

Sawtooth supply curve
let-down, by "easy" steps,
may apply to suburban land
prices, too - via. cap. gain tax,
other measures, discouraging sales.

Also, FHA in housing.
Pvt. credit wd. have pulled back
sooner

Also, large-lot zoning.
and all "safeguards"

Numbers:

Greensboro - 125k pop, area for 600k. Esurf.

Mortgage debt - \$1,436, 9-57. Annual % Δ , ~~14%~~ ^{14%}, '45-56; of ~~9%~~ ^{9%}, '20-'30

% of inv. in const.; & in ~~road~~ xptn - utility network const. Much depends on how define yr terms, ~~the~~ work from several sources, define differently.

No exact figs open to go: 1290 N.Y.

New const. '56, \$446, (MLR) Pvt, 31; Public, 13.

Resid	15	
Non-resid	9	4
P.U.	5	
Hwy		5
Mil.		1.4
Sewer & Water		1.3

Producers Durable eq., prt., 29 (no overlap) (much depends on const. & xptn) ($\frac{1}{2}$)

New autos & trucks 140

Vacant lots: 13m, (or 2190)

Downtown ^{not saturated:} 84 postwar Manhattan bldgs, over $\frac{1}{2}$ US postwar A.

Bay Area: PBH & McD. Room for 22-31 m pop.

W Rens Bd, 15% suitable area used.

San Mateo Bayside, 75%; Ala, 62%. Alta Clara, 86% - 155,000 acres total suitable, of 129,000 used all Bay Area, net of streets.

Auto: 80% outside incorp areas, '54-56.

1. Prospects resid. constr.?
 Still housing shortage - demand. & 15% before 1930, almost 30% old.
 1. Land
 2. Restrict local govt - Fed govt fights to encourage hsg, they v.v.
 3. Tight money - only one change.
 4. Xpense cost

2. Importance resid. constr.

Leverage effect. Indep. value. ^{generates more spending.} Hand-to-mouth.
 Change of a few billion here, much diff. Also induced inv., bldg supplies
 also commercial ind-l constr., add all together big figure. Big
 variability - most unstable element.
 Industrial constr., also hampered by site-shortage... all tied up by "for expansion"
 by firms that don't expand.

3. Easy money.

Small change. FR come down, but Vets going up, for pvt. funds not forthcoming.
 Basic supply & demand for loanable funds.
 FHA Program aimed at carriage trade - ^{insane loans on houses up to 30,000} worsen other problems
 unrec. hi land prices. "Middle-class mass mkt."
 add to less = distr. of pp., problem.

4. Other constr. going up?

Scarcity breeds substitution. Much ^{other} constr. is find's subs for hi-priced land:
 Yes, ominous. Hi. land prices impose a pattern on constr. - roads, p.u., autos.
 tend discourage constr. to the extent uses land, but encourage
 if subs. Drive subdividers out, leapfrog. Then get roads, p.u. Large car output.
 P.U. etc do that - urbanize land. also vertical sub.

Why say ominous? Ok, if hi p. rep real scarcity. I say ec. has way of steering own
 course, I agree, but sometimes that course leads to rocks.

13m vacant lots. Bay Area figs.
 building weakly - on film of a land bubble.

Unstable - ultimately become aware, excess supply hangs over mkt

Basic supply & demand balance.

5. Conjectural?

~~History~~ Sounds fantastic, viewed on rational basis. But history
 shows - has been recurrent pattern. Fantastic figures from '29,
 excess subdiv'n.

6. Same subdivisions

Yes, but 13a.

Also in between, subdivide out 5 miles, get p.u. ... Create community.

7. Land between. Farming

~~As Shaping~~ Goes to his tax brackets. Truly powerful.

~~Negative.~~

8. Policy.

~~Neg.~~

Get Land prices down - fast! Is inevitable, huge excess supply. Hi prices depress; & process of lowering also depresses. So get it over with!

Neg. Avoid price maintenance policies. Beating out, ^{self-neannitating policy.} Freezing, looking up.

Put little faith in easy credit - false hope, ed horse around long time. Avoid relying on luxury hi's mkt inspirational messages of hope & courage & confidence. Avoid rely's on ~~inspiring~~ confidence. Trouble is too much ^{optimism} confidence.

in future demand for land. Must be selective.

Avoid rely's on Fed hiway program. Is more of same, already surplus. Avoid rely's on F.R. - funds tied up; & hi risk premia.

Pos. Readjust thinking to consolidate ~~metropo~~ cities, fill in empty spaces.

By pos. moves, unlike ag. zoning, subdivision control, etc.

✓ Weaken local restrictive powers. Zoning; tax-n. Thru courts perhaps,

✓ leave them power but enjoin abuse

Reform inc. tax.

Hard to do. Foresee long painful pd, shakedown, protracted

counter efforts. Plan ahead for next upturn, don't let happen again.

Calls for much more public, ^{professional} awareness & int. than now

Manhattan's accelerating office boom

A related fallacy is the notion^{is} that downtown^{space} is saturated w/ bldgs.
Yet eds of Arch Forum, noted in 3-57
~~the large bldgs that no space remains for new bldg.~~ Yet M's
acc-g office boom acc'ts for over $\frac{1}{2}$ ^{portion} of office space in the U.S. The D zone exceeds
4+ ^{times} the ^{total} space of ^{any} other city in the U.S. ~~Let over half of all new office bldgs be in the D zone.~~ ^{Let over half of all new office bldgs be in the D zone.}
¹³ ~~Let over half of all new office bldgs be in the D zone.~~ ^{for by exhausting the land supply, it is anticipated in 84}
with ~~Let M's space by 40%, yet, is focussed on two most narrow districts of~~
~~congested Manhattan island, the most congested parts of it.~~
the island already most congested, ~~for~~ the fin & shopping districts.
How ~~Let M's space by 40%~~

Places ~~in~~ where figs on 70s vacant are in point.

p 13, central cities

p 15, fringes - but no data given

p 21 Anyahoga City rings. Probably need no more.

p 66 Essen. Excess supply.

p 46 distrib nets proliferate. Excess supply.

~~X~~ p 32 Cities take excess land out from author or p. 34, or 36. More than they need
~~X~~ p 36 A few ~~or~~ metrop regions have been carefully surveyed.

X { Ala. City is bldg distribnets, & reserving waters, to some whole area billed in.
Sta Clara, hi density subdivisions.

p. 34 point is

p 36 Not so good bes. emphasis is on price influence & ag. deterioration

p 46 good.

p. 66. Excess supply

Slip in data on Δ lv along new hiway ~~by~~ as e.g. of creating new urban land.

Lands beyond needs, ~~§~~ Lessinger

Is general.

So cities needn't take so much. Rains 2d gr.

Can be stable? ~~It all tried~~ Can continue to pour out M to convert from land to urban use, if such oversupply?

Is impnt. \$ in dev'g new lands. ~~Multiple effects~~

Also, may affect constr. Fall'g land mkt hist. has depressed constr. Like low prices, but not fall'g.
Falls slowly, grudgingly, sales stop. (also, vert. constr. is sub. for horiz, closely connected to demand for land)
bld'g on quicksand, dim view.
\$ in constr. Multiple effects.

Is as hard to answer as impnt.

~~No info feature. Many vbles~~

On one hand hist. says bust

On other, optists say plateau

Doubt. Lack info. Many vbles. ~~§~~

To begin to resolve doubt, ~~describe expansive forces~~ analyze more closely the process by which ~~lead'g cities~~ ^{w. especial attn to stability.} Many aspects of process are take lands beyond needs. ~~Then try judge stability.~~ ^{already touched on some aspects, for us.} ~~Have mentioned~~ underdev. of downtowns; ~~see~~ urban fuel power; influence of scattered ^{urban fragments;} ~~settlement~~; quest for cheap land.

