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CHANGING CONCEPTS OF LOCAL OPEN SPACE

IN INNER URBAN AREAS

With Particular Reference to

Great Britain and the United States

by

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CHANGING CONCEPTS OF LOCAL OPEN SPACE IN INNER URBAN AREAS

-ABSTRACT-

The thesis considers the changing concepts of local open space in relation to the demand, supply and standards of open space. The development of parks in Britain first are contrasted with the development of parks in the United States, noting the legacies in both nations. After the historical resume, the changing attitudes to leisure and recreation in Britain and the United States which have occurred in the last fifteen years are considered.

The numerous studies,both in Britain and in the United States, detailing the demand for open space are followed by supply studies of open space, which expose the deficiencies of open space and express people's desires for open space.

A comparison of the ideal open space standards to the actual supply and deficiencies of open space areanalysed in further local studies. Both private and public organisations in Britain and the United States have carefully fostered ideal standards, which have been unattainable by any of the major cities in Britain or in the United States.

The need for new standards and new approaches to local open space designs in inner urban areas is discussed in the chapter on current policies on open space. Different design concepts and methods are suggested for solving the present problems. The

concepts particularly emphasised are small parks, greenways and adventure playgrounds, but other suggestions are made.

An appraisal of the financial, legal and administrative difficulties is followed by a study of the availability of urban wasteland for public open space. New methods of assessing the multi-purpose use of existing open space and discovering potential new open space sites on a case-study basis are suggested. The concluding chapter summarises the need, character and problems of local open space.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

This study examines the role of open space in central urban areas. There is an apparent lack of open space in the inner areas of the major cities in Britain and the United States. Although urban dwellers have inherited open space in some cities, even that open space appears to be inadequate or fails to satisfy. Signals of the inadequacy of open space occur when urban dwellers leave central areas, citing amongst other reasons for their departure, the lack of open space. Conversely those sections of central areas which keep their residents are bolstered by preserved open spaces, and rehabilitated central areas are aided in the revitalisation process by the introduction of new open space.

Often neighbourhood groups show their anxiety and concern

about open space with strong political actions whenever a local authority tries to remove a cherished open space, or fails to fulfil a promise of open space. The quality of the environment generally and the quality of open spaces particularly have become political issues, when they were not in earlier decades.

What is open space? At its loosest definition it is ground which is unbuilt upon, bare ground. But normally the term 'open space' refers to unbuilt-upon-ground which has been landscaped, designed and man-made for some leisure or recreation use. Definitions are explained throughout the study, and detailed definitions appear in the Glossary.[1]

The particular concern of the study are the open space problems of the major cities like London, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Liverpool, Glasgow, Manchester, and their inner areas. Although the term "inner areas" has taken on a special political meaning, it refers to the central areas of urban cities.

The study will examine, with particular reference to Great Britain and the United States:

1) the historical inheritance of open space; their original purposes and evolutionary aspects;

2) the awakening in the nineteen-sixties of the consciousness

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1. Morris, E.K.S., An Anglo-American Glossary of Open Space, (University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, 1979).

of the need to re-examine the function of existing open spaces and explore the emergence of new definitions of open space;

3) studies of the demand for open space which illustrate the desires of a cross-section of urban dwellers, in terms of the quantity, accessibility and quality of open space;

4) studies of the supply of open space which illustrate the use urban dwellers make of existing open space and the use that would be made of potential open space;

5) the evolution of open space standards over the past thirty years; proposed standards and standards actually achieved;

6) the policies and programmes of local authorities during the seventies and an evaluation of their achievements or inadequacies;

7) possible forms of new open space that could be provided by local authorities;

8) the legal and financial problems of implementation and current practices of local authorities;

9) new sources of open space and a method for utilising both existing and new sources of open space.

The desk study method will be used and will include an appraisal of all existing relevant surveys whose large scale basis is greatly

superior to the limited basis of any small survey which this study could make, and also will include an appraisal of a series of case studies.

Open space problems and policies will be considered both in the United States and Britain for the positive value that exposure and comparison has in formulating new policies. Only urban areas will be considered and New Town policies and standards are excluded. The New Town's lavish provisions of open spaces could distort the reality of the situation in the big cities.

It is hoped that this study on urban open spaces will kindle interest in new varieties of open space and new approaches for the inner urban areas, and persuade local authorities and other responsible organisations to change their policies and suggest alternative standards and programmes.

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PART ONE:

CHAPTER I I

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

OF OPEN SPACE IN URBAN AREAS

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF OPEN SPACE IN URBAN AREAS

Many British cities are blessed with handsome parks and pleasing open spaces which date back hundreds of years. American cities developed differently over a shorter time scale, but nevertheless arrived in the middle of the twentieth century with a goodly endowment of parks and open spaces. In both cases the design and use of urban open space evolved historically, changing over the years, to produce each nation's heritage of parks.

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF PARKS IN BRITAIN.

EARLY PARKS IN BRITAIN

Early parks in Britain developed historically in several forms; as common lands from the eleventh century, as royal hunting-grounds from the sixteenth century, as pleasure gardens from the seventeenth century, and as landscaped parks from the eighteenth

century.

