties.* The county board includes different sections - for instance, the section for health care, education and land use planning. It acts in a supervisory and regulatory capacity, hears appeals and ratifies decisions made by municipal councils. Land use plans concerning cities must be ratified in the Ministry of Interior, other land use plans are ratified by the County Board. The development in the administration of land use planning is going, however, in the direction used already in Sweden, that all land use plans concerning one municipality will be ratified on county level and only regional land use plans in the Ministry of Interior.

3. Local Level

There are about 500 municipalities in the country, cities included. Local planning is initiated by the municipality itself. Each municipality has a special body, the building commission, for dealing with matters of building and planning. The members of this commission are appointed by the local council. In larger municipalities the building commission is in charge of control of construction only, and a special planning commission is required to handle matters concerning land use.

* Because these districts are geographically larger than, for instance, counties in the U.S., sometimes the definition Province was also used. The definition county is, however, more common, and it will be used here.
Land use plans are prepared by the planning commission and sent through the executive board* to the common council. After approval by the common council, plans must be ratified, to be legally effective, by national authorities in the county board or in the Ministry of Interior.

B. Land Use Planning

1. National Level

There is not yet a land use plan for the whole country. Because many conflicting situations between an expanding economy and other interests arose, it was considered to be necessary to develop a land use plan for the whole country. After the Planning and Building Act, the supervising and ratifying of regional plans is the task of the Ministry of Interior. Therefore, a national land use plan will be developed from the regional plans, which cover the whole country with their 20 regional planning areas. These regional plans will be evaluated and compared with each other in the Ministry of Interior according to population forecastings and goal setting in general. This material will be used to draft a national land use plan.

2. Regional Level

2.1 Background for Planning

The regional policy in Finland has its roots in the unevenness of the geographical distribution of resources, economic activity and population. Although a certain amount of unevenness is found in every country, it is perhaps most disturbing when the territory of the nation is large compared to the number of inhabitants, as is the case with Finland. In addition, Finland being a long north-south country, climatic variations affect strong contrasts in the conditions of vegetation and human life.

The core area of Finland is the south-west corner of the country. It contains the oldest agricultural and urban settlements and has preserved its leading position in farming and industry. The vast areas outside the core area were colonized later. The spread of softwood industries, the large-scale exploiting of mineral wealth and waterfalls are developments which mainly belong to the present century.

The Finnish economy has been dominated by primary industries of a type which today are stagnant, declining, or at best reorganizing. Farming needs less manpower, the traditional combinations farming and forestry or farming and fishing have given way to specialization and mechanization. Mining is no longer a growing industry in terms of labor, nor is the production of hydroelectric power. The softwood industry is rapidly reorganizing and even though production volume is increasing, it does not require more manpower. According to low overall density of population, local markets tend to be very limited outside the core area, and therefore, remote areas will always have fewer people and that means that adequate commercial, social and cultural services will be more expensive to provide within convenient distances for customers.

* which acts usually as coordinator concerning planning on different sectors.
Some statistical facts:

The area of Finland is 130,165 square miles and the population is 4.7 million (1970). Same figures for Michigan are: an area of 56,800 square miles and population of 3.875 million (1970). The percentile growth of population in the sixties for the whole country was 6.0 per mille but 30 per mille in the Helsinki metropolitan region. At the same time, the growth of population in other cities was on the average 20 per mille.

The division of population into the three main occupation groupings has developed as follows:

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2.2 Regional Development Policy

Regional development policy is based on the development described before and is a relatively recent innovation in Finland. The legislation on measures concerning regional development, which passed in 1966, constituted the first efforts to create a genuine regional development policy. The legislation defined the borders of the development regions and divided them into two zones, including tax reliefs and interest subsidies to enterprises investing in these areas.

At the same time, the Regional Development Board, under the Prime Minister's office, was founded to formulate and develop further policies concerning less developed areas. The Regional Development Board includes representatives from the Central Government and from various development regions. In 1969 the Board completed its proposal for a new comprehensive plan for regional economic development policy. The measures suggested were divided into three groups: manpower, enterprise, and community. Most of the Board's proposals have already been embodied in legislation:

- accordingly manpower efforts are being directed towards increasing inter-professional and inter-regional mobility of labor and improvement of vocational training in development regions.

- measures affecting enterprises are intended to improve the regional distribution of productive activities. Tax reliefs are granted to enterprises,
which enjoy this right in the year of acquisition and for nine subsequent years for establishing, expanding or renewing productive capacity as part of fixed assets. The most important of the direct measures applied is the special credit system for development regions. The central government subsidizes interest payable on development regions credits in order to aid firms immediately after their establishment or for a short period subsequent to a major investment project. Thus the credit system, which is applied to the same group of enterprises which enjoy tax reliefs, complements the effects of the latter.

- measures affecting the development of the communities are intended to increase the well-being of the population by providing more diversified services and improving the facilities for education. Although the legislation does not mention separate smaller and bigger centers, a recently finished study points out that industry will be located in cities of 20,000 or more inhabitants. Among other benefits, the supply of labor will be better in larger centers. In addition, the cost of creating and maintaining the infrastructure is relatively less expensive and inhabitants will benefit from this in the form of lower tariffs and tax rates. Because there is a sufficient network of cities of this size, in Finland it was not necessary to develop new towns in connection with a regional development policy.