Now integrate w dynamic growth pattern.

Basic aspect is scatter'g of ^{patchy} settlement urbanizn interests

Now view it as dynamic process of growth

SCANNED

AS

FOUND

" " Easy to get places on superhighway - but when you get
there where are you? "

1
Lessinger reckons area ^{of influence} beyond needs. Seems good. ^{influence & partial dev.} Why?

X
Tenacity of specs., persistence of artificial scarcity, holds price umbrella over new dev-nts.
1. A Frustrated demand spills out, central land still there. But tenacity of specs & urban restrictivists same as if land not there; so dev. new lands, just as tho it weren't. Hi land prices, key role, stimulate new land dev. projects before old are developed, settled. (over)

X
2. ~~Not all fringe land~~
Rep-n & magnif-ⁿ of spec. pattern around fringes.
Fringe spec., extreme, dev. very scattered, escap'g hi land prices.
~~To change greater, further out, land to~~ When new exptn 1st brings demand out (over)
In addition to pvt specs, suburbs engage in sort of munic. land spec.

Incorp. more land than now dev., & slap ^{on upgraded bld's restrictions, in hopes of} large-but zing, ~~on~~ ^{to} attract'g hi tax-pay's, hi-spend's, upper inc. resids., for whom will wait long time.

Meantime force mass of bld's to unincorp areas, recent trend.
So p.w. are ahead of settlement; but settlement ahead of p.w. where they aint.

3. ^{pu. rets to scattering make service available to more lands than used}
Inclusion, spatial, approximates urbanization, brings many of trappings of urb-n.
Vacant lands affected by proximity & inclusion. More: p.w., utilities, to serve dev. lands, nec. available to others too. To serve 20 mi², make available to 100 mi². Also consumer inv. in autos, trucks, gas sta, etc - whole complex of modern exptn. Running roads out to resters, e.g.
Pol. units affect, too. If munic. incorps excess lands, they pay tax, are eligible for all munic. services. If city takes on sewer & water, cell sections

can claim service. State govt, & Fed, moreso - what do for one region, probly hv to do for some others. Also, pol. insiders w. land way out, get lines to it.
Several voltage levels. Up to nation & world wide systems, viewed as whole, pop scattered, so dev; national grid affects vast areas.

3 1/2. ^{Land w. nets of highways, grids, pipelines, wires, w. thin breaks & distrib nodes.}
Funds move easier into p.w. than individ. dev. Corps, munic's, etc. Esp. when l.v. sig. ^{Have eminent domain.}
End FHA, VA, help, ~~take~~ ^{from} which had temporarily balanc'd this.
So is easy to get places; but where are you when get there?

Trade racing. Gett'g the jump.
4. In fluid, developmental situation, where are sig returns, matching, great rewards to top spot. Several contestants vie. Trade racing, inter-district. Accept long wait before payoff. ^{Induced inv. (over)}
^{Delusion that comp'n discourages dev. - that in- ventors require guarantees of immunity from comp. bfr will invest.}
An interested spectator is downtown. Takes long time to rouse from torpor. But becomes a contestant when roused. Has bn tendency

✓ Hi land p. stimulate subst., both thru horiz. & vert. xptn. So few lands are dev, but some of those few at extremely hi intensity, commensurate w. prices.

New xptn opens new lands, but dev. slow, so no deterrent to dev's still more, but an aid, since newer lines are extensions of ones just built, &/or receive bld'g materials over them.

to old subdivisions, holders are like thirsty men for water, no move to h.o. But later, attitudes harden.

an oligop. pattern, clearly. Probly avoid certain kinds of expansion for long time, bcs of retaliation. Then war or something, everyone starts. Like price war.

Why do they move in surges, & why many cities together? Probly bcs are in shrt run decr. ret. Then when one strikes out, others, fearful of losing relative position, strike out too — & ea. finds incr. ret. (& simul. a general d'd demand, as all are expanding)

Race for top spot, or just maintain selves, avoid any cumulative flight to expanding rival.

Thus prepare selves to serve more demand than there is — esp. after boom collapses.

New basis in highway means new div. of bn among districts. Some come, others go, excite people. ? boom or doom, + they sit up & notice.

to underest. regen. power of sleep's giant. But when rouses from torpor, has immense absorptive capacity, ^{3-d.} A few skyscrapers, apts, hotels, dept stores, as much space as whole new shopping centers, motel districts, covering much more land area. Drains back demand, makes them war surplus. For why go around end, when can get thru center?

Also interurban racing. Push out routes to capture territory from rival cities, discourage their projects, get jump, etc. "Act now before it is too late" psychology: grab now, consolidate gains later. As in warfare, leads to overextended ^{supply} lines. & Premature invs, w/o due deliberation.

Inter-utility rivalries too. Sew up this territory now, (even at a loss. (?) also, cities, states, subsidize new dev-mtl ind-y, cheap credit, for offsite benefits. Interbld'g, race to sky.

5. Gambling

6. ~~Ignorance~~, Lack of info. ^{equalled only by lack of interest in getting it.} Mkt acts in dark. ^{Very poor} data, even for research specialist. ^{Secretive, r.e. brotherhood, for reasons good & bad.}

are several levels of dev-mt, to begin, can't say when 'urbanized' accomplished. Tendency to treat parthly dev. areas as tho non-existent "oh, there's no more land in town". Tend to count supply, express simply. Tend to underest supply. "Subdivision" most usual criterion. But most areas lack that, & certainly

~~Phenology (thesis)~~ is nothing for nation. & what there is omits much small splitting, illegal or unapproved subdiv., etc. And, ^{omits much} in new dev.-g areas, since est. centers of info are not over them.

~~7. Some ideas that seem to me basic errors in interpreting the little that is known. Then, too, is very~~

~~7. Unpredictable demand. Tendency to exaggerate, underest. how temporary much of it is.~~

What data there is doesn't get around much. Not on TV, or R's Dig. & who reads books? Even there, pop. books, very few go deep.

7. Misinterpretation of ^{available} info

Very complex patterns, interdependent. ^{Often} H_v defied prediction by forecast's specialists, bus. & acad. ^{subject to facts etc.} To match. hard - many don't even try, or rely on proverbial platitudes, popularized digest. ^{Decide by feel of immediate inklet around them, fly by seat of pants, always by ear} I ~~even~~ ^{even} ~~proof~~ & I may be wrong too. But certain patterns of thought to be found again & again, seem very ~~few~~ misleading. (Affect lenders as well as direct investors)

a. ~~Malthusian~~ housing panic.

a. Underest. supply of urban land

- i.) Reprise: Several voltage levels, dismiss from mind lands nearly ready. ^(over)
^{Slow dev., don't feel effects for yrs - but do feel demand. Long gest-n pd.}
 Underest. downtown comeback, capacity. Power of vertical xptn.
 Both horiz. & vert. xptn, in fact, at one stage serve more to encourage hi p (over)
- ii.) Gnd belief that bldg consumes much urban land. Takes some. (from land)
^{but even, compact, probly, created more than consumed, her city}
 expands in widening circle, $A \propto r^2$, proximity makes urban value.

But not compact, scatters out, spreads urbanization wider

And is p.w. too, bring's vast new lands into urban sphere.

- iii.) Gnd belief connection to city brings urban value. Forget city mov's out
^{space is not of land, but developed land, of cap. invested rightly. This is alienated by dev.}
 many directions simul. Connection does bring (over)

b. Overest. demand

- i. ^{Exagg. reliance on pop. ests} Predictions of Δ pop. Very influential, & marvelous crutch for r.e. salesman. Has weight of Malthus behind it, easy to panic people.