Common lands have existed since the Doomsday Book first listed common pasture in 1086, and a very considerable number of British commons existed in the eleventh century.[1] Nowadays common land designation is applied to unenclosed or waste land, but originally it did not have this connotation.[2] Common land was defined as the undivided land held in joint occupation by the community, or town. Although common land was privately owned, most people had legal common rights over the land. The best known right was that of common pasture, but other rights included the right to gather fuel, the rights of air and exercise and the right to fish.[3]

Most commons were considerable in extent covering tens and hundreds of acres, although smaller commons of less than ten acres abounded. Oxford's Port Meadow, established by the tenth century, is still today an open common. Several other major examples survive. Newcastle has its Town Moor of over 1,000 acres, Southampton has its common of 240 acres and Preston's moor, dating from 1253, was not transformed into a formal park until 1867.[4]

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1. Hoskins, W.G. and Stamp, L.D. The Common Lands of England and Wales (Collins, 1963), p. 14.
2. Onions, C.T. Editor, The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary, on Historical Principles (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1970), p. 350 See Glossary.
3. Hoskins and Stamp, op. cit., p. 4.
4. Patmore, Land and Leisure in England and Wales (David and Charles, Newton Abbot, 1970), p. 30.

Village commons are the most typical form of lowland common, and generally have remained under the joint occupation of the village. Unlike larger commons, many village commons were not used for grazing but were reserved for recreation. When Edward II, in 1363, commanded people to practise archery, village commons became the training grounds for the battles of Crécy, Poitiers and Agincourt. Later in Cromwellian times, the commons were used for the organisation of the militia.

Thus, common lands in the centre of villages remained open and provided an amenity only as a by-product. The amenity use of commons may have prompted the description, village green, to describe the grassy spot, or piece of grassy land situated in or near a town, in fifteenth century literature. The name village green, arising from its Middle English origins, is now rarely used in Britain, but has remained in popular use in those American villages where the village common is still jointly owned.[5]

Hoskins and Stamp, in plotting the distribution of village commons, found well over 1,380 village commons averaging 3 acres each still in existence in 1963.[6]

The Parliamentary Enclosure Acts in both the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries saw the passing of the common lands and millions

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5. Oxford English Dictionary, op. cit., p. 828. See Glossary.

6. Hoskins and Stamp, op. cit., p. 29.

of acres disappeared from common usage.[7] Particularly, in the Midlands and in the North the rapid expansion of the industrial towns brought about the extinction of many commons.

Lack of land for expansion exacerbated the problem of urban overcrowding, and forced the disappearance of the commons. Birmingham's last areas of heath were enclosed in 1799 and developed with back-to-back housing. Nottingham, surrounded by 1,000 acres of open fields over which the burgesses held rights of common pasture, could not grow until this land was enclosed. The burgesses delayed enclosure until 1845 with the result that the town, tightly packed from the inside, was a by-word for squalor, even by the standards of 130 years ago.

In contrast to the common lands, the royal parks, originating as hunting grounds belonging to the Crown, and expressly designed for the fashion and habits of the king, were quite extensive, and have not disappeared. A hunting ground was an unenclosed tract of countryside adopted for hunting with special laws and officers who protected its use.[8] Legally a hunting ground became a park when the hunting tract became an enclosed tract of land held by royal grant or prescription for keeping beasts of the chase, and was distinct from a forest by having no special laws or officers.

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7. General Enclosure Acts, 1845, (8 + 9 Vict., c. 118).

8. Oxford English Dictionary, op. cit., p. 1434, See Glossary.

In 1536, Henry VIII drove the monks from their land and expropriated what was then the Hyde Estate in order to extend his hunting ground to the north and west of London.[9] As he had already previously purchased the land which became St. James' Park and owned Marylebone Park, later to become Regent's Park, the purchase of the Hyde Estate meant that Henry VIII had uninterrupted hunting ground from his Westminster palace to Hampstead Heath.

One hundred years later, in 1637, when Charles I opened the Hyde Estate as a pleasure ground to the public, it became an enclosed piece of ground laid out for the pleasure of promenading for display and amusement. (see fig.2.1.) Only the wild and untamed Richmond Park remains more or less as a hunting park, as it was when Charles I enclosed it in 1637.

When Charles II appeared on the throne, he opened St. James' Park to the public.[10] Henry VIII previously had laid out a garden there and later James I added menageries. St. James' Park also contained a lake, which Charles II shaped into a more formal canal in 1662. Later, Charles II opened Marylebone Park, or Regents' Park to the public for the first time. (see fig. 1.)

