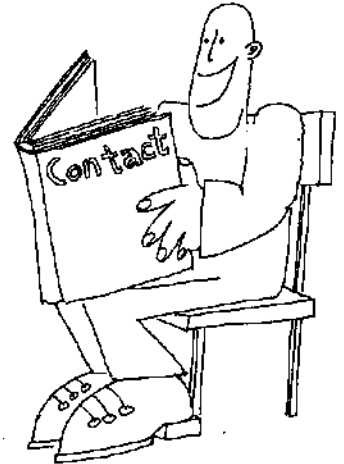


REVIEW / GÖRÜŞ



CONTACT, Journal of Urban and Environmental Affairs/Revue d'aménagement et d'urbanisme. Periodical of the Faculty of Environmental Studies, University of Waterloo. Waterloo, Ontario, Canada.

Specific reference to the Spécial Issue: New Communities in Canada: Exploring Planned Environments - August 1976.

It looks as if the most serious problem in the new communities of Canada might be that young parents cannot find baby-sitters. We may conclude that either all younger people have a job, or that there are really no other major difficulties in establishing new communities, or both. Not so however. This entire issue, which we should preferably call a book, is full of references to the interminable woes associated with the building of new communities, -and the lack of a sufficient number of suitable jobs is certainly one of them.

The baby-sitting statement in the foreword has taken us aback but it is only representative of all manners of contemporary social perception, distorted and fatuous.

NEW TOWNS

One likes to think that this special issue concerns *New Towns*. However if we understand this term in a narrower, perhaps British sense, the subject is not new towns. The book is properly named "new communities". There is on the other hand interchangeability between the two terms throughout the book.

The book consists of many articles (upwards of thirty) and the number of authors is almost as many. The articles are arranged in three parts: General comments, new communities in urban-centred regions, resource-based settlements in the north. It was apparently impossible to hold the authors exclusively within these separate frames: Therefore the treatment of the subjects is largely overlapping.

Several authors make clear their awareness that there have been new towns throughout history. The subject cannot be treated solely as a recent phenomenon. In our own time there is a variety of purposes for which new towns may be established. Pressman cites political capitals such as



Brasilia, suburban garden cities like Tapiola, others like Vällingby which are intended to guide the growth of a metropolis, those like Norilsk which are aimed at the extraction of resources in underpopulated regions.

The city in which this review is being written, Ankara, was a type of "new town" for two decades in recent times, within its overall history of one millenium or two. We apparently prefer to call "new town" any agglomeration which is programmed in one or any other manner. Ankara may have acquired the privilege of such a designation only because the population it was going to acquire was a multiple of the existing population, and because there was an administrative program and a master plan to go with its growth.

Ankara then, was a new town during the 1930's and the 1940's. In the later 1940's the absolute growth of population much exceeded previous rates and this has kept up since. Somewhat perversely we then cease thinking of this city as a new town. This points, all around the world, to a lack of clarity in our definition of new towns, in what we want from them, and to our inability in establishing them according to the definition, or in making them satisfactory or perceptibly superior to other communities. We were going to say "perceptibly different from other communities", but differences seem to exist. This book for example shows that many new communities exhibit more imbalance than older ones, and that many others are unstable.

This special issue of *Contact* centers on social, legal and financial matters. However, there lingers somewhere in the background the specter of a new image, new design, new architecture. It would seem that most of us, except for that image, are not ready to call new towns what otherwise could easily be named accretions or additions. And then again, in discussing the difficulties this book hardly ever gets near the analysis of the image and the design. Under the circumstances the new town classification points either to a non-existing or to a self-defeating process. It is better to refer to a set of ways to answer demand, demand with respect to housing, to services, and to location.

As a matter of fact the Canadian work on new communities may be called more demand-defined, in comparison to other countries, than either goal-oriented or policy-framed. The confusion on the definition of new towns is not however lessened thereby, because the demand is obviously more latent than "expressed", and because the authors seemingly wish to defend the image independent of any demand, and think that exhortations are called for.