Maybe right. But be wary. ^{Pop. predictions notoriously unreliable. Love to project.}
^{Booms always} ~~Booms always~~ ^{perhaps as tho trying to compensate for declining pop they pres-}
 spawn predictions of continued Δ s. ^{But women have proven several times dictated in depress.}
 have minds of their own, not always ^{affected} ~~blown~~ by some considerations, figures that appear weighty to learned statisticians

Latest gimmick, catchword, predictions now based on things already happened. Maybe an improvement, but hardly enough to warrant confidence. ^{which forecasts often repeated.} A little historical perspective bids healthy skepticism. Are other variables besides age distr. of pop. to consider.

also, new xptn has proved self on cheap land, now risk valuable land to it, where can really do some good.

Then to dampen ardor, by showing what can be done w. land (vertical) & by giving feel's of centrality (horiz.)

urban serviceability, real value — but not nec. current urban prices.

Hl prices based on scarcity. ^{access, compactness.} Scarcity^{etc} spread over wide area is contradiction in terms. Even in city near center, values lost in a few blocks.

Anyway, for near future, more imp't is fairly formation - way down, likely to remain so for some yrs, on basis of things already happened, few coming into mobile ages.

More imp't yet, pop. emphasize are overlooking one of most basic principles. Speak of Δ 'needs', as tho that guaranteed demand. Demand depends on ability to pay. (& willingness. Demand sensitive both to inc., & spec. antic.)

Constr., in particular, depends on cap. form^{that's what comes from sav. bld'g.} - ability to force, long term. This declining Δ % pop. unproductive - Δ needs, come from saving. Δ i, stops inv. in durable & cap. (of which more later)

Also, ~~cap~~ constr. requires a good deal more than Δ pop etc. Requires upgrad's - much of recent demand has been that, ^{New bld'g} far beyond Δ pop., & land dev't beyond that. Ea. person has been taking up more room, trying to get to more desirable location, etc - this creates feeling of overcrowding among those previously there by themselves.

ii. Mistake ^{temporary} ~~spec.~~ demand for permanent

a. Demand premised on antic. ris'g p, scarcity

Malthusian scare buys, hoarding. "Snap it up now - before too late" (psychology).

E.g. analyst distinguishes level of p from trend of p: hi from ris'g. Hi p depresses buys, but antic ris'g stimulate, offset, conceal depress'g effects of hi p. &

Might loosely call this "spec." demand, but is hard word to define, & covers more than usually conveyed by that word. Affects all x'ctions.

Esp. deceptive bcs basic prop. is spend less of higher inc on h's.

a. fortune if costs rise (??). Spec. buys counters & defers this, but not forever.

~~affects lenders~~

also, developmental projects encouraged when b.v. rising anyway.

b. ~~Demand based on inc. from construction.~~

b. *Inc.* from cap. gains price As

Regard as inc., or as $-\Delta$ liq. pref.

Some spent on buying land again. Form of taking in ea. other wash. Reflects, cumulates.

Encourages upgrades, withhold's for uppers.

Is obviously temporary. But most op.-rs, work's, group's by feel, aware mainly of immediate demands & opps, do not take time to inquire very deeply into permanence of forces.

~~Plus~~ Also, AM based on hi land p. Circular

c. Income from construction.

Constructing (& moving) cost much, create much inc. This is localized in areas of construction: M comes from outside, spent locally.

Creates temporary local demand. Easy to confuse this w. permanent demand for export goods & services of locality.

Multiple error easy, from small original error, sliced golf ball.
1-1 export-local ratio.

Constructors demand local services; serviceors come, demand more services, also requires more const. (Incl. p.w.)

Keeps p.w. busy, build's new p.w., while their own trade territories remain under.

Thus in area of rapid dev-nt, easy to go astray. Esp. where

(over)

builders op. by immed. feel. Districts, & whole new towns, can exist mainly to build themselves. Supply creates own demand - for awhile.

Also, % Δ pop greater further out, so easier to go way off. And is more diverse, + & -, from Δ exptn costs.

Also, movement breeds movement, surge to new nucleus, up to date
style center. — but is temp.

c (cont.). ΔM in genl, due to const. in genl. Inv. in bldg supplies production, 6
xptn for it, commerce in it, etc. Induced inv, compl.

Kill's off old xptn. (over)
Terms of trade

d. Fail to antic. shortage of fluid cap.

Causes (see file on xptn cycle)

Results: Lack cap. to build on all land made half-available

e. End rains, gambling. As some lose, & they & winners too stop striving.
Sell land to raise liq. cap, stop upward spiral, reverse.

~~f (over)~~ ~~off~~ Project trend of times, expansion - suburbaniz-n. Fail to reckon
w basic human tendency to overdo a trend, then react,
disenchanted. (weekend farms) (Novelty wears off. Newness ceases to be
unusual, old estab. places w. tradition etc. become style leaders?)
Hayt said mark of every boom was overdo. of most
characteristic new idea.

8. Sheer folly

Success of early ventures encourages later ones, however inapprop.
Story of fabulous success makes better telling than break even, discourag's wait,
False booms, since real buyers act secretly. slow attrition, etc - so
Non-discrim. - judge mkt as whole, if one good, all are. exagg. notions circulate.
Projecting

Buy's for resale

Carried away, swept up - incl. pop. analysts, geographers, ec etc, lead's fuel magnate.

Thesis

One cannot come to this a priori. But historical record is
conclusive. Episodes of group madness. Crises, bubbles,

Once you get the vision is no difficulty. Opening new empire

Rationaliz-ns may emphasize disprop. things. ~~But~~ Indicate problem where none - humans not nec. fall for one
4 For whichever of these or other causes, cities in past booms have taken ^{plausible} ~~tricks in~~ ^{tricks in} ~~tricks in~~ ^{tricks in}
areas far beyond needs. Squib from ea. boom.

Some of this const. is built ahead of present demand, to
anticipate higher future demand

Also is inv. in inventories, higher, necessitated by dispersion.

~~f. AM based~~

~~Urban Geography~~ # ~~Notes~~ Summary TP

Urban land serves ~~funct~~ as center for collect^{ing}, storing, ^{controlling,} ~~recombining~~, processing, & distributing goods, & ^{information, controlling, & amenities.} ~~choice urban sites~~

^{Most} ~~Suitable land is~~ Lands differ ^{very much} in ~~suitability~~ to serve these funs, the best being at nodes of xptn, ^{affording access} at least cost ^{to} ~~pts of xptn~~ among resources & mkt. of hinterland

~~Land requires many improvements artificial much development to rise to its full service capacity~~ In develop^{ing} lands Supply of ~~urban~~ land, ^{at focal pts} is enhanced by

local xptn, which also affords the parts access to ea. other, ^{This large compact assembly} ~~permits~~ further economies, which are so great as to justify dev. of ^{fewer,} larger centers than interurban xptn economies alone wd. warrant, & extreme geog. conc. of ~~act~~ pop., & production & cons.

The area cities occupy is $\therefore$ quite small, cf. % NI produced there. Unit values are correspondingly very hi, & ~~even~~ aggreg. values too.

Farmers int. is that cities shd develop, complement him, steadily. But ~~they fall far short their dev. mt leaves much to be desired~~ they are ^{artificial scarcity.} ~~gmkly underdeveloped, obsolete,~~ Unsatisfied demand leads to ^{Results} is new dev-mt, but largely at fringes, which ^{relieves pressure, but} ~~raises~~ ⁴ problems. Urban funs served far from node that is ~~least cost pt,~~ ~~press~~ on poorer urban land, hi cost, & w. poorer access to ea.

other. Encroach needlessly on farm land, & Diffuse urban prices over vast areas. ^{Most serious of all,} Proceed outward in enormous surges, boom & bust. The present surge nears its end, which bodes ill for farmers & all.