Even although the royal hunting grounds were opened to the

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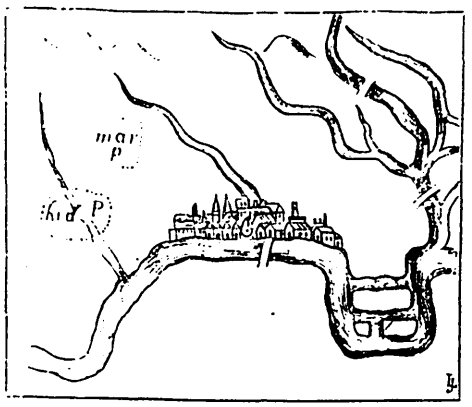
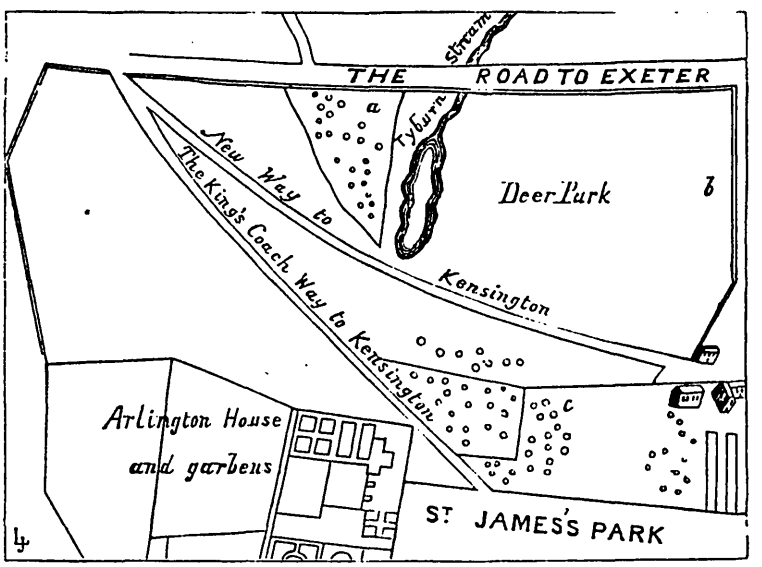
9. Larwood, Jacob, The Story of the London Parks, (Chatto and Windus, 1881), p. 7.

10. Larwood, op. cit., p. 21.
See also Church, Richard, The Royal Parks of London (H.M.S.O. 1956).



HYDE PARK AND MARYBONE PARK IN THE XVIIth CENTURY.

From the title-page of a Civil War tract, 1642.



THE GREEN PARK IN 1696.

a. Enclosure of Ranger's lodge. *b*. Here the "Queen's Library" was erected subsequently.
c. Wilderness.

FIG. 2.1

Source: Larwood, Jacob, The Story of the London Parks, (London: Chatto and Windus, 1881).

public, they continued as royal properties. Royal park curators lived in a lodge in the park and looked after both the hunting interests of the king, and the fashionable interests of society at the time, as well as the buildings. Hyde Park, St. James' Park and Regents' Park all were managed in this manner well into the nineteenth century.

In the eighteenth century the enclosed pleasure ground became the English landscape park similar to the larger ornamental piece of land adjacent to a gentleman's house. The English landscape park, closed to public use, was planted, modelled and embellished by one or other of the landscape architects who came to be known as the English school, such as Richmond, Kent, Brown, or Repton, or by the aristocratic owner-amateur designer himself. Primarily rural, nevertheless the eighteenth century English landscape park remained the design ideal for all the nineteenth century urban parks which followed until the turn of the twentieth century, and is remembered as the greatest single design influence.

The urban expression of these landscape parks were the eighteenth century enclosed pieces of ground, ornamentally laid out and devoted to public or semi-public recreation, created within cities, as in London, Bath, Cheltenham and Edinburgh. The favourite physical forms were pure geometric shapes, such as squares, circus' and crescents.[11] Privately owned, these urban parks were

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11. Giedion, S. Space, Time and Architecture (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1967), pp. 716-734 'The Dominance of Greenery: The London Squares'.

designed for the enjoyment of those people who lived in the houses surrounding them. Normally the buildings were a combination of flats and houses, which enabled a high density of population to enjoy the amenity of the open space. The Square or Crescent was usually designed with shrubbery, large trees and some sloping of the ground so that the urban surroundings could be screened from the user of the park, yet there still remained a delightful view from the windows of the dwellings.

One of the last creations of the eighteenth century and the swansong of the Georgian-Baroque period in Britain was Regent's Park, redesigned by John Nash in 1818-1820, for the Prince Regent.[12] Some historians have called it the first British town park to be laid out for public use, but this was not quite true as the use of Regent's Park was primarily for the wealthy residents who lived in the Nash houses surrounding the park, and then only secondarily for public use. In time Regent's Park became a large public park, although it still remains Crown property, and many of its surrounding houses have been converted into flats. As a design, its sense of rural grandeur - 'rus in urbe' - the country in the town is evocative of peaceful rural scenery.

Another Royal Park to be redesigned was St. James' Park which had been extremely fashionable in the seventeenth and

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12. Giedion, op. cit., pp. 734-739 'Large Scale Housing Development': Regent's Park.

eighteenth centuries, but fell into disrepute, and was closed to the public.[13] John Nash was then asked to redesign the Royal Park in the English natural landscape style, as part of the scheme of alterations of Carlton House in 1828.[14] He created islands, planted trees, stocked lakes with waterfowl and eventually completed the park as a whole in 1835. He also created the famous Pagoda and Pavilion, which had the effect of bringing the public back into the park. Chadwick maintains that, although St. James' Park as Crown Property remained outside the main stream of Victorian Parks, it was the first British park designed for public use, and not merely opened to the public, after having been created for some other purpose.[15]

Jellicoe, in a perceptive analysis, types the royal parks in three groups:[16]

a. the classical historical park

b. the romantic historical park

c. the cosmopolitan park.

He rightly points out that Kensington Gardens and Hampton

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13. Larwood, op. cit., p. 21.

14. Summerson, John, John Nash: Architect to King George IV (London: Allen and Unwin 1949), Chpt VI.

15. Chadwick, George F., The Park and the Town (Architectural Press 1966) p. 34.

16. Jellicoe, G., 'The London Park - Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow' The Architects Journal, vol 148, 38 (1968) pp. 563-571.