2.3 Regional Land Use Planning

The legal basis for regional land use planning in Finland is defined in the 1959 Planning and Building Act. After hearings in the municipalities, which are to be included in the regional planning area, Ministry of Interior will order the boundaries for the planning area, sectors which should be paid special attention and also the time in which the plan should be prepared. Such special sectors may be for instance mining, agriculture or tourism depending on geographical situation of the region.

At present, the country is divided into 20 planning regions. In many cases the planning regions coincide with administrative counties (12). In cases where the boundaries of the county deviate from the boundaries of socio-economic regions, the latter has been followed. The municipalities on the area defined are required by law to form a Regional Planning Association. This association has a council in which members are elected from member municipalities in relationship to their population, an executive board, and a necessary staff. About half of the expenses are paid by the National Government and the balance by the included municipalities. After the regional plan is approved by the council of the Regional Planning Association, it must be ratified in the Ministry of Interior.

Taken into account the complexity of regional planning, compared with planning inside one municipality, the regional plan shall be prepared in two stages. After the guidelines set down by the Ministry, regional planning associations must first prepare so-called structure plans for their area where the main features and principles for land use will be determined. So far, such structure plans exist for 13 areas in Southern Finland, comprising
19% of the total area of the country and 54% of the population. Structure plans for the whole country will presumably be ready by 1973. After structure plans have been completed and evaluated in the Ministry of Interior, Regional Plan Associations will continue to develop final plans. Final regional land use plans can be developed in stages so that priority will be given for urgent regulations. It was decided that plans, where boundaries between urbanizing areas, recreational areas, and areas for nature reserves and landscape values are determined shall be prepared first and confirmed by the Ministry of Interior.

The first stage regional plans, the so-called structure plans, have already been of great benefit, for instance, in planning for the amalgamation of small municipalities* in regional socio-economic planning, and in transport and water supply planning. Also these plans have produced the necessary data for comprehensive land use planning in municipalities.

3. Local Level

The way in which municipalities will use land inside their boundaries is primarily left to their own discretion. Municipalities are, however, required by the National Planning and Building Act to develop land use plans and zoning ordinances.

Land use planning on the local level is divided into two sections: (1) comprehensive land use planning (earlier called also Master Planning); and, (2) detailed land use planning.

3.1 Comprehensive Land Use Planning

Comprehensive land use planning includes the economic planning as it relates to land use, planning for different activities (living, working, transport, recreation), and location of these activities. Because comprehensive land use planning is difficult to separate from planning in other sectors (education, health care, etc.), a comprehensive community planning program was developed and land use planning was included in this program.

Municipality five year housing programs were made mandatory after the National Housing Act 1968 in all municipalities with more than 10,000 inhabitants. The main goal of these programs, which are an important part of the comprehensive community planning, is to serve as a tool so that "sufficient amount of dwellings of the right size will be built at the right time on the right place." Programs include both subsidized and privately constructed dwellings.** These programs have turned out to be very useful. In this respect municipalities are required to make realistic plans for short periods (5 years) to include land acquisition, drainage, streets, lighting, etc.

* To achieve a reasonable population basis in each municipality for education and health care, the amount of municipalities is supposed to be reduced from about 500 to about 300.

** Housing production in Finland in recent years has been about 50,000 units per year, about half of which was subsidized by the states.
If the municipality can point out with its comprehensive land use plan that there will not be enough land for housing construction at suitable places, the National Government can give the municipality the right to acquire land with eminent domain. The municipality must pay, however, for the property according to local market prices. Until now eminent domain power was used rather seldom, while municipalities could acquire land for housing with voluntary sales.

3.2 Detailed Land Use Planning

As mentioned before, detailed land use planning is the matter of the local building commission or planning commission. Two main goals for the detailed land use planning are:

(1) control of environmental quality;

(2) equality in advantages and disadvantages caused by the planning.

Because the plans must be ratified by the National authorities, standards and guidelines developed by these agencies must be taken into account. In this connection, special feedback systems are on the way to being developed. People who were already living in new dwelling areas for some years will be asked which components in the environment they appreciate and which are disturbing to them. This is intended to be a way of monitoring how attitudes and values are changing and gain relevant information into planning process.

The principle of equality means that property owners who could not use their property, for instance, because of highway or open space project will be compensated by the municipality and property owners who are specially well-located and hence to this will have right for effective land use will be taxed after this right.

C. New Towns in Context of Land Use Planning and Administration in Finland

1. National Level

As mentioned before, because of the existing network of cities around the country it was not necessary to create new towns in Finland in connection with a regional development policy. Policies were, however, developed to revitalize already existing cities in the depressed areas.