New towns apparently are not towns up to a certain point in time, but cease being new before that. Many of them push beyond the size and the structure foreseen at the start. In the meantime the master plan, which was perhaps once cherished, and very likely exaggerated in its significance, may be lost within a larger community, even in cases where it was previously carried out. It is for the last two reasons that we find it difficult to think of Brasilia as a new town and that we do not even consider Ankara. The population of Ankara now is approaching ten times the size that was foreseen for the new town. The image and the design of Brasilia was so much the totality of the idea that it is hard to think of it as a new town with many buildings not according to style and the social structure gone awry.

APPENDAGE

In general, it may be difficult for us to discern the advantages of all the planned environments over the unplanned equivalents. Even the use of the concept "planned" does not often seem relevant. In Canada on the other hand it is clear that very few aspects of the new communities are planned. The book gives us the impression that a new Canadian community is only an appendage to a commercial venture, either industrial or real estate.

It is said that Canada is a land of new towns, more than any other country. Mention is made of more than two hundred new communities. A map of single enterprise communities shows almost three hundred localities. We would expect this land, with its resources its professions and its close contact with the richer planning traditions would lead the way in new towns.

The book treats Canadian new communities and does not address itself either to international comparisons or to what may be called the central body of new town theory. Let us just the same use the knowledge given us to situate Canadian new town planning in the world. In the British case there is significant experimentation, constant review, much refinement and much government involvement.

Richardson, p. 67

Some Canadian authors have a certain liking for the Scandinavian new Towns but conclude that what is successful in northern Europe will not necessarily be satisfactory or possible in Canada. Elsewhere in the book, Europe is seen to have two approaches to the use of new towns as a device to control urban growth, shaping and structuring in the northern countries, and restraint in Britain. In Canada it is arguable whether the new communities around Toronto make a basis for organizing urban growth, or whether they are just well-planned suburbs.

Pressman, p. 23

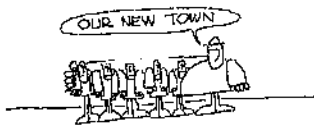
We are given the information that the Soviet Union founded more than nine hundred new towns and some two thousand other "urban-type" settlements since 1917. Elsewhere cited is the Soviet Union's primary objective of the rational distribution of the productive forces.

Chibuk, p. 60

If the new town programs of the United Kingdom, Scandinavia and the Soviet Union are the most distinctive in the world, none of their essential characteristics seem to obtain priority in Canada. Furthermore Canadian research and practice in town planning and building construction in the Arctic Circle is lagging behind the Soviet Union and Scandinavia. This is rather surprising. We cannot but fall back upon the commercial nature of Canadian new towns, and upon some categories of B.Berry which are quoted in another issue of *Contact*.

In a book a few years ago (*The Human Consequences of Urbanization*), and in what is a major turnabout for him, this leading geographer finally became aware that the same abstractions and the same geographical "laws" may not be operative in all countries. The resulting classification characterizes North America as (inherently) incapable of being goal-oriented. One would think that according to definition a new towns policy would again inherently be goal oriented. It is the difficulty of Canadian planners to try subsume what are essentially industrial and real-estate ventures under the subject "new communities"

VIRGINAL



Glogowski, p. 43

If this is comparable to the material situation in the United States at the present, there are some differences as well. In contrast, the American professional literature seems priestly, full grown, pushed to the limits of logic and resource, and quite a bit jaded. This surfeit and artifice must be crossing the border in form of techniques and theories, but there is much that is virginal in Canadian discussion. The country still seems only on the threshold of growth, and authors reach for optimism. Many authors represent very much the corporation but write as if they were individual salesmen, in the meantime reminding the reader of American newspapers in the 1860's. The names of communities are mentioned in the same breath as the companies, -and this not exclusively for single enterprise towns. This goes to the extent that "Our Information Center" refers "our" both to community and to company.

The authors do point to the government, and very often. However this is only a government called in to help commerce, especially so because many writers think that the Canadian government does not have either an urban policy or a land use policy and they estimate that it is not likely to have any such policies in the future.