Court are classical parks belonging to their palaces and created under the design influence of the great gardens of France and Italy. They are not British in form, but so important are they as historic examples that changes should be minimal and their public use restricted.

Regent's Park and St. James' Park, as examples of the romantic historical park, designed in the romantic English landscape manner, have been miraculously capable of adapting themselves to modern public use.

Jellicoe cites Hyde Park as London's outstanding cosmopolitan park which is without any specific historical or aesthetic character. It adapts extremely well but is always under stress, as Jellicoe reports, "to keep itself up to date and free from marauders".[17]

Other variations of early parks were developed as Pleasure Gardens and Public Walks. The Pleasure Garden is very old in concept, as an enclosed piece of ground devoted to the enjoyment of the cultivation of flowers, fruits or vegetables.[18] Vauxhall Gardens, an early seventeenth century pleasure garden, was first opened in 1661, and smaller pleasure gardens were opened at Tunbridge Wells and Islington Spa in 1684.[19]

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17. Jellicoe, op. cit., pp. 563-571.

18. See Glossary.

19. Chadwick, op. cit. Chapter 2.

The pleasure gardens in and around London, Bath and Cheltenham were the creations of the eighteenth century. Some were tea gardens where one went for social reasons, some were associated with famous hot springs or spas, and some were connected to public houses, while the most famous of these pleasure gardens were complete centres of entertainment in themselves.

Marylebone Gardens, with its popular fireworks display, and Bermondsey Spa Gardens, Coopers Gardens and Vauxhall Gardens were all of these types. They catered for music and dancing, were open during the day and the evening, but never on Sunday, and they survived as public pleasure gardens until the early nineteenth century, when the new patterns and habits of the industrial revolution society changed their form.

Vauxhall Gardens, for example, reached the height of its prosperity and popularity in the latter half of the eighteenth century. In addition to the normal attractions of pleasure gardens, Vauxhall had a number of temporary structures which could be removed once the diorama, puppets, plays or theatrical entertainment was finished. Vauxhall Gardens was the only one of the original seventeenth century pleasure gardens to survive well into the nineteenth century until 1859.

A particular kind of eighteenth century urban park was the Public Walk, a pedestrian footpath designed in a formal manner,[20]

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20. See Glossary

such as the Middle Meadow Walk in Edinburgh and the Leicester Public Walk which has recently been revitalised as a part of the open space programme for Leicester City.[21] In 1785 the Leicester Corporation built a 10 yard wide promenade for the recreation of the inhabitants called the New Walk which has been restored as a pleasant urban footway by which one can walk from Victoria Park to a number of small open spaces in the centre of the city.[22]

Historically the early parks of Britain are the commons, the royal hunting-grounds turned royal parks, the semi-private squares and crescents, pleasure gardens and public walks. These began to form the variety of open spaces available in towns. There was not in fact, much reason for most towns to offer many open spaces for public use until well into the nineteenth century, for it was only with the expansion of the population that people lost their access to the countryside and had to find open spaces within their urban areas. Most towns relied on those parks which had remained from earlier days and these seemed to suffice until the explosion of the population in the nineteenth century.

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21. Leicester City Council: Smigielski, W.K. Leicester Today and Tomorrow, (London: Pyramid Press Limited 1971).

22. Architectural Review: 'New Walk - Townscape, Leicester Conservation Scheme in Progress' Architectural Review Vol. CXLIV, No. 858 August 1968.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY VICTORIAN PARK IN BRITAIN

In the nineteenth century the effects of the rapid growth of the urban population, the lack of town planning and local government, and the intense speed of events produced the poor urban environment of the industrial city. Towns were filthy, housing was inadequate, sanitation non-existant and industrial settlements generally lacked community facilities and open space.

Although Sir Edwin Chadwick spent considerable years in Poor Law and factory reform, he is best known for his Reports on Sanitary Reform, published in 1842, 1844 and 1845, in which he pointed out the appalling nature of the industrial town and the inadequacy of existing legislation.[23]

Prior to these Reports, Chadwick was associated with the Select Committee on Public Walks, which reported in 1833 that with the rapidly increasing population lodged in back-to-back houses and narrow streets, there was no means for occasional exercise or recreation in the fresh air.[24]

The Committee pointed out that only a few towns had some public park, most often found as a public walk. This was the case at Liverpool, Bristol, Norwich, Nottingham and Shrewsbury, but

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23. Chadwick, Sir Edwin, Select Committee on the Health of Towns (1840)
Report on Sanitary Reform, 1842 (509) XII. 395; Report of the Royal Commission on the State of Large Towns (1844) and (1845)

24. Select Committee on Public Walks PP XV 1833

even in these towns the amount of park was inadequate for the needs of the increasing number of people. The Select Committee on Public Walks, having surveyed London, suggested actual sites for more public walks, such as Hackney Downs and Kennington Common, and stressed "the peculiar natural advantages of walks along the Thames", a concept Patrick Abercrombie advocated a century later in his County of London Plan.[25]

The Committee reported in favour of the provision of public walks and open spaces and suggested legislation for this purpose. They suggested that walks could be formed along a turnpike or canal, and public bathing places should be reserved along the rivers or canals in the neighbourhoods of large towns. The Committee also suggested that private individuals should provide most of the funds necessary for the acquisition and the laying out of the walks but, when private individuals were not forthcoming, that the government should provide funds instead.