2. New Towns in the Helsinki Metropolitan Region

New Town development in Finland is focused on the Helsinki metropolitan region, where they are used as tools to shape urban growth in connection with regional planning. The Helsinki metropolitan area* is one of the 20 regional

* The total population of this area is about 300,000, and it is supposed to be 1.4 million in 2000.
planning areas in the country. In the Regional Planning Association are all thirteen municipalities of this area as members. The largest municipalities according to population are the City of Helsinki, City of Espoo and Vantaa Borough. In the city of Espoo there are four new towns under construction (Figure 3). Tapiola, which is already completed in the core area is one of them. In Vantaa Borough there are two new towns under construction. Each of these new communities is intended to serve 50,000 to 60,000 people.

The main goal of metropolitan planning was to develop a so-called "five finger" plan. Each one of these five corridors shall maintain a rapid transit system which their centers will be connected to the downtown of Helsinki. Two corridors are served by an electrical railway system. In a third corridor a new electrical railway is presently under construction. Along the coast, east and west from downtown, an underground railway line will be constructed. The eastern section has been under construction since 1970 and should be finished by 1978.10

3. Tapiola

Although the general background as it concerns urban growth policy and public administration in the case of Tapiola is similar to other new towns in the Helsinki region, its operative background is different. Usually new towns in the Helsinki region were planned and developed by the municipalities where they were located. Tapiola was created by a private non-profit organization called Asunto säätiö (the Housing Foundation). In 1951 Asunto säätiö bought 670 acres of land - the then-rural municipality of Espoo. This area was situated about five miles from downtown Helsinki. It was during this time that the immigration from other parts of the country to Helsinki began, and also families that were living in the city of Helsinki began to move out. Rural municipality of Espoo, which at the beginning of 1972 became a city and where Tapiola is situated about in the same way as Columbia new town in Howard County, was not yet very developed as regards planning. It was therefore that Asunto säätiö developed the land use plans for Tapiola. These plans were approved by the municipality council in Espoo and still ratified by the National authorities, as described before. Asunto säätiö was responsible together with State Housing Authorities for financing of houses with different loan programs. The construction of streets, water supply, sewage, street lighting and parks was also the responsibility of the Asunto säätiö.

The population within the inner area of Tapiola as planned and built by Asunto säätiö is 16,000 and there are at present about 3,000 working places. In the comprehensive land use plan for the city of Espoo, where four new towns are now under construction (Figure 3), Tapiola being one of them, is planned to be the center for 60,000 people, which is about one quarter of the total population estimated to live in the year 2000 in the city of Espoo. At the moment the population of this area is about 35,000.11
Alternative models for Helsinki metropolitan region.
No. 3 "Five Finger Plan"
Source: Vantaa Borough Comprehensive Land Use Plan 1968
The goal of Asunto säätiö was to "create a town for everyone, a town in which different social groups could work and live in harmony together." At the beginning this goal was also reached because a remarkable part of housing production was subsidized by the National Government and these loans were again available for moderate and lower income groups. According to the efforts of Asunto säätiö and its favorable situation in the region, Tapiola is appreciated as a place to live, compared with other parts of the region where land prices, and prices of dwellings, are now higher than in other new towns. According to these tendencies, a recently published study pointed out that Tapiola is becoming a living place for people with "masters degree".
V. Land Use Planning and Administration in the United States

A. Administration

Because legislation concerning land use in the United States is permissive, while in Finland it is mandatory, the administration is principally different. In Finland the administration is applied on all three levels, local - regional - national. In the United States administration is focused mainly on the local level.

1. National Level

Administrative function on federal level was developed in connection with different housing and community development programs. The essence of the system of urban programs administration is indicated in the term "creative federalism". In this connection, it was pointed out that opportunities for creativeness were vastly multiplied when control is decentralized instead of central control. On this basis citizen participation was developed.

Furthermore, American heritage and political philosophy emphasize the desire to keep governmental authority close to the people. These considerations seem to be instrumental in creating the operation of urban programs approved by the Federal Administration.

2. State Level

On the state level, the background for administration is much the same as with the federal level. Furthermore, states have been without some of the exemptions aside from land use programs and their administration.

Recently, most states have begun to develop special land use and housing agencies. One reason for doing so was the observation that in many parts of the country problems were so difficult that a special link between Federal and Local level was necessary. The New York State Housing Authority was created in 1939 and New York State Development Corporation in 1969. In Michigan, the State Housing Development Corporation was founded in 1965, and in 1971 the Governors Special Land Use Commission prepared recommendations for comprehensive land use policies and administration in Michigan.

3. Regional Level

Federal programs require comprehensive regional planning as a precondition in receipt of federal grants by local governments on metropolitan area. Councils of governments have in this way some kind of administrative function to serve as clearing house between local and federal levels.*

*Here shall be mentioned "the clearings house function after" the Federal Bureau of Budget circular A-95, dated July 24, 1969. This circular sought to establish a network of state, regional and metropolitan planning and development clearing houses to receive and disseminate information about proposed projects; to coordinate applicants for Federal assistance; to act as a liaison between federal agencies contemplating Federal development projects and to perform the evaluation of the state, regional or metropolitan significance of Federal or Federally assisted projects.
However, this administrative function seems to be difficult as participation in the council of governments has not been made mandatory. It seems that "carrots", served by the Federal Government in the form of supplement assistance to municipalities, if they participate in regional planning, are not attractive enough.