Title.

Broken skylines

Disintegrating cities

Expanding cities: flowering or disintegrating?

Urban stream at high tide.

Urbanism at flood tide.

Intro. (if any)

Qualities of good urban land

~~The value of land for urban use depends on location.~~

~~Lands differ enormously in (their) capacity to serve urban functions.~~

~~The best are lands~~

The capacity of ~~diff.~~ lands to serve urb. fns, varies w. location. ~~a few characteristics~~
relative to res. s, mkts, & xptn rtes.
~~spots~~

Natural meeting places of commerce, ^{nodes} ~~nodes~~, b'ing pts, crossroads of commerce
hubs. Least cost pt. among res. & mkts

Location relative to res. s, mkts, & xptn, giving access at least cost
pt of least cost for assembling inputs & distrib outputs.

Max. access at least cost.

Depends not only on nature, but human dev. of rtes.

Relative adv. of diff. locns varies w. techn. & xptn, ecs of scale.

Hierarchy of cities, larger ones serving mainly as cities' cities, on up to
Chi & N.Y. But diff. kinds of leadership, & const. flux.

Unf. complex network of relationships that defies ^{simple} description

Area. all press^{ing} toward center, so more intensive, 3d dim, small surface.
To perform its fns - which acc't for - 90% NI - ^{nearly} small area. Not as small as it might, we will see. But even as is, space req. of urban dweller very modest. assembly
Bes of incr. ret. to compact cap. & pop, which draw pop together in a few densely pop. places, ~~gathered in~~ cities occupy very small
~~part of total land area, esp. relation to their contrib. to NI.~~ The exact area

is ~~controversial~~
~~Reman~~

^{rememberable how little we know - hint ahead}
No one knows the exact area. ~~as~~ The Census collects no such comprehensive data for urban as it does for farm land; rapid change; ambiguity, twilight zone of def. - esp. vacant, is it ⁱⁿ urban use? ~~H. Barth has~~ But
it is clear that urban space req. are very modest. Wooten & And. est.
- in acres - about the same as the area in our 5m or so farmsteads
H. Barth ...

Outline. 1

By allow'g access free access, the ~~four~~ lands along trunk lines lose some security value; but gain a ~~great~~ enormous in other way. ~~cannot~~ more make an urban bus. w. one store

By allowing access free access, the ~~fact~~ enormously in other way.
Value of ea. site depends on dev m't of others. Cannot ~~more~~ make an urban bus. w. one store than
make a ~~fix~~ w. one log.
Radiate benefits

Radiate benefits

Specify how one helps others: Intricate complex of complementary relationships.

A vol. & variety of goods & skills ^{to which} all have access. ^{permits more complex, specialized, longer-scale} A mkt, attracting still more.

Acts as magnet for outside trade, draws from further districts

Even a direct competitor helps, & they cluster in ^{business} sections of towns,

1. Factoris employ workers

~~Houses shelter them~~

~~Expand local mkt, - permit ex. of scale, specializ'n, for that, too.~~

~~Help for p. w. taxes~~

Lower distrib costs - fn of compactness, not size.

~~Lower i.v. on p.w.~~

~~attract matching inv.s - attract routes financed by others.~~ With rivals,
skipped, by pass.

~~Sharpen comp - more alternatives to cf.~~

~~More flexibility, slack~~

~~More combs.~~

~~More reliable, larger no.s.~~

More ideas

Faster turnover

Growth begets growth: people come want's contacts, & supply them.

~~More possible combats.~~

Become a specialized thing in itself, more than a collection of specialties.

~~p. 96 - 7~~

Most new contacts are optional, only take the beneficial. Also, inescapable ones mostly beneficial. - selective

Not like a firm, no adm. problem.

(Don't carry any of these full circle - save that for snowballing.)

Nature of urban form such that the ^{more intensively dev.} bigger the city, the better.

1. Act as magnet, ^{across} draw trade from farther. Even comp-n helps, cluster in districts, buyers like cfr. shopp's.
Attract interurb. routes; ^{help pay, if town must - share cost} (dry up comp. towns), which also help visible exports.

or

2. ~~Force for~~ Δ vol. & variety of skills & ^{to which all hv access.} materials, allow more complex, specialized, large-scale.
~~A reliability~~ More combos, freedom from limitations.

3. Δ reliability, can figure better. Faster turnover, w. greater selection.

Improve city credit, too.

4. Δ flexibility, slack.

5. Idea center, more up to date

More than a collection of specialties,

6. 1 Specialized thing in itself, ~~see~~ 96-7

7. More local mkt, both retail & ind-l, ec. of scale in p.u., specialists

~~8. Help from p.u.~~

8. Lower distrib costs, if more intensive

All this amounts to enormous ~~A~~ release of productive power, etc

Outline, 2

Nature of urban form is such that ..

Growth begets growth; contractors become contacted. Matching

These Δ returns give snowballing tendency. ~~Or to assume limits, like starting firm (p. 44)~~
~~Go full circle now w. reciprocal radiation. Match's inv.s.~~

any other form land. A slow starter - momentum of early start carries long way.

~~As a few major centers take over major urban form~~

~~Hi % pop in N.Y. metrop. area.~~

on which complacent might prefer to rely, rather than project self out of hinterland to more comp. mktg.

There are to be some elements of decon. ret.

Primarily

~~Loss of carrying value~~
~~Must go further to find mktg materials. Can shift to long range products, etc. delay. But~~
~~longer exptn. At some pt., sev. xptn inside city, offset by Δ 's xptn outside,~~

~~then split. reach eq. size.~~

~~stop well below potential - hint ahead)~~

~~are left, but pt. not reached until a few major centers take over large part urban~~
~~area of whole ctry. % pop in N.Y. etc. Even + here seem limited more (over)~~

But city relinquishes form not to genl countryside, but other cities, also realize
ev from clustering. So is ~~now~~ no tendency to spread urban cap.

evenly over country nearly as evenly as form cap. (which has Δ ret, too, but in much smaller limits)

Result is cities take very small area. Every one pressing to be close to center, max. access.

Cap. piled hi, pressure to spread out evenly, no, magnet, attracts more, & only limit
is xptn to feed the giant.

xptn, tap wider mkt, open new horizons - & larger size gives fuel power to do it.

(Prothy growth of ~~most~~ ^{many} cities stopped by ^{restrictive ideas, or ~~complacency~~} lack of ^{simple & imaginative} courage, enterprise b/c physical limits) (hint ahead)

by obsolescence, complacency, poor planning, ~~no~~ desire to ^{rest on} exploit mpy position, than physical limits ↑

Farmers' interests in urban land. 1. Those he gets
 Has a rt., or hope, to expect better things from city. 2. Those he doesn't, - leads on
~~But~~ Cities have ^{ample} land to serve their fms effectively

.. develop what they do have.

Efficiently laid out city - not a bottleneck, congested, waste ^{space, cap.,} time & motion

Fully developed city - not a monopoly, taking adv. of its strategic central pos-n
 to exact unconscionable tolls on passing commerce

Collect, store, mkt, process, & distribute his products at low cost,
 so small ^{mic} spread betw. the barn & the dinner table.

City ~~serves fms~~, to ~~earn its~~ bread ^{& butter} by ~~serv'g fms~~, & it is fms int that
 city hv. adequate land to ~~serve~~ him well, & ^{spread it, butter thick} ~~earn lots of bread & more butter.~~

Fms & fms... - but only hurts some by help's others, so net gain

Provide ^{suppl.} empl. opps for him in slack season, or full time for those
 w/o adequate res. to earn good liv'g on farm.