The Victorian industrialists enlarged and expanded the town to satisfy the needs of their factories and fulfill their own profit-making desires. Having developed the industrial town and its housing some turned, with Victorian zeal, to reforming the evils they had created. These Victorians thought they could alleviate diseases, such as typhoid, by inserting limited amounts of green

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25. Chadwick, George, F. The Park and the Town p. 50.
See Abercrombie and Forshaw, County of London Plan 1943
(Macmillan - London 1943)

space into the industrial towns. The public park could be yet another means of improving both the physical conditions and the soul of the industrial workers.

The Reformers, like Chadwick, urged that the ordinary citizen was entitled to his version of the gentleman's park. Gradually the eighteenth century concept of a private ornamental enclosed piece of ground, changed to the Victorian idea of a town park for the use and enjoyment of the public at large. The park became the 'Public Park', the public institution.[26] Hence the idea of a town park for the use and enjoyment of the public at large is essentially a Victorian idea.

As Newton points out, the landscape gardening movement was part of the major shift from private to public service in the period following Repton's death in 1818.[27] At that moment two historic streams of progress were converging. One was the rapid growth of technology; the other an increase in concern for the living and working conditions of all men.

The designers of the "public park" followed the work of the English landscape school. By creating outstanding landscape in conformity with wild nature and transforming this concept to the public park, they developed a new form of outdoor space, which has

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26. See Glossary

27. Newton, Norman T., Design on the Land (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1971) p. 223

now been enhanced and perfected by the normal processes of nature over the decades. Newton rightly concludes that these public parks appeared as recognisable design entities in their own right.[28]

The open space was a new type of spatial form with curving boundaries of vegetation seldom parallel to the sightline, sitting on gently rolling terrain, and subjected to careful modelling. This kind of transferred eighteenth century park became established in the nineteenth century.

The first park to be provided by philanthropically minded Victorian businessmen was created in Bath in 1830, two years after John Nash redesigned St. James' Park as the last park to be designed in the original eighteenth century manner.[29] The old and the new overlapped. The new park, appropriately named Victoria Park after the young Queen, was the first of the many Victoria Parks and Queens' Parks which eventually were to be found in almost every British town by the end of the nineteenth century.

There were attempts to bring forward bills in Parliament for establishing public gardens in towns and villages but, like the one John S. Buckingham proposed in 1835, they did not pass into law until the 1840's when several acts were passed which included powers for the provision of public parks.[30] Another Select

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28. Newton, op. cit., pp. 219-220

29. Chadwick, op. cit., p. 36

30. Chadwick, op. cit., p. 52

Committee of 1840 recommended that further committees should investigate the provision of public parks.

With so little legislation most of the public parks in the first half of the nineteenth century were provided by individuals or by raising funds by public subscription. Some philanthropists did more than create single parks. Men like Robert Owen in New Lanark and Sir Titus Salt at Saltaire gave people bigger gardens, and recreation grounds in addition to simple parks. But they were the exception.

In 1865, the Commons, Open Spaces and Footpaths Preservation Society, an important philanthropic society, was founded to save the remaining Common lands. Although the General Enclosure Act of 1845 enacted that no closure of Common Land could take place without parliamentary sanction[31], the Society succeeded with the enactment of the Metropolitan Commons Act of 1866 to exclude from enclosure any commons situated within a Metropolitan Police District.[32]

Many of the various philanthropic societies have lasted until today, such as Octavia Hill's Kyrle Society, founded in 1876, and the Metropolitan Public Gardens Association founded in 1883. Many towns would be without public parks were it not for the philanthropy of some Victorian men and women and the voluntary bodies they formed.

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31. General Enclosure Act 1845, op. cit.

32. Metropolitan Commons Act, 1866

SOME EXAMPLES OF NINETEENTH CENTURY PUBLIC PARKS

In the second half of the nineteenth century the movement for public parks gathered momentum. Probably the most famous designer of Victorian public parks was Sir Joseph Paxton. Amongst his well known parks are Princes Park in Liverpool, laid out in 1842, and, in Glasgow, Kelvingrove Park, laid out in 1853, and Queen's Park in 1862. Other well known parks by Paxton include the People's Park in Halifax, Baxter Park in Dundee and the public park of Dunfermline. These parks exhibited a gentle romantic landscape, but with special foci of interest so that the parks could be used all year round. These special features included lakes, band stands, pavilions and another Victorian invention, winter gardens, which were conservatories where plants were kept flourishing all winter.

Paxton's greatest park was at Birkenhead, started in 1844 as a completely new settlement to aid Liverpool's expansion problems. The Commissioners Improvement Act of 1843 provided for the purchase of 266 acres of park land for open space and housing. One hundred and twenty five acres were dedicated to public use in perpetuity and the remainder was disposed as house plots. Chadwick notes that this was the first occasion upon which land for a freely accessible public park was obtained by Act of Parliament.[33] The Commissioners adopted the idea of increasing the value of housing

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33. Chadwick, op. cit., p. 68

adjacent to the park by including a proportionate price for the park in the purchase of the houses, as had been done successfully for Regent's Park in 1820.

The design of Birkenhead Park is typical of Victorian Parks. The park drive follows a serpentine course, enclosing the park proper, and inside are footpaths and narrow drives which exclude unnecessary traffic. The interior of the park was open for people to walk about at will and laid out with broad spaces interspersed with clumps of trees, backed by planting along the drives and around the lakes. A main Victorian design aspect includes the numerous flower beds and artistic follies.