4. Local Level

After state laws, which permit the land use planning in municipalities, the administration remains on local level. The Planning Commission, which usually does not respond the political structure of the Common Council and which is usually appointed by the Mayor, is in charge of land use planning. Zoning plans and ordinances must be, however, approved by common council. In Detroit, for instance, the City Plan Commission consists of nine members: an architect, a civil engineer, a structural engineer, a real estate dealer, a builder, an attorney, a physician, and two lay members.

B. Land Use Planning in the United States

1. National Level

Even if the national land use and urban growth policies were discussed in recent years in the United States, they do not yet exist. The actions concerning land use and housing have been program oriented on the federal level. This means that even if there exist many federal programs, the initiative is the matter of local municipalities. The federal programs can be divided into two categories: (1) low and moderate income housing programs; and, (2) community development programs. In absence of an overall national land use policy, the federal programs concerning community development will be briefly summarized here.

Except for a short time when a national planning agency existed in the 1930's and early 1940's, the United States has not had, until 1965, a single department in the executive branch responsible for federal programs dealing with urban communities or regions. In 1965 the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) was established to "combine all federal efforts to improve urban living".

As early as 1892 the United States Congress appropriated funds to study the problems of slums. It was not until the mid-1930's, however, that the low income public housing program provided federal subsidies for housing projects to eliminate the existing substandard housing. Shortly before this, in 1934, the Congress, as a result of the Great Depression, created a national program of housing mortgage insurance to increase the availability of housing mortgage money and to increase home ownership.

In 1937 the National Resources Committee* completed the first broad public study of national urban problems containing analyses and recommendations

* National Resources Committee, Our Cities, Their Role in the Economy, 1937. National Resources Committee was replaced by the National Resources Planning Board.
that later formed the basis for additional federal actions on urban matters after the second World War. The Housing Act of 1949 introduced the next important federal urban program. This act provided aid to cities for slum clearance and urban redevelopment. The concept of slum clearance and urban redevelopment was broadened and renamed by legislative amendments in 1954. The 1954 Act embraced the objectives of preventing slums and rehabilitating blighted areas. Furthermore, it established a new program to help state, metropolitan regions, and cities to prepare and maintain comprehensive plans for urban growth and development.* These comprehensive plans are also considered workable programs for meeting municipalities' overall problems of slums, blight and community development. In addition, these programs are prerequisites for federal money for housing.12

After 1965 when HUD was founded, some significant new programs were established. The model cities program, authorized by the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966 was designed "to help selected cities plan, administer and carry out comprehensive and coordinated physical and social programs to improve the environment and the general welfare of people living in slums and blighted areas." This program seeks to bring about the most effective and economical coordination of federal, state, local and private efforts.**

The 1968 Housing and Urban Development Act authorized a new method of carrying out urban renewal called Neighborhood Development Program (NDP). This program is intended to supplement the conventional 1949 and 1954 programs. It is more flexible and can be used in smaller units. The workable program which was mentioned before is required, however, here too.

Since 1967 several interesting reports concerning land use policies and housing were completed.*** The 1968 Housing and Urban Development Act brought three new elements into the federal legislation:

* Most housing renewal projects in Detroit are based on the 1949 and 1954 Acts.

** There are at the moment eight Model Cities Programs running in Michigan, and they bring into the State yearly about $34 million in federal money.

- It set a ten year housing production target at 26 million units, including 6 million to be supplied under the subsidy programs.

- It directed HUD to prepare an annual housing report detailing progress toward this goal and serving as a basis for more national legislative action.*

- It established a new program to encourage private development of entire new communities through the guarantee of bonds or other obligations issued by developers to finance the cost of acquiring and developing land for new communities.**

1968-1970 was a time for lively discussions concerning urban growth policies. In 1969 the National Committee on Urban Growth Policy recommended a new federal program aimed at the construction of 100 new towns for population of 100,000 each, and ten new cities of a million each. The committee report was remarkable in that it was set up under the sponsorship of major urban political interest groups - the National Association of Counties, the National League of Cities, the United States Conference of Mayors, and Urban America, Inc.

The 1970 Housing and Urban Development Act under the Title VII, The Urban Growth and New Community Development Act, states that it is the matter of the Congress to develop a national urban growth policy. Such a policy, according to the Act, should contain provisions for the following major components:13

1. patterns of urbanization and economic development offering a range of alternative locations from large metropolitan areas through small urban regions

2. economic strength of all locales - central cities, suburbs, small communities, and rural areas

3. reversal of any migration and physical growth patterns that reinforce disparities among regions

4. comprehensive treatment of poverty and employment problems which are associated with disorderly urbanization and rural decline

5. good housing for all of the population

6. definition of federal governments role in revitalizing existing communities and encouraging planned, large-scale urban and new community development

*The third annual report on National Housing Goals, pursuant to the provisions of section 1603 of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968 was held out to the International Fellows when they visited HUD in Washington in February, 1972.

**The 1965 Housing Act provided mortgage insurance for financing needed to acquire and develop land for new communities.
(7) stronger governmental institutions to insure balanced urban growth and stabilization

(8) federal program coordination to encourage desirable urban growth patterns, prudent natural resource use, and protection of the physical environment.