Pays taxes

Provides fms w. \$ to buy for exports

Steady dev.-mt

Easy on that trillion \$!!

There is a political aspect to this as well. Public bodies providing ~~basic~~ roads and basic utilities from tax money are hard put to refuse service to taxpayers, wherever located. Franchised utilities, likewise, are under some obligation and pressure to serve the entire territory they claim as theirs, ~~serve~~ however sparsely settled. They may even be willing to lose money, temporarily, to keep interlopers off their preserves.

*also easier
for higher
voltage
projects*

A second force is the familiar financial principle that funds flow more easily to large, established organizations of the kinds that build utilities and ~~streets~~ ^{transportation} than they do to individuals who settle and improve ~~lots~~ specific sites. Credit ratings of utility corporations are among the best. State and municipal bonds enjoy freedom from Federal income taxes.

But neither of these forces, important as they are, sufficiently explain more than a temporary ~~imbalance~~ ^{disproportion.} Why do not equilibrating forces come quickly into play and restore the balance? Why does history record such excesses as the subdivision folly of the 'twenties, ~~when~~ which anticipated its demand by two decades?

The key factors to explain are the remarkable tenacity of speculators who confidently hold for a rise, ^{hold's price umbrella.} and the irrepressible optimism of developers, and still more speculators, who invest in growing areas ^{under this umbrella} ~~all~~ ^{seeming} in total disregard of the mounting ^{hoards} ~~surpluses~~ of unused urban land hanging over the market.

One reason for this surplus enthusiasm is trade racing, among districts and cities. Since growing urban areas ~~realize~~ may gain great benefits from increasing returns the rewards of victory are very great, and the penalty for loss correspondingly heavy.

Mayer outline (~~when finish it, check papers in cin~~)

Lag & results, ~~briefly~~ outline

The steps. (Trunks, branches, twigs, leaves) Many services. Many levels.

Final step, spec

Meantime urgent demand dev's twigs & leaves far out, demands extensions

(~~General scattering, 20 over 100, urbanize interesting~~)

also, hi p level means the sites that are improved, more intensively than long-run supply-demand warrants. The 2 kinds of sub-st-n, extensive & intensive, vertical & horizontal. Vertical sets a standard of urban intensity so hi, if all so dev, exceed demand.

Here's raw material for ~~tenacity~~ instability, a cycle of overexp-n: (over) irrepressible exuberance of above leaves gns, why such excess by specs who hoard in pref. to sell's good prices; & devs who

make more, undaunted by hoards hang'g over mkt. & holdrs & other ~~specs~~ who invest in new lands. ~~can explain a good deal~~ ^{can explain a good deal} but many ~~that go by immed. feel of mkt.~~ Dubious they are all simply hoodwinked by hi p, give no thought, never question its permanency, don't look future

Urgent needs, proceed w/o long-term analysis. Land cheap, any place does, ^{hope} others pay. every begin'n implies a full compl. of dev. Houses w/o utilities

Political demand

Fund-raising easier to p.w., ^{future looks bigger} & bigger trunks. - continual pressure toward disprop. Also easier for specs - or that makes specs.

Rais - for position, & territory (utilities, too. Is no ~~and~~ ^{Rais} comp., differs from comp. in that's temporary, to secure mopy of territory)

Gambling - devs & specs.

Imitating success - Hoyt " "

Most imp'tnt, climate of opinion re long term, illusion of permanent ~~growth~~ ^{growth} match scarcity, grow'g ^{even} worse. Instead of brief season of hi p, climate of opinion changes, affects tree growth, ^{stims} new beginnings

Opinion very powerful but no info. Also very complex.

Many students of past boom hv commented on prop. of contemp opinion to underest. emng'g supply, & overest. demand.

Underest supply, ~~over~~

~~Base on immed. feel of mkt~~

Idea constri. consumes urban land & so makes scarce. Idea that scarcity was of land, when really was of dev-nt.

Underest. downtown, intensive

Most ironic, interp. intensive dev. as cause for d's ast'g p. Is bubble pricker, as scarcity breeds subst. Misinterp compounds error.

~~Like many interp.~~ ^{horiz. sub-st-n on mkt's central AP} Overest. demand - ^{Rising taxes, prop. ty, & under land - slow reform, sleeping reval. (low)} ^{Halt power of principle of sub-st-n. Firms who recall...}

Pop. forecasts

Here are makings of instability: rais, gambling, grabbing, hoard'g, ignorance. Shortage due to antis shortage. Collapsible elements.

prematurely
1 Hi p level, stims. subet., leads to lower p than wd. hv. b. ok to begin

~~Is inst~~

Idea that taxes destroy inc., but this tax stims sale lue.

✓ Value of urban land depends on
scarcity. This depends, ~~too~~ as well as
on natl. security, on underdevelopment.

Paradox of Ag. dev't & rising
land prices.

Due to illusion of natl.
scarcity, as ec. grows. But the
scarcity was of development,
fools 'em.

Fms who recall the spate of
Malthusian foreboding that
~~helped~~ preceded the ^{big} land
collapse of '20 may not take
these warnings ^{well salted} ~~very seriously~~
w several grains of salt, but
there are many others who swallow
them straight, & react as
one might expect.

Shucke

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Decentraliz-ⁿ to form farm towns is
rational, to be near area
served.

Decentral-ⁿ of city not so, are
simply sett'g farther from
optm nodes, basic resource.

✓ Article: briefly recall '29. / Analyze. Emphasize irrationally high land prices, misguide inv. Then, do we risk another one?

Point to need for ~~new~~ data, to deficiency of CEA forecasts w/o this info.

✓ Contrast farmer, moves from center out to work; suburbanite, v.v.

Special files

1. Outline(s)
2. Finished writing, MS
3. Subdiv. - for urban use, mainly resid., also commercial, ~~on~~ also all land made available for urban use, subdiv. or not.
90% vacant
4. Industrial districts, & other new land development for industrial use.
Floor space figs, for ind-y.
5. Land prices
6. Construction - includ'g land development, xptn facilities
Physical measures
as % of all monetary inv.
Trends from one kind to another. To more land development; to more downtown development.
7. Auto prod'n
8. Gross inv.
What % involves lend'g, hence collateral security, (hence l.v.)?
Breakdown - what does it go into.
9. Bld'g costs
10. Lock up cap. in slow turnover forms, baleful results?
Try to pin this concept down.

Leg. ideas from Mills' Power Elite

✓ Vogt, Evon, "Social stratification in the rural midwest." RURAL SOCIOLOGY Dec. 1947.

Re urban ownership of farm land in a midwest county. Gives thought, urban influence reaches out, land is converted to urban ownership faster than to urban use, as city folks buy, and old farmers move to city.

Work this in with point that financial power, as well as income, determines who gets land. City men can buy, use substantially for recreation, a "non-agric. use", tho for income tax purposes they keep up pretense of farming.

Dist. nets
As buildin rises vertically, higher % space must go for vertical xptn. Why? Because everyone must reach ground floor, hence stair or elevator capacity at bottom must be greater.

In city, same, as xptn extends in one direction, capacity at "hot" end must increase. After a point this defeats itself, because all of center is devoted to xptn, ceases to be an attraction in itself.

Stall this off by rising vertically. Also use 4th dimension, stagger hours (tho that defeats self, too, if object is all there same time).

Now object is that each individual have max. no of possible contacts, with min. involuntary ones. Good solution is to use other avenues of contact. But as leave center, xptn distance mounts quickly.

nch ✓ Davis, Allison, and Gardner, Burleigh and Mary, DEEP SOUTH, U of Ch. Press, 1941. p. 276, for landownership in a southern county.