Birkenhead Park is notable for one other reason. Paxton's design included a large part of the park for games. This provision was as revolutionary as the provision of the park itself for, at that time, promenading was still the main form of outdoor recreation. The eighteenth century pleasure gardens and public walks were designed for promenading with diversionary and educational attractions. However, during the 1840's the public walks gradually became wider to provide for organised games.

Birkenhead Park remains the best and most explicit of the Paxton's style - and has an informal gently picturesque landscape combining the needs of the suburbs with the early recognition of the needs of public recreation.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, the London Commissioners attempted to rationalise London's public park

requirements. The existing parks in London were open to the public but, as they belonged to the Crown, they were not expressly designed for public use, with the exception of St. James' Park, and were in many ways inadequate.

In the Government's view, the creation of parks was the business of philanthropists as it was too non-profitable an undertaking for the Government. On the other hand, the Select Committee of London Commissioners recognised the paradox in London, where vast areas of parks were open to the public, yet were inaccessible because of the general lack of public transport. The royal parks were concentrated in the West End near the best residential areas which already possessed gardens and squares. Therefore, the London Commissioners suggested ideas for new public walks and parks, particularly in the East End which lacked open space. To the Reformers, more humane conditions in the East End would remove one of the worst areas of social violence, crime and epidemics and one of the best ways to bring this about would be through the establishment of a park for public use.

Therefore Victoria Park was created in 1841 in the East End of London.[34] The Government provided 290 acres of land of which 193 acres were to form the park and the remainder were reserved for improved dwellings for which the Treasury hoped to recoup the money spent on the remainder of the park. The same theory had

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34. Chadwick, op. cit., p. 112

been applied to other parks, such as Regent's Park, Birkenhead Park and Kelvingrove Park. Unfortunately, the location of Victoria Park in the East End could not compete with the better residential locations in the West End. The sites for the houses were not sold or, if they were sold, they sold at such small values that the park itself was badly executed and the project became financially unsuccessful.

Victoria Park echoes the concept of the Victorian Park (see figure 2.2). It has a carriage drive around the inside of the park and the interior of the park is sparsely planted with trees in groups or masses with several walks meandering along the length of the park. Victoria Park developed a reputation for floral display, possibly because of the weaver-horticulturalists of the East End and, because of this, large areas are still devoted to flowers.

The Commission for the Improvement of the Metropolis of London presented various reports from 1844 onwards, and several more parks resulted from these reports to relieve London's problem, and eventually the Corporation of London (Open Spaces) Act.[35]

The Commission proposed that five or six hundred acres should be purchased at Battersea Fields, being close to the river and popular for bathing in the summer, and skating in the winter, with

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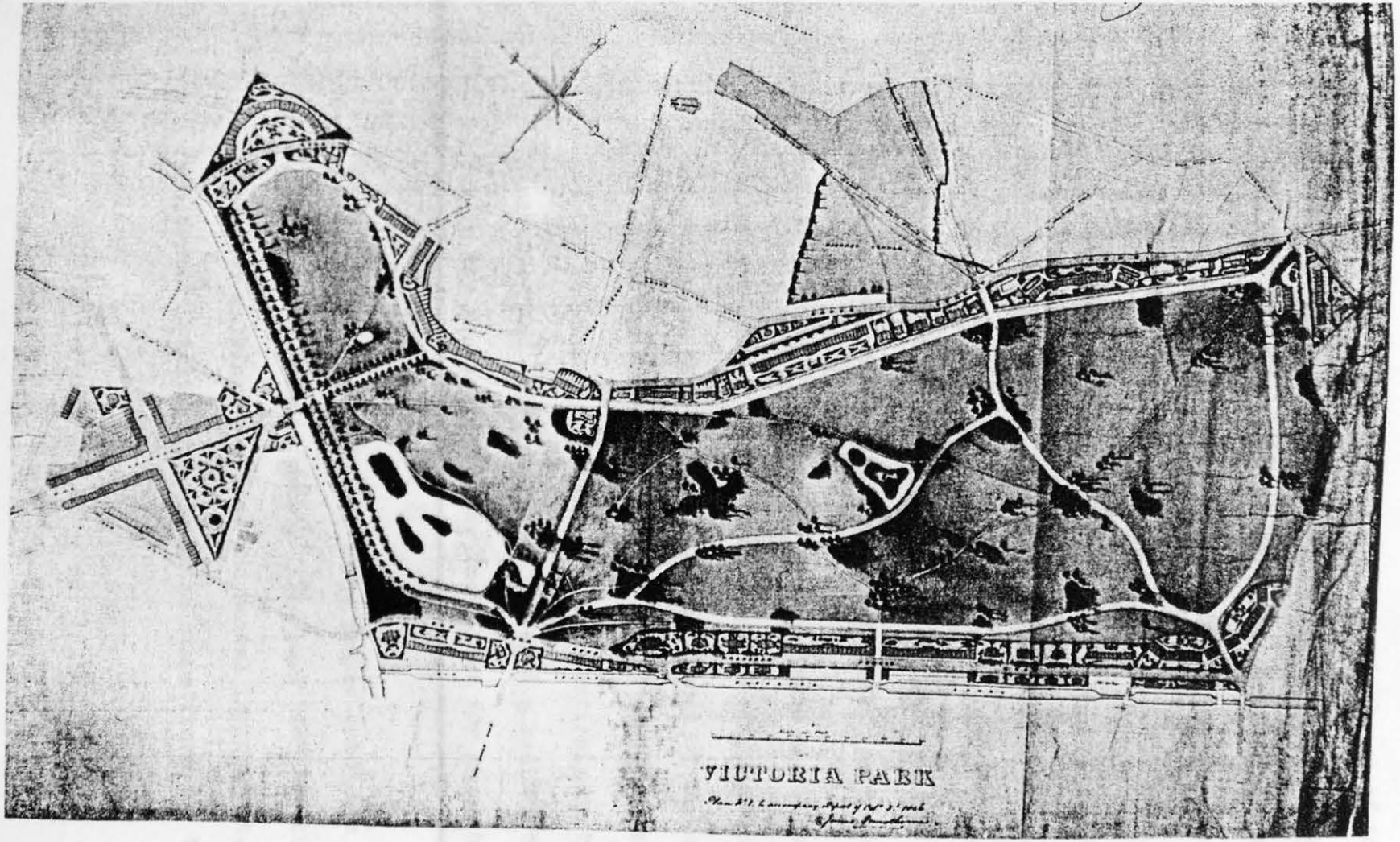
35. Chadwick, op. cit., p. 125
Corporation of London (Open Spaces) Act (41 + 42 Vict. C.CXXVii) 1878.