BLUES

There are complaints of the difficulty for private enterprise in assembling land contiguous to existing cities, at low costs at any rate. One notices not only the perpetual lack of progress in the main issues of town planning, but is surprised why private enterprise enters this field. Much of the book does not differentiate between private profit and public benefit. Business blues.

Under the circumstances the reader is not surprised this time to learn that quite often local self-government is left to the whim of a company, which may or may not grant it. We understand that this situation is encountered mostly in the far north or in single enterprise towns elsewhere.

Siemens, p. 284

As the issues are thus blurred and shifted, other mythologies come to fore. Such as participation, physical cohesion, social cohesion, or the flat social surveys, the theory that town layout would provide "integration" to a community which otherwise lacks it, the finding that Indians and Metis in the North have "no particular housing preferences emanating from their unique culture that would warrant incorporation into community and housing design", the lack of awareness that a statement like 'low income strata cannot reside in suburbs, and by implication in some types of new towns' is more an ideological statement than an economic analysis and that it raises doubts about new town policies themselves. These are molly (coddling) approaches to refractory problems. Canada does not instruct us on new towns. It does so only to the extent that other countries are stuck with variations of the same things.

USES

Pressman, p. 2

The uses of new towns in Canada are summarized in the following list: provide housing in the resource-rich regions,

Buckhurst, pp. 74-75

serve as growth 'poles' (it is refreshing to see that François Perroux is not mentioned in every other page of a North American book), provide developed land for industry and housing, and serve as utopias for the future. The new town as experiment is mentioned elsewhere in the book; however important this aspect is, it seems that experience in this line comes by just as accidentally in Canada as in other countries.

The subjects range from urban land strategy and landscape aesthetics to employment, social planning and economics of development. Here are some of the titles of articles: "Should New Communities Consciously Strive to be Nice?", "What Do Canadians Expect from New Communities?", "How Corporate Decisions Influence Public Policies". Many other articles in effect treat impediments to and difficulties of the development of new communities. A few go into specific details like office space utilization and residents' attitudes.

THE GREAT NORTH

The part that looks most specific to Canada concerns the "resource-based" settlements of the north, not forgetting that what is south to Canada is already north to most of the rest of us.

Gibson, pp. 322-323

We are informed that there is an unreliability to the settlement-based traditional activities in the Canadian north. As this is coupled with the relatively recent discoveries of oil, and with the national policy favouring wage employment for the "natives" a new-communities program emerges for the north (we thought "native" would mean Canadian citizens born in the north; it develops that this is still the 17th century usage for non-european stock, and perhaps still thought of as a proper euphemism).

Schoenauer, p. 316

There are four stages in the development of settlement prototypes in the sub-Arctic. The first "generation" consists of temporary and periodic settlements based on hunting and food-gathering. Then come the make-shift settlements of raw material entrepreneurs. In the third stage large mining companies build "new towns" with loose land-use patterns but modelled on the typical suburbs in the temperate regions. The fourth stage exhibits compact town centres.

Clunie, p. 309

At the present the idea of compact land use is extended to the whole of the town. The wind-screen building principle is used. Pedestrian access to community facilities is "climate-controlled".

If this represents a progress in planning, the acuity of the problems remains: annual turnover of labour in some of the remoter communities varies between 120 to 300 per cent; the average cost of replacing a married worker is "up to" 10,000 dollars (Makale, as of 1973).

Siemens, p. 286

Nickels and Kehoe have classified the communities of Yukon Territory into four, and it is established that each of the four types has its own variety of mental disturbance. Overall in the north violent deaths are on the increase and now lead, as compared to other causes (this class includes accidents, suicide, murder and violence). On top of this isolation,

extreme loneliness and depression predominate, and are at the bottom of other disturbances or symptoms. We have a vague estimation that town planning can address itself to these disturbances but certainly not by way of insipid reference to social cohesion and "physical cohesion". It seems furthermore that depression and stress have more to do with other human relationships than with town planning.

There are things beyond human relationships however. Some of these may be evaluated in the planning of new towns, but some others are not likely to have planning solutions. In order to see for ourselves the way they should be weighed or classified let us have a look at the following: sensory deprivation, higher incidence of disturbances associated with the tasks of women, darkness, narrower range of personal contacts, permafrost, dearth of local building materials, the short construction season. It is pointed out that inferior construction detailing may lead to discomfort in temperate regions but to disaster in the arctic.