309.1 ✓ Hollingshead, August B., ELMTOWN'S YOUTH NY: Nohn Wiley, 1949, p. 59.
H741e

Out
Hollingshead reports that in one midwestern community, 25 pioneer families have accumulated more than 60% of the surrounding 160 square miles of rich farm land. Mills, p. 40

Vogt, likewise.

Mills interprets this in part as "a way by which the merely rich attempt to anchor themselves in what is old and esteemed, of proving with cash and loving care and sometimes with inconvenience, their reverence for the past." They restore old Plantation Mansion in the south, or in Ia. the model farm with purebred stock and magnificent barns, in Calif. the huge cattle spread, or manicured fruit ranch. Also mentions tax evasion, pleasure of hobby, seasonal residence.

Redev., cont.

Cities on which ^{redevelopment} material available: Indianapolis, SF, NH, Balt.,
Morristown NJ, NY, Phil., San Juan, Memphis, Leesburg Tenn, Ft Worth,

711.05
A512

711.37

A

~~J Am Inst Pl, 22:30 May give nationwide quantities~~

(Note past ex. of how one development in giant city can drain others —
Merch. Mart, Rock Center, Stevens Hotel.

R.e. men are notably secretive, taciturn, discreet. So basic data not to
be had.

Widespread faith in pop projections. Best answer, cite past ones.
Ag. boom of 1920, forest of 1907, Urban '29, etc.

Show how shortages were met, postwar. Predicted scarcity, etc. —
then it was running out of our ears. ~~W~~ Some slower than others.
But may i. go further too far.

Ridic. to expect auto to expand urban circle — allows filling in
wedges betw. trunk rr. lines, use whole circle

Jan '56 FRB Rich. Mo. R.

U.S. House Com. on bldg & cons., subcom. on hsg, Slum clearance & urban renewal.

Rpt 1, '56, Com. print.

(Wenzlick)
RE Analyst 24:405 1913-55 Bldg Costs, Apt Hse.

Const R Ap. '56 p. 4, FHA Apts.

Try NAREB for nationwide data on subdivi-n.

Surprisingly swift provision of adequate downtown pkg, get e.g.

711.7

A5126 pa not shelved

City as mnpy. Artificial scarcity - vacant land means of squeezing fmr.
Jobs for low income fmr in city - not to be had if deny cities essential resources.

ambivalence of fmr attitudes.
Diff. interest groups among fmr

City also center for collectg, processg, & distrib info. Hence for exercisg control - center of power.

area of hi amenity value - much artificial

Fmr layout, very impnt. Much mross in city, whose land yields no crop but an annual convenience value based on its access, ~~to~~ to other land in city, & accessibility from it.

Merging cities? - only along very narrow strip, hiway is conductor.
overlappg fringes anyway, or rather intermingling particles, zones of scatter
Common problem

✓ "The enormous productive power released by coop n of men in teams, also via mkt.

What is urban land? Fairly good arbitrary def, land of which $\frac{1}{4}$ or more is devoted to xptn among its parts.

Cities tend to decay at center & grow at fringes. (but is old bldg. too)

This can go only so far w/o denying the basic value of a city. (can say this simply, inoffensively, scholarly tone.) Seems likely, if original core persists in decaying, new ones will replace it. - new shopping centers e.g.

✓ Cities dynamic, continually migrating w/in city. - mgn inside city.

Intensive uses cast baleful influence on regions they might invade - just as antic. urban invasion stops inv. for agric. Big problem, scattered all over, influence scattered even farther.

Gentleman farms, a non-ag. use - urban playgrounds.

Cheap land is cheaper less accessible to basic xptn - trucks, & ~~at~~ contacts, amenities & services of city.

✓ ~~Conclusion:~~ No one can dispute city's prior claim to land. Society may very well go its need for land it does not use. (Thus develop very parallel to thesis.) Not only waste, but contributes to instability.

Fns. of urban land. On large scale, is to a region what the farmstead is to the farm. (in fact, sometimes ^{town are} a collection of farmsteads in whole or part).
~~area~~ (storage, too)

Benefits to farmers. ^{for cities to flourish} Their advantage to release res. to city, esp. those the city needs most, near center. Not only which farms. But even employers benefit some.

Facts - but secrecy withholds info.

Area.

Eis of compact occupying limit space up, growth turns inward. also like soil bank
Include xptn land as urban, since is linked w. them.

Value (also mention % of VI, etc.)

Cultivation, ~~next~~ creation of urban land, - synthetic products. On-site dev. helps others. Requires more p.w. per area.
Development. (is underdev., both pvt & pub. Linked w. Value, shows is much by l.v.
(Failure to dev. diffuses urban values over wide area) (develops more - thus artificial scarcity breeds surplus).

Margin between uses (where is it?) Potential supply.

Farm-city compn for land

Cities get it easily. But if take too much, & scatter too wide, is oversupply, low productivity, proves folly.

Urban encroachment comes in surges. Problem of instab. (emphasize past, thus avoid overlap w. Barlow & Mayor)

Conclusion. City has prior claim to land. But not to land they don't use. ^{and fuel power permit taking land for recreation of gentlemen farmers.} And process of taking land is very wasteful. ^{too much.}
And cities might benefit by using less land, just as a farmer might by consolidating the scattered pieces of his farmstead.

Dev. is underdev., of potential

1. Hurts form, static, like mopy.
2. Dynamic, instability

"Parlaying" the potentialities of urban land

enormous

Economics of compactness, etc. Have always meant cities very modest space req.

Potential supply enormous, but extn techn. permits highways anywhere.

In attributing all to auto, remember how all happened before - even w. auto.

Regime of dev.

Intensive vs extensive dev.

Interdependence of urban values, productivity

Cities spread + thin? No, rather scattered, splattered

What is urban use? Farmer living in town? Commuter living in country?

Process for products?

Amenities so good many firms prefer line there, work out

No clear line. City is an extension of the farmstead.

~~City has disadv. of many individuals, no integrated plng.~~

✓ Sprawl. ~~No intelligent farmer wd. scatter the pieces of his farmstead about the country-side in pattern forced on city by imperfections of mkt.~~

"Due in large part to fact that land, esp. agricultural land, costs very dear relative to its ~~own~~ ^{impr.} producing capacity. . . ."

... "A tendency not unknown in farm lands."

Who suffers if ~~expanding~~ cities take fm land?

Cty agents, who serve fms. Fms who prefer to live near center of town. All who serve fms, & buy from them.

How differ from soil bank? Land leaves ag. permanently.

Who suffers from hi land prices? Young men trying to buy. Also establ. holders, bcs brings on new land development.

Billiard-ball progression, cities push back fms, who in turn push farther into woods, deserts. (But all have bn expanding — so what is giving way?)

Urban influence on fm land prices, felt miles away. Residential — encouraged by inc-tax provision.

Margins between ag. & non ag. use

Factors at work. Simple rent. But a, i.e. diffs; b, Expectations.

Can fmr count on urban influence? No, notoriously unstable. Fmr near city must be land spec. more than fmr. Get data showing Δ l.v. near cities, of U.S. Shown in '29, up & down.

Expansion of city as city, w. given pop., little ben to fmr - peripheries closer, but mkts not - probly farther in time, due to congestion.

"Urban sprawl"

Topics, 8

✓ Ownership of urban land. Conc-n of appreciating land - reason simply stated, less only fairly powerful can afford to wait for deferred inc. Also inc. tax affects.

— So much of fm needed for residence, ^{xp'tn} So in city.

In rural areas, amenities sometimes slurred over as "non-econ."
In cities, not so, universally recognized as basis of l.v.

Cities need land, & will get it. If are blocked in one place, expand elsewhere

✓ Tenure of urban land - 90% tenancy, mortgaging, etc.