London. Victoria Park. The first working-class park in the city, located on the East-side where no park or public recreation of any kind had previously existed. This version, dated 1848, is by James Pennethorne, architect for the city of London. It closely follows the 18th Century rules laid down by Lancelot Brown and adapted in the early 19th Century by Repton and Nash (Courtesy Greater London Council).

Fig. 2.2
French, Urban Green, (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company, 1973).

pleasure gardens, Sunday fairs and games. The final 1844 plan for Battersea Park provided for 170 acres - 76 acres for building and 94 acres for the park.

In addition a park along the embankment of the Thames, with a pleasure garden in front of Whitehall Gardens, was eventually completed in 1870. Other parks were created in London at this time; in 1857 Southwark Park, in 1860 Finsbury Park and Albert Park in 1869.

The present London park system began in the 1890's when three parks, Victoria, Battersea and Kennington, together with the grounds of Bethnal Green Museum, were transferred to the Metropolitan Board of Works which became the London County Council in 1889. These parks form the nucleus of the present park system of London.

Elsewhere enlightened manufacturers and Victorian public men raised money to provide for three parks, two in Manchester and one in nearby Salford. Although most of the money came from private philanthropists, a small amount came from the Government, and the remaining sum was contributed entirely by the people of Manchester and Salford. Here appeared a radical change in concept, for in the Manchester parks, facilities for games had to be provided where the space allowed.

As late as 1875, the term 'public walk' was still synonymous with the term 'public park'. The park had been thought of as a place for walking, exercise and mental improvement. Now, the Manchester Committee required the competitors for these Manchester

Parks to design space for as many varieties of games as possible, such as bowling greens, cricket, football, foot races and areas for large public meetings. As Chadwick notes, the chief value of these Manchester parks lay in their novelty and their very special contribution to the crowded urban life and not in their mediocre landscape design.[36] Gradually by the 1850's, other towns developed recreation grounds.

In Southport, in 1864, Hesketh Park was opened followed by Stanley Park in 1890. At Preston three parks were laid out by the unemployed during the cotton famine - Moor Park, Preston Moor and Avenham Park. Sheffield was given its first public park by the Duke of Norfolk in 1847. Bradford's first public park in 1850 was largely due to the efforts of Sir Titus Salt, while Middlesbrough got its Albert Park in 1868. Manchester in 1868, created Alexandra Park. Liverpool developed three new parks in the later parts of the 1860's, and 1870's, which formed a ring of parks on the upper edge of the town where it was foul and congested.[37]

These town parks were due to a mixture of actions, not always due to philanthropic action on the part of the local magnates, but more to a combination of private, local authority and Government funds.

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36. Chadwick, op. cit., p. 100

37. Chadwick, op. cit., p. 107

The Victorians also developed special parks, for specific purposes, like the Botanic Garden, the Horticultural Garden, and the Zoological Garden, which should not be forgotten, for in many ways these speciality parks have become very important urban open spaces.[38]

The Botanic Garden, the first of these special parks, was concerned with the study or cultivation of plants. The interest in plant material was partly aesthetic, partly scientific and partly cultural. Then the public interest became educational, and a garden from which education could be derived was always popular with the Victorians. Visitors were admitted for a nominal charge.

Kew Gardens was first laid out in 1759 and had by 1810 a collection of 11,000 species of plants.[39] A Botanic and Horticultural Garden was opened in Sheffield in 1836, and became in 1898 totally available to the public. Other Botanic Gardens were formed at Leeds, Birmingham and Liverpool.

The Horticultural Garden and the Zoological Garden were further Victorian educational institutions; the former concentrated on the study of the art or science of cultivation of a garden, including the growing of flowers, fruit and vegetables; while the latter was a park in which wild animals were kept for public exhibition.