The book does not inform us much about the new acculturation difficulties that may be faced by people born in the north. But the southerner who migrates there and tries to maintain his cultural norms may not only be creating stress for himself but insuperable difficulties or serious mistakes in planning. It appears that the inability of Canadian planners to design the compact towns dictated by the climate is mainly due to the insistence of immigrants on temperate region type of suburbs.

van Ginkel, p. 301

Siemens, p. 279

Siemens, p. 277

In consequence, while "even in southern Canada there are few 'new towns' which have been notably successful", Robinson points out that the town plans in the north do not reflect the social, geographical, economic and governmental circumstances under which they were built. Siemens concludes that there is a lack of "favourable reporting" even for the professionally designed towns.

p. 278

An overwhelming proportion of new communities in Canada seem to belong to the "single enterprise" category. We were surprised how few there were in the north. Even though it is difficult to read the map we assume that it is transport oriented towns (and not recreation centres) which predominate around Hudson Bay and in the northwest. There are towns based on atomic and hydro-energy in the Great Lakes area. Forest based towns predominate in what we should call the St. Lawrence, Maritime and Pacific regions. Mining towns are everywhere and predominate in the country. Fishing towns are few. The book however is not intended to convey information to people in other countries who would have wished to benefit from the presumably rich Canadian experience in various types of single enterprise communities.

van Ginkel, p. 302

The reader is surprised looking at the plan of Inuvik, on the northernmost rim of Canada and on the Arctic Ocean, established in the mid-fifties. While town layout needs imagination everywhere, Inuvik had to do with a "southern" scheme which may have been objectionable in the south itself. Even the elevated "utilidor", unifying some of the municipal services and thought to be an ingenious solution for the climate, is now considered an eyesore.

If this book should be criticized for its pointlessly

optimistic approach in most articles, and for having missed the opportunity of providing precise, detailed and empirical information, it should be commended for its evaluations on other pages.

The analysis of the northern community seems to gravitate towards serious social/personal problems, and to the compact town/wind-screen building solution. The microclimate of the latter is being studied but apparently not under control.

In comparison to the manner of growth observed in countless "unplanned" small towns, community centres not built piecemeal look like an accomplishment even when judged in terms of the weightier matters presented in the first half of this book.

The troublesome economics of settlement and location in the Canadian north is well explained through a few articles. A solution most recently proposed is to create non-permanent communities: this contradicts most other analyses in the book.

Gibson's full tone is welcome. In the process he tells us about Strathcona Sound, or how a new community scheme in extreme boreal land is destroying the livelihood of an existing settlement, Arctic Bay, and how in the end both will suffer.

Coming back to the rest of Canada. In Alberta, when a slowing down is evidenced in the growth of a new town, and (or ?) when it is found in financially solvent condition, the town reverts to the "ordinary" town status. Petroleum is important in Alberta. The province's New Town Act contains mechanisms entirely different from the British Act.

In general the Canadian experience is to some extent the reverse of the British. The authors find the British assumption simplistic that large towns are less productive than the small. They take it for granted that the British assume there are no economies of scale. They cite Leo Sveikauskas' finding that a six percent increase in labour productivity is associated with a doubling of city size. We would ourselves agree that to try to change the direction of economic development is likely to incur heavy costs in Britain or elsewhere.

Just the same these conclusions have something predetermined about them. The prices and the mechanisms of markets are largely associated with distribution and market control. When urban economics imply that these are actually economies of scale and efficiency in production, we have myths created by way of exclusion. Furthermore, while Scandinavian towns for example are judged relatively and found not necessarily viable in Canada, any North American conclusion, be it on city size or suburban life, comes to the rest of the world as iron law. In fact no one does extensive or reliable costing in cities.

TO CONCLUDE

In this context North America continues to supply us with its great cultural revolutions, on the one hand. This time a *cafetorium* for instance. On the other hand, even potentially

valuable and detailed analysis becomes a pointless drone about economic viability in very narrowly defined situations.