— Valuations - rapid potential change of use, current income less important

Implicit income, basis of residence value.

Financing -

Of total urban l.v., residence probly higher 90% than in farm. But still most is elsewhere, e.g. downtown.

Ambivalence Stop urban growth to keep labor on farm. Real ideology, some say that, others say 'too many farmers'.

Favored tax treatment, cap gains, residence sale.

Functions

Basic. Then mysterious complex, from contact possibilities, that no one can ^{completely} understand. Source of value. Scarcity - (& duplicability). While almost any site ^{could} be dev'd, only a few are so located to serve hinterland, est. urban base.

Importance - is place where ~~most~~ majority find it most convenient, economical, congenial & to live & work.

As places where goods are collected & distrib, cities natl. adv. for mfr opns.

As centers of pop, for law, force, mgmt, trade

Has Δ l. adv. of being served w. better p.u., cheaper, bcs distr. cheap.

Auto congestion hurts downtown? Hurts peripheries more, bcs they depend more on auto; & require more movement to contact same numbers. (Just present this as qualification to usual argument)

Need metrop. gov't? Annexation used to work, stopped, so new problem. Question whether far flung pops can benefit much from central servia.

EBMUD, MWDC, etc, pretty good, where people awake & willing.

Lag of stimulus & response.

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suburbaniz-1. 1st discuss it matter-of-factly.

¹ Sensationalists hv. played up as new. Alarm, at what may happen, or delight or just wonder, depend's on pt of view. But is not new. There, however, is exactly the cause for alarm. Not new, has all earmarks of previous ~~urban~~ signs of urban eruption, & before them westward serges — & most of these culminated in catastrophic depressions.

Budget studies of his demand - so not more his (but larger families help)

~~Δ distrib costs hurt fm.~~

Dynamic pattern of growth. Describe this before instability

This is a distributive age. ~~the~~ Ecs of scale, advantages of cheap output spread over distrib. networks. Decentralizing - negates all this. Cities are distrib. & collect. centers. why is central demand not cheap?

~~Push toward cheap land.~~ But why go so far? Defect of land mkt, dynamic aspect.

Lag means numerous part-finished lands dev.s., conceals total supply. (& most bldrs etc just respond to shrt-run stimuli, no one knows agg. supply, think in terms of shrt run factors like tight-m.) Just a bottleneck here & there, & whoosh.

Phenomenal ~~ignorance~~ lack of ^{basic} info, equalled only by lack of interest in getting it.

✓ Emphasize rise of landp - & lack of long term support. Disproportionate & sparking dev. of substitutes
Artificial scarcity.

History, great busts, repetitive pattern. Hallmarks - all around today. Specify.

Volume of cap. required to convert land, per acre, aggregate flows. Enormous waste of cap. one might use to produce more goods sell fms at lower p.

→ Very simple to express: if you can't get your money out of something, e.g. you're a spec. bldg & yr houses don't sell, you can't build more.

One approach: list common fallacies re out-thrust, & refute

Discuss antic. of strip cities, etc. (They may come, like ribbon devmts, - mere fact of ineff. layout doesn't mean won't happen.)

Dev. has always ~~ff~~ ^{exptn}, so nothing new.

✓ — Idea that non-focused ^{xptn} leads to uniform bands w/o agglom. tendencies is dubious.

a, Trucks not entirely non-focused - scheduled runs

b, Factories need more than trucks bring

c, Ind-y wants near mkt.

d. Distrib., large element of T.C., not to be wantonly magnified

e. Mfrs need p.u. Δ 's impetus of pipelines, wires.

f. " " labor pool, & residences tend to agglom.

g. Etc etc.

✓ — h. If cheap land is object, use 2d dim., get there quicker

No mkt so shrouded in mystery, so clothed in dignity of ^{pompous} prof. argot.

Basic info wanted.

1. Subdivided land (Rpts of State Tax Commissioners?)

Area; no of lots, parcels; changes, rate of change.

~~Changes in Area~~
Representative cost of converting raw acreage for urban use.

Distribution, location - how scattered is it.

2. Land prices

acreage vs lots; cf cost of converting

Urban influence on price of fm land

Total value of cities

3. Vacant

How much platted lots are vacant. Cf to rate of bldg. For certain areas, at least.

4. Investment

annual inv. in bldgs;

in streets, utilities, etc.

5. Credit based on vacant land

✓ 6. Performance of fm land prices in urban vs sticks - to what extent is urban influence responsible for current paradox of ris'g fm l.v. w. fall'g fm income?

7. Build'g costs, indices

Evidences of inflexibility.

Basic info. wanted, p. 2

8. Fed hiway program

9. Annual road-bldg, all kinds: mileage, cost, etc. Area. Land cost.

10. Hotels, bldg.

11. Apts, bldg

12. Munic. bond flotations

13. Fed hiway bonds.

14. Solv'g downtown parks, e.g.

15

" There is obviously a lag betw. a
man's income & his wife's
spend'g habits. So on downswing,
no sav., no cap. - -

From

"too little & too late"

to

"too much & too remote"

"Carried away"

Swept up

Analysts, too, ~~are~~ may be
carried away in prof. fashions
styles, fashions, rage, fad
~~craze~~

In fact, ^{pseudo-}intellectual world is
continually being swept ~~by~~
new words, emphases etc.

For sees onrushing city,

Assumes he sees least dense
part, one hordes behind, tide
of humanity about to engulf him.
But city is diffuse,
than most of area.

Do not cover up ignorance.

Contrary. emphasize incompleteness
of data. All act's in ignorance.

Group's in dark.

Growing tendency to ~~blur~~
gloss over the line separating
what has happened from what
will happen.

The urban mushroom:

solid, liquid, or gas?

Is little reason to believe that
same human race capable
of these follies has so sobered
as grown in wisdom & judgement
as to avoid another such debacle.

Insanity is, if anything, on the increase.

W

Who's going broke this time? Who's going into debt for toll roads, turnpikes, & all hi-ways? The States.

✓ "Laying out townsites ~~too~~ along new xpt lines has been an integral part of every ~~grt~~ land bubble

The Am. dream has often proved no more than that

"Will future historians write condescendingly of the freeway & super hiway ^{movement} ~~craze, mania, fad~~, as they do now of the turnpike mania, ~~the craze, & the mania~~? fever, ~~craze~~, madness, ~~mania~~

Return to Alameda Cty Rpt - note revival of 57, '50-4.

✓✓✓ Projections of increased building are based these days solely on demand side. As tho the mere fact that people have more children will make them spend more. Capacity to spend is taken for granted. Maybe this was true for a period, when people were free of debt. But we cannot continue to increase our debt as we have -- which probably means we will start decreasing it, cycles being what they are.

✓ Predictions of spending might well take into acct, give special emphasis to, the number of income earners. The non-productive cannot earn income, or produce goods. Nor will they use highways so much -- pleasure travel is appreciable, but most is business.

✓ Longer education period, too, means a small % of the onrushing pop. wave will earn incomes in their 'teens. And the crest is just entering its teens now anyway.

So prospect is for reduced % of pop. in productive ages. Earlier retirements add to that.

(Leapfrogging or island-hopping may be effect in modern war, but is no way to conquer, subdue a land mass to rational use.

(To get cheap land, instead of proceeding 50 miles west, go 5 miles south — or new, less congested highway: pricks bubble.

This is real new era stuff — buoyant expansionism, vast areas fully developed, solidly joined

(New outlying plants, allowing ample space for expansion, to put it mildly — ^{pictures, p. 31, of Fair Lane Ind. Pk, near Paterson NJ} just like home builders or farmers who grab more land than they can improve.