This act also sets down the President's responsibility, "to transmit to the Congress, during the month of February in every even-numbered year beginning with 1972, a report on Urban Growth for the preceding two calendar years which shall include (in addition to information about the state of urban development) recommendations for programs and policies to carry out such a policy..."

After the 1970 Housing and Urban Development Act it can be said that the actions concerning land use on the federal level have been changed from program oriented to policy oriented actions.

2. State Level

In Michigan the Executive Office of State Government, the Office of Planning, Programming and Budgeting is responsible for planning in different sectors. Programs concerning land use planning and administration have been few on the state level.

Two important programs shall be mentioned here:

(1) Michigan State Housing Development Authority
(2) Governor's Special Commission on Land Use, 1971.

(1) The Michigan legislature passed in 1967 a bill concerning State Housing Development Authority. The Authority is organized as an institution with state aid jurisdiction and has implemented revenue bond financing for housing development. The Authority has advanced three basic objectives - to produce more housing, to place housing of good design in a quality environment, and to articulate the effect of broad economic and governmental issues on housing and community development.

(2) The governor's Special Commission on Land Use, 1971, made the following recommendations for land management especially in areas of environmental protection, critical areas land use, and housing development:

1. a land use agency be created to provide a comprehensive review of all state land use programs.
2. the state develop, adopt and map open space districts.

*In addition to these, Governor Romney in December, 1966 appointed a Special Commission on Urban Problems.
3. legislation be enacted which places the responsibility on all counties to prepare and adopt comprehensive land use plans. The legislation should further require that these plans be approved by the state upon the determination that the plan properly protects state designated land uses and adheres to state land use policies.

4. the state land use agency be required to review all state programs that impact upon state land use policy and to transmit its recommendations to the Governor and to the appropriate department. This agency should further be responsible for the development of guidelines for major state investments which influence evolving land use patterns.

5. enforcement of state and local laws be strengthened.

6. the present property tax law be modified to reflect use-value assessment rather than potential value assessment.

7. there be a shift from local property taxes as the major source of local government revenue.

8. the legislature broaden the authority of existing state agencies to designate and control development in areas with unique natural characteristics.

9. the state develop an inventory of significant mineral deposits and include consideration of these areas in the state land use policy.

10. a state-designated solid waste management plan be developed, and the proposed open space districting authority be used to provide for the sites recommended in this plan.

11. the Michigan State Housing Development Authority be expanded by legislation. This should include the authority to develop commercial, industrial and office facilities and the supporting infrastructure for these facilities where they are elements of a housing program or new town development.

12. the state initiate an immediate review program of all major land sales including those that do not fall under existing subdivision regulations. It is further recommended that the state adopt a land sales act to regulate the sale of land within real estate developments.

It is interesting to notice that many of these recommendations are very similar to those guidelines which were enacted in the Planning and Building Act of 1959 in Finland. This is the case especially concerning guidelines and priorities for the large-scale planning (regional planning) and the
extension of control on county and state level.* The recommendations concerning the Michigan State Housing Development Authority would bring this Authority on State level very close to those functions which the National Housing Board has in Finland as it regards the formulation of overall national housing policy.

3. Regional Level

Regional planning differs principally in extent and methods between the United States and most European countries. Regional planning in the United States is mainly focused on the growing metropolitan regions. In Finland again the whole country is divided into planning regions.** This means that at the same time the problems in the depressed areas and in the growth areas will be taken into consideration.

In the United States the opinion is usually expressed that the industry knows better than the planners or administrators do, where it should be located. Even if the industry is given the priority to locate themselves after their own decisions, the problems of the areas where people are emigrating from, should be studied in the same context. Here, however, it must be said that after the Scandinavian experience it seems to be rather difficult to get the industry to locate themselves in depressed areas even if there are special advantages, created by national government. This is especially the case in Scandinavia where most international activities point to the south. In the United States, the Appalachian Regional Commission under the guidance of the Economic Development Administration has been working since 1965 after principles similar to regional planning policies in Finland. Using a growth center strategy it attempted to mobilize development infrastructure, concentrate human resources development programs and upgrade and improve access to improved public services. Programs and operations concerning this area are, however, rather fragmentary, taking into account the huge territory of the United States.

In the United States the most discussed issue connected with planning on a regional level has been regionalism or regionalization. George Romney, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, is the foremost exponent of this approach. It is the task of HUD to look after those programs financed by federal money to see that they do not contribute to racial or income polarization. Regionalism would mean more balanced housing between wealthy and poor in center cities and suburbs. This would contribute to integrated schools and make the very uncomfortable issue of bussing unnecessary. A

* and which are in Finland placed in the Planning and Building Division in the Ministry of Interior and in County Boards. In Michigan a Special State Land Use Agency and County Planning Boards should be in charge of them.

**so that the priority was given to socio-economic regions instead of statistical or traditional administrative boundaries.
prerequisite for this kind of solution should be tax reform which would make the cities more independent of property tax. Regional government, based on mandatory legislation, is considered to be an inevitable tool for regionalization, but so far only a few regional governments exist in the United States.