Such approaches look unsuccessfully tacked on to business problems, -it is very hard for us to see them in a community planning context, one reason among others being that they have not as yet provided "solutions".

Chanasyk, p. 189
Dorney, pp. 199 and 202

Dorney, p. 205
Richardson, p. 67

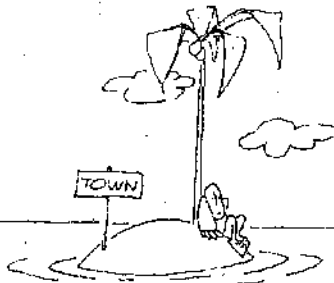
Chanasyk has written an informative article on environmental innovations in Europe. Dorney lists the advantages of new towns, the areas of concern, and informs us on design costs. But he gives us paradigms as well. Richardson writes concisely on growth control.

Let us come back to our displeasures. This publication reminds us that our profession of town planning is mainly a self-disturbing profession. It engages social institutions in odd ways. It is a public function not demanded by the public. The Canadian publication does nothing to change things. It treats regional inequalities, governmental fragmentation and other things in peevish terms. There are many instances of presumably self-evident, comfortable Bostonian wisdom (Cambridge if you wish).

To conclude this review in South England style let us tend to trifles (which interest our part of the world). We do not remember the "Excleption" (Asklepieion) in Cos to have an easterly orientation. We shall have to look into that again. Jericho is not considered the most ancient neolithic town any longer.

Klein, p. 12

Klein, p. 14



CONTACT

The other issues of *Contact* are farther ranging. An Indian author (presumably from Bengal) mystically and fashionably explains his architecture for the Indians, of the Plains this time. Israeli authors from the Technion, from Haifa and from the Ministry of Defence do multivariate regional delimitation analysis for northern Thailand. Well-read architects manage as usual to say nothing. They have even greater trouble relating their text to their architectural examples. We find quoted specious statements and exaggerations by creative architects (Hassan Fathy, Louis Kahn). Thus the marriage of mysticism to precise-mathematics-with-imprecise results reaches the pages of *Contact*, among other publications. In our time we cannot possibly know whether these were meant to be antitheses or even alternatives. These should be treated on some other occasion.

YAYIN ELEŞTİRİSİ

ÖZET

CONTACT, Journal of Urban and Environmental Affairs / Revue d'aménagement et d'urbanisme. Periodical of the Faculty of Environmental Studies, University of Waterloo. Waterloo, Ontario, Canada.

Dergi çevre bilimi denilen dalları geniş çapta kapsamaktadır. Şimdiye kadar yalnız İngilizce yazılara rastladık. Konular bekleneneği gibi Batı ülkelerinin sorunları üstünde yoğunlaşmakla beraber, Asya'ya kadar da uzanabilmekte. Bize şunu hatırlattı: Bu gibi bilim dallarında bir Türk okuru Asya'yı hâlâ Batı ülkeleri yayınlarından izleyebiliyor. Asya yayınlarını getirtmediğimiz gibi kendi yayınlarımızda da Asya'yı ele almıyoruz.

Kanada dergisi çevre planlama dallarında az sayıda önemli yayın arasına girmiştir. Türk okurları tarafından izlenmesinde yarar vardır. Bununla beraber yukarıda eleştirisi İngilizce yapılan ve "yeni şehirler" ile ilgili olan özel sayısı (August 1976) Türk okuruna çok şey öğretmeyecektir. Gerek temel bilgiler, gerek kapsamlı çözümlenmeler yazılar içinde yok. Derginin bu sayısı otuz kadar yazar ile derlenmiş. Bunların çoğu Kanada yeni şehirlerinde karşılaşılan kurumsal sorunları incelemekte. Bu sorunların bir bölümü evrensel nitelikte. Diğer taraftan, kuzey Kanada yerleşmeleri üstünde verilen bazı bilgileri başka yayınlarda bulmak güç olacaktır. Özel sayının katkısı daha çok kuzey Kanada konusunda oluyor.