(These strips rep. natural culmination of underdevelopment of central city. Develop satellites, push urban out, then fill in gaps, in part)

New Portland-Seattle expressway in the works.

300 m pop by 1993

Walter Thompson, adv. agency, has ~~as~~ predicted regional distrib. of future mkt

Our thoroughly demonstrated capacity to lose our heads & run away w. ourselves. Fits of irrational gloom alternate w. elation — a nation of psychos.

p. 30 New highways bring vacant lands onto metrop. mkt. just as tho dumped next door. NY Thruway land boom recalls Erie Canal boom, which raised values \$100m. Now, Syracuse & Buffalo, 1000% increases. (Recall for reader result of every previous land boom)

Mass. 128, 60 mile expressway that circles Boston & goes to Gloucester.

Has bn > \$100m ind-l const., last 5 yrs.

✓ Some present land prices: near Syracuse, \$8,000/acre
Buffalo 5,000
Mass 128 5-10,000

✓ (At such figs, say \$10,000/acre, 100 acres worth \$1m.
~~200,000 acres~~ = 100,000 acres .. \$1b

✓✓ How many acres available? Cf. total nat. inc. - can it support such values?

Limited access generates nucleated dev. (but so did r.r., no guarantee)

✓ Simul boom in downtown Chi. 8 major office bldgs under const.

1m pop increase by 1960.

✓ Detroit, downtown reviv'g. "Face lifts". Likewise in Denver, Ft. W., P+d., NY, Boston.

So just bcs Raleigh's subdividers are cautious doesn't mean a thing.

You can't have a convention in
a group of scattered motels,
cars or no cars.

Downtown is still favored,
best location. Is simply
underdeveloped.

~~Likely miscalc.~~

Waves go down, ~~at~~ too.

Universal expectations of growth.

N.C., "new kind of urbanism." Where
com'g from? ^{Big metrop. areas grow'g, too.} Where is the comm.
that expects to lose people?

Old ones will come back!

Just like downtown. Get some e.g.

Charleston, S.C., Rusty Pk

Lawrence? Lowell? etc.

"Hi-voltage" roads, w. interchanges—
thus much like r.r. "Expressways"

"Haphazard" growth, unec.

New era ^{cliches} arguments: to meet.

1. Δ pop., etc. Δ potential family formation (structure changed one way, cd. change back, later mgs, etc. Reason for earlier mgs was prosperity, cheap hsg, etc. Argument is partly circular, $\therefore$, & this cd reverse: "what ^{spirals} snowballs can ^{de-cumulate} un-snowball". Most new era arguments have that spiral element

2. Auto ^{is} revolutionary
- a. Already had one auto boom
 - b. All booms based on xptn rev-n.
 - c. Old forms will come back - r.r. reconst-n. Downtown renewal.
 - d. Auto is effect as much as cause
 - e. Congestion hurts periphery harder, as they require more auto movement
3. Nucleation is kaput. No more central tendency. Spread out evenly, linear, along new expressways.

- a. Hi-voltage expressway interchanges have natural advantage.
- b. Advantages of nucleation still great. Contacts. Closeness to terminals never was vital thing.
- c. Downtown park'g is soluble, is being solved. E.g. Yokohama, San

Pedro, far from center. Waterfronts often run down. Have to break, reload, anyway, & ohay - few factories had direct contact w rr? Well, no, many had & have direct rail & water connections, tremendous advantage. But this was not nec. centraliz'g, as these might be anywhere, sometimes r.r. decentralized deliberately. (New Canaan) So new xptn has indeed reduced relative advantage of previously favored sites.

3a. "Multi-center" vision of future elongated city.

Whatever develops, however disadvantageous & whatever the cause, has some good aspects. Can always ~~set~~ set these up, ex post facto, as cause. Dubious tho.

Any evidence of higher % growth in medium cities?

Fn of small city is be near agric. Decline of ag. pop.

lessens decentralist needs. Why not all in one continuous city?

Urban
1 Eco of scale; opt size city; etc.

✓ ✓ Does point to need for super metrop. gov'ts, p.u. - work into article?

4. No one will invest downtown b/c trend is other way.

✓ Truth is opposite. Comp'n spurs inv. As long as downtown prospers w/o effort, old bldgs ok. But when customers ~~use~~ have better alternatives, will rebuild.

Get figs show'g Δ of downtown bld'g bfr '29. Pulls rug from under peripheral developers. Sucks in demand from fringes.
(Simul. is probly over bld'g of fringes alone)

Why are grow's ^{fringe} ~~to~~ areas overdeveloped? Bes while they are grow's, those who are build'g them are counted w. their permanent pop. When they recede, overbld'g is evident. Const. maybe small % of nat. inv.; but in these areas is hi %
"Impact of new ind-y."

Why doesn't release of these resources encourage new inv. in central areas? It probly does, & in late boom center grows, thus deflat's fringe developments. But deaden'g conditions at center are such that only parts of it can be redeveloped, so released resources become idle.

Gross inv. must offset gross disinv. ea. yr, & gross disinv. is enormous, almost = N.I. As fringe inv. mature, ~~the~~ funds not reinvested ... can express that plainly, est. a figure .. kills demand, kills further new inv. Also, funds diverted to land buy'g, keep up cost.

Probly mgul locations get more than their share of new plants by recogniz'g 2dry ben., subsidiz'g.

"Runaway" plants, another mature, unions.

"Boom or bloom?" New xptr, isn't clear. (Montreal article)
Gambling spirit to fore.
Float's value.

Too many farmers? Urban opp.s the answer

Regional contrasts: urbanized n.e.

Sources of N?

Offshore lands.

Phosphates, fertilizers, of esp interest to farmers. Water power may produce it.

Pop'n projections, est. future demands. Tendency to overest., shown in '29. New hiways, A Vt. l.v. bus NY more accessible, & A NY l.v. bus Vt more accessible? Not unless people want to spend higher % inc. on land.

"Rural" ^{or county} zoning in urban area. Zoning is comm's reaction to mkt's failure to ~~set~~ group compl. uses; also to allow for offsite benefits & costs. Any good e.gs of good results?

Supply of good urban land is limited. Location advantages.

Decay at center of cities, underuse, expands like balloon.

✓ Less econ. sites expand, too, i.e. poorly located cities.

"space perception"

~~Regional Science~~ - check
new books in field for data.

~~"broken stereotypes"~~

~~Write all over for help~~

Show 90 pop. in construction,
various regions. Emphasize
instability here.

Ag. has $\frac{1}{2}$ as many people as
mfr., from County & City book.
But probly not $\frac{1}{2}$ the inc.
Suggests less land per cap.

"Disintegrating cities"

emphasize that aspect

Thrust ~~is~~ toward cheap land. Link w.
frontier, a movement as old as time.

"The more it changes the more it remains
some - -"

The thrust creates new xpm, & that
creates new opps for urban nodes

"Use & occupancy of non-agric. lands." 'Occupancy' I suppose means residence.

Aspect →	Area	Value	Trend	Zone of competition	Potential Supply	Ownership
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Type of use



Urban

Forest

(Ch. 20 is on this)

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Recreation

Expn

Military

Mineral

Min. rts. on farmland

Reservoirs

Watershed. ~~Fee~~

(Farm as watershed)

Shelterbelt

Unused

Fisheries

power sites

Consider multiple use, too.

Data on subdividing - no. of lots, inv. in, % of net inv., trend, etc.

Effect of Fed. roads - bring all nearer city. By-pass small towns, cut up their mkt areas, push to big city.

Which is decentralizing! Paradox.

Town, like Mormon, farms live in it, is ag. land use?

All urban land is like underwater site in that costs to make it urban.
Hi price $\rightarrow$ shifts.