After the 1970 census in the United States there were 233 SMSA areas and most of them had some type of councils of governments. In Michigan, regional planning began with the Detroit Metropolitan Area Regional Planning Commission in 1947. The Detroit Metropolitan Area Traffic Study (DMATS) 1953-54 was the first large-scale effort to analyze the relationships between the characteristics of people, their travel behavior and the land use. The Detroit Regional Transportation and Land Use Study (TALUS) grew out of recommendations by a special Mayor's Committee on Transportation, commissioned in 1963 by Detroit Mayor Jerome P. Cavanagh. The TALUS study began in 1965 and was published by TALUS in late 1969 under the title: "The Preliminary Plan for Southeast Michigan in 1990".

The 1967 State Legislature passed the laws concerning the council of governments and Metropolitan Transportation Authorities (SEMTA). SEMTA's mandate is to acquire, consolidate, modernize and operate a regional bus system and build and operate a regional rapid transit system in the six counties of southeastern Michigan.

Southeast Michigan Council of Governments (SEMCOG) was initiated to provide a system of improved service in regional affairs through coordination and cooperation of existing units. Legislation concerning SEMCOG, however, is permissive, and only about 1/3 of the 375 governmental units in the area have joined SEMCOG until now. The membership in council of governments is a prerequisite to get federal money through different programs. It seems, however, that for the wealthier cities the total autonomy to decide their matters is more important than to get some ten thousand dollars of cheap money. This situation may be considerably changed if the Governor's Land Use Commission's recommendations are enacted into legislation. However, more powerful coordination will be needed in regional planning to get better relationships in land use plans between different units. There is really not much use of "master plans" if the situation is like what Francis Bennett, Director for the Wayne County Planning Commission, said recently:15 "There are 43 planning agencies in the county. Each one has a zoning ordinance and a master plan, but they are all in conflict."

The role of the county in land use planning is somewhat unclear. It is located between regional and local planning level. Usually regions contain several counties and therefore it is more effective to locate regional planning and clearinghouse functions concerning Federal and State programs in council of governments. This presupposes, however, a more powerful status for council of governments than at present. Wayne County Planning Commission has prepared, on a voluntary basis, extensive background studies for land use planning in municipalities inside the county, but so far the members have not been very willing to use these recommendations.
4. Local Level

Land use planning on the local level can also in the United States be divided into comprehensive and detailed planning. As mentioned in connection with administration, the main difference is in the fact that land use plans in Finland must be confirmed by the national authorities on regional or central level. In the United States plans are approved by the local council. This has an impact on the planning in the way that standards and guidelines for the planning are formulated on the local level and they can vary in large scale. Even if the state legislation concerning land use planning is permissive, practically all municipalities do have, however, zoning plans and zoning ordinances.

4.1 Comprehensive Land Use Planning

The beginnings in the United States for the comprehensive land use planning or master planning can be found as a result of different Federal programs which require usually comprehensiveness in local planning as prerequisite for federal aid.* Advanced regional planning can be considered to be a prerequisite for effective comprehensive planning in a municipality. This is before all the case in the United States where the governmental structure is very fragmentary in the metropolitan regions. According to the permissive character of legislation the work of council of governments concerning regional planning has been rather ineffective. As a result, examples of advanced comprehensive land use planning or framework planning can be found only in some greater cities.

4.2 Detailed Land Use Planning

Detailed land use planning consists of the preparing of zoning plans and zoning ordinances. In this connection different bonus systems were developed to get the developers interested in environmental aspects. In New York this system was used effectively to create plazas and arcades on privately owned land for public use.

So far it is unclear where the standards for detailed planning should be worked out; on local, county, regional or state level. Taking into account the abundance of local officials, and their often limited capacities in this field, research and development of guidelines concerning environmental quality should be prepared on state or federal level where larger overlook and experience should be a great advantage. HUD has also recently established an office for community goals and standards. As example of need for clearer guidelines for detailed planning can be mentioned here that HUD recently stopped the construction of a public housing project close to the Detroit Metropolitan Airport because the area was affected by unacceptable noise.

* The National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 requires Federal agencies to make environmental analyses and evaluations of projects granted with Federal money.
C. New Towns in Context of Land Use Planning and Administration in the United States

1. National Level

New Towns were mentioned many times in recent years when land use policies on the national level were discussed. Even if some new towns are already realized and many are under construction, it is not yet clear where and in which way new towns should be used as tools to guide urban growth. HUD made a list in 1969 of 63 developments which could be called new towns. Another list made by James A. Clapp brings together 130 developments each 1000 acres or more, which are proposed or under development.*17

Even if the 1965 and 1968 Acts provided financial aid to developers to create new communities, they did not stipulate special locations for new towns. As a result, developers bought land according to their own calculations which were thought to be the most potential areas to sell houses. This in part contributed the fast growth in Southwest and Southeast and in existing large metropolitan regions. In connection with the 1970 Housing and Urban Development Act the first discussion of Alternative Forms of Future Urban Growth in the United States was begun.

Keeping in mind the American tradition in appreciating the private initiative and priority for economic growth, it will be interesting to see which alternatives will be chosen. Basically there are two directions: the present trend, with continuous concentration which contributes to economic growth, will continue or a more balanced alternative will be chosen which takes into account also the societal needs of the nation as a whole.

2. New Town Proposals on Detroit Metropolitan Region

2.1 Population Growth

The Michigan population change between 1960 and 1970 census was 13.4 percent.** This was slightly above the national average which was 13.3 percent. From Michigan's 83 counties 13 lost population during the period. All but one were Upper Peninsula counties. The Upper Peninsula's share of State's population was reduced to 3.4 from 3.9 percent in 1960. At the same time, the Detroit SMSA's share of total state population was 47.3 percent and SEMCOG area share about 53%. Population density per square mile in the Upper Peninsula was 17.9 versus 207.7 in the Lower Peninsula. In 1970, 44 Michigan cities had populations exceeding 25,000. However, between 1960 and 1970, 15 of these communities experienced declines in the number of residents. The number of SMSA areas in Michigan is eleven.

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* Tapiola was originally 670 acres.

Changes in population between metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas during the above mentioned period were not remarkable. Changes between metropolitan central cities and metropolitan area suburbs were similar to national trend, indicating that suburbs are growing and central cities declining (Figure 4). The share of metropolitan suburbs in Michigan was roughly 2/3 of the total metropolitan area population, while the national average was about 1/2, exceeding for the first time in 1970 census 50 percent.

Last November the U.S. Bureau of the Census reported that the national fertility rate had dropped significantly. This notion has remarkable impact on planning also in the SEMCOG area. It required a substantial revision of TALUS 1990 study. New forecasts dropped total population growth estimates in the 1970-90 period from 2.2 million to 1.3 million.

2.2 New Town Proposals

For the Detroit metropolitan region, three different land use studies were completed in recent years, in which the role of new town as part of urban growth was being discussed.

(1) Talus-Semcog Preliminary Plan for Southeast Michigan was published in 1969.19

(2) 1971 Metropolitan Fund published the paired new town study which was based on the Talus-Semcog Study.20

(3) Doxiadis Study was finished in 1969.21

All these plans were based on the population forecastings made in connection with the Talus Study 1965-69 and where the total population growth was estimated for the seven county area in the 1970-90 period as 2.2 million. Concerning urban growth it was the question how this growth should be located in the region.

(1) In the Talus Study, which was begun in 1965, five alternative plans were developed:

(1.1) present trend with urban sprawl will continue.

(1.2) present trend will be modified where modest degree of governmental intervention and sewer, water, and transportation policies will be used to influence more rational patterns of regional growth and development.

(1.3) development in new areas in a linear corridor system.

(1.4) development of new towns or metro centers on outlying areas as patterns of growth.

(1.5) the fifth alternative was called new directions. It would reverse current patterns "turn everything around" revitalize and recentralize activity, increase residential density and increase the proportion of households in multiple housing. Through a highly
CHART II

Metropolitan* and Nonmetropolitan Shares of Michigan's Population:
1960 and 1970

1960

- Metropolitan Areas Excluding Central Cities: 42.8%
- Nonmetropolitan Areas: 23.8%
- Metropolitan Central Cities: 33.4%

1970

- Metropolitan Areas Excluding Central Cities: 48.9%
- Metropolitan Central Cities: 27.8%

* Metropolitan is defined as Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA).

Source: Executive Office. Calculated from data provided by U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

Figure 4.
Source: Reference No. 18.
structured and rational pattern of growth and development will be expected to achieve improvement in environmental quality, preserve needed agricultural and recreational lands and provide a better opportunity for a viable public transportation system.

(2) The Metropolitan Fund Study: "A Paired Community in Southeast Michigan" was based on the fourth alternative of TALUS Study. The idea was to avoid these critical points where new towns as solution for urban growth in the United States usually were criticized. Most common of the arguments are: new towns will not solve the problems of central cities, they will divert money from the central cities and/or they will house only upper income or maybe only white people.

In program objectives it was described as goal, the development of a pair of socially and economically balanced residential communities incorporating approximately 100,000 population, 25,000 in the in-town component and 75,000 in the out-town component. Each of these communities should be organized around a series of environmental areas. Each area should respond to the ecological conditions of the site, including a balanced population and provide related and innovative local services. For the in-town component 9 different alternative locations and for the out-town 10 possible locations (Figure 5) were chosen as well. The Paired New Town proposal was discussed from the physical, economical, social and governmental points of view. Although this idea is surely more relevant, to try to resolve problems of urban America* it still leaves many questions unanswered. The incorporation of new in-town and out-town elements into already very fragmentary municipality structure on the region can result in a more complicated and diffuse situation. A more realistic way should be to try to build paired communities inside existing governmental structure so that out-town component would be formed of an existing suburban community. With the same financial aid as was proposed for a new town it would not be impossible to create social, racial and economic balance in an existing suburban community. In other words, this means that ways should be studied concerning how to open the suburbs to moderate and low income people. The transportation connection between out-town and in-town component is also vague. Furthermore, if out-town components are aimed at shaping the "metropolitan field", their location according to an existing railway system and to the location of a proposed rapid transit system should be of more consequence.

The Doxiadis Study was begun in 1965, and it was published in three volumes, the last one in 1970.

In volume 1: Analyses, the geographic area of the study is defined and analyzed and then put into context with other larger areas.

In volume 2: Future Alternatives trends are identified and deficient growth patterns are pointed out that would result unless steps are taken to better the structure of the environment. This phase develops a methodology

* as new town quite separate from central city.
Figure 5 - Possible location of a new town after Metropolitan Fund study.
for arriving at alternative solutions. Through the use of mathematical simulation models, a process of elimination of the less desirable options results in one alternative which is considered to be the best one.

In volume 3: A Concept for Future Development the selected alternative is elaborated.

The main argument in the Doxiadis Study is that if the growth continues on the existing six corridors which are radiating from the CBD it will result in unresolvable congestion in the central city.

Consideration of five possible values for each of eleven basic parameters of the urban system combined in all possible ways resulted in 49 million alternative systems of organization for comparison. These parameters refer to the size of population, maximum desirable population densities, configuration of transportation networks, speeds and maximum travel time on these networks as well as location of major functions such as urban centers, major educational and research centers, industrial poles, ports and airports. In order to reduce the 49 million alternatives to the most desirable one, the Isolation of Dimensions and Elimination of Alternatives (IDEA) method was used.

After six different stages of critical evaluation Doxiadis comes to 40 alternatives. After this criteria related to the ekistics elements: Nature, man, society, shells and networks were used to reduce the 40 alternatives to 7.

After an approximate estimate of development cost and definition of transportation characteristics for each of the seven alternatives they were evaluated once again, resulting into alternative 120, as the best development pattern for the future UDA (Urban Detroit Area).* This alternative results in two major developments in the region: Besides existing downtown area a new metropolitan area is proposed on the St. Clair River in the vicinity of St. Clair.

The Doxiadis Study, volume one, contains much interesting information. In the case of volume two, the evaluation of the IDEA method (the Isolation of Dimensions and Elimination of Alternatives) and its possible relevance to analyze metropolitan problems in broader scale, should be an interesting headline for another study. Today when more and more the opinion is being expressed that the earth is a "space capsule" with limited resources, the effort to find solutions for local problems on the basis of a world wide analysis is notable even if the practical results are smaller. It is, however, this universality which is the weakness of the Doxiadis Study to be relevant enough in the complex urban situation in Detroit. Diverting too much capacity, the proposed new city on the St. Clair River would hardly resolve the problems of the existing central city. The proposal is even more unrealistic in the light of the new reduced population forecastings for the region.

*Doxiadis definition for UDA: The Area of Immediate Urban Influence of Detroit. It can be considered to represent the Daily Urban System of Detroit. It extends over an area with a radius of about 85 miles from the city and includes 25 counties in Michigan, 9 in Ohio and 3 in Canada. The area covered is 23,059 square miles.
Conclusions

Traditional background of land use planning in Finland and the United States is different. In Finland, administration has always been centralized and accordingly legislation has been mandatory. Municipalities are required to prepare land use plans, with the details for those plans left to the matter municipalities themselves. Land use planning has also been an integral part of common municipal policy, because the planning commission was selected according to political structure of common council.

In the United States, according to different historical development, land use planning was considered to be an intervention into the citizens private sphere and therefore legislation was permissive in character: municipalities may be involved in land use planning but they are not required to do so. Also, until recently land use planning was not an integral part of municipal policy because in many cases the planning commission was independent from central government.

When possibilities in land use planning and new town development are studied against this background, it can easily be noticed that with the administration system used in Finland, which is common in other Scandinavian countries and which is appreciative of the common good before private privilege, results can be more easily reached.

The decentralization of decision making and "Creative Federalism" used in the U.S. have some significant values. Cities in the U.S. have, however, grown too large to solve the emerging problems with their traditional way of administration. Even if the growth of existing metropolitan regions should be controlled with a national urban growth policy and redistribution of urban population into more balanced network of cities on the national scale, the coordination of a very fragmentary decision making process will be necessary. Signs of this kind of development can be found in several reports published recently. As a result of this "new thinking" land use policies are also shifting from program oriented to policy oriented. Here it must be noticed, however, that at the same time in Scandinavia surveys are being made to decentralize the decision making which in its current conception is considered to be too centralized and not responsive to the idea of a modern democracy. Halfway between common and private interest seems to be a difficult question.

Because it seems that urban problems in the U.S. are throughout confronted with the racial component it is inconceivable that the problems could be resolved with a more centralized decision making process. It seems also that new towns alone will not resolve the problems. To prevent the polarization and reach economical and racial balance at the same time the problems of central cities, possibilities to renew the administration and taxation should be studied at the regional scale. Even if the Scandinavian experience does not directly offer a model for solution for the situation in the United States, it offers valuable details to be studied.

The United States has great potential of knowledge to be accumulated in research centers and universities. Instead of such partial issues as new towns and mass transit, this potential should be conducted in more interdisciplinary discussions and approaches as how to optimize the human resources.
List of References


3. For instance:


List of References (continued)

17. Ibid., p. 4.