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38. See Glossary

39. Chadwick, op. cit., p. 96

Towards the end of the century, an important educationalist and mentor, Patrick Geddes, became interested in the total physical, sociological and geographical aspects of open space. In his proposals for Pittencrief Park, Dunfermline, open spaces were to be created on the basis of history, function and education.

Geddes proposed that Pittencrieff Park should be linked to a parkway system of gardens, enclosed spaces and cultural buildings.[40] Pittencrieff Park was to exhibit all the components of the perfect Victorian park; a horticultural garden, a zoological garden, a botanical garden, a recreation ground and an educational museum. Architecturally expressed in terms of late nineteenth century forms, Geddes' Pittencrieff Park in Dunfermline was traditional in expression, but radical in concept.

Geddes' philosophy stressed that (1) the park was a vital lung of town life and should, therefore, be linked to all the towns' urban spaces and affiliated buildings; (2) the history of the town should be shown in three dimensional exhibits, like the exhibitions he and his colleagues created at the Outlook Tower in Edinburgh, and open air folk museums; (3) the first practical awareness of the importance of childs' play for natural expression, (which later took the form of adventure playgrounds), for the study of natural sciences and the provision of material for both; and

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40. Geddes, Patrick - City Development, A study of Parks, Gardens, and Cultural Institutes (Geddes and Company, Outlook Tower, Edinburgh 1904).

(4) the idea that recreation is active, both physically and mentally. Patrick Geddes' contributions to the park expanded the goals of open space as an element of urban life.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PARKS LEGISLATION AND ADMINISTRATION IN BRITAIN.

A. Legislation

In the nineteenth century, the majority of people could enjoy their recreation only for a short period of time. With the rise of the industrial town, the factory system imposed rigidity in working hours and deprived people of free days that they might have had when they lived in rural communities.

Throughout the Victorian period, recreation for the people was confined to a few days excursions and a few public holidays at Christmas, Easter and perhaps Whitsuntide. A holiday was only for the thrifty or the well-to-do. The weekly half-holiday was first made compulsory for women and children in factories in 1850, and gradually applied to everyone. A major change occurred in 1871 when the Bank Holiday Act recognised leisure as a general need. Thus it was legislation which helped people to change their life habits.

In 1846, the Baths and Wash Houses Act was enacted to take care of people's personal cleansing.[41] As swimming pools were

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41. Molyneux, 'Working for Recreation', Journal of the Town Planning Institute, Vol. 54, No. 4, April 1968. pp. 149-157

built alongside the wash houses, particularly in the last decades of the nineteenth century, recreational uses developed. From the Baths and Wash Houses Acts originated the Baths Department and now many Baths Departments have responsibilities which include other indoor recreation provision, such as sports halls, squash courts and public entertainment facilities, and their recreational role has become more important than their cleansing role.

General legislation for the provision of public parks was not enacted until the Recreation Grounds Act of 1859.[42] This Act officially introduced the concept of the 'recreation ground' as a public ground solely with facilities for games.[43]

The Public Health Act in 1875 was the first major statute enabling local authorities to provide and maintain 'public walks and pleasure grounds' and to make bye-laws regulating their use.[44] No mention was made of their use for the playing of games, although minor legislation on playing grounds appeared in the Public Health Act of 1925.[45]

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42. Recreation Grounds Act 1859 (22 Vict.) c.27

43. Oxford English Dictionary, op. cit., p. 1677. See Glossary.

44. Public Health Act, 1875 (38 and 39 Vict.) c.55
See also Roddis, R.J. The Law of Parks and Recreation Grounds (Shaw and Sons Limited, London, 1970) p. 4.

45. Public Health Act, 1925 (15 & 16 Geo.5, C.71)

These, together with the pressure from philanthropic groups like the Metropolitan Public Gardens Association, led to the Open Spaces Acts of 1887, 1890 and 1906.[46] Thus, as of 1887, 'open space' became the official term for the collection of inherited parks, walks and gardens. It was a recognition of the need for a generic term - which therefore became the family name for all the various forms of parks.

The 1906 Open Space Act consolidated the earlier 1887 and 1890 enactments relating to open space. County Councils were given powers similar to other local authorities in relation to public walks and pleasure grounds. The main power given by the Act continues to allow local authorities to acquire, manage and control open space. It also allows local authorities to take over disused burial grounds for the playing of games. The Act does not apply to Royal Parks or to Metropolitan Commons, previously owned and covered by the Metropolitan Commons Act of 1866.[47]

The 1906 Open Spaces Act remains today as the Act controlling the acquisition, management and control of public open spaces, although there are also a number of special Acts referring to Open Spaces, including Acts such as the London Squares and Enclosures (Preservation) Act, 1908.[48]

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46. **Open Spaces Act 1887 (50& 51 Vict) C.32**

47. Roddis, op. cit., pp. 26-45

48. Roddis, op. cit., p. 104
London Squares and Enclosures (Preservation) Act, 1908

From the selective term 'open space' it was but a small step to describe all publically owned open space as 'public open space' which in time became the more important term. 'Public Open Space' is now any open space used for recreation to which the public have access at any time of the year, whether ownership lies (as in most cases) with a public authority or with a private individual. Thus public sports grounds and children's playgrounds are included, but private playing fields, roadside verges and residential open spaces are excluded.[49] Such is the present twentieth century definition but early definitions of public open space were not all embracing.

B. Administration

The park movement and the recreation movement developed separately in Britain, for the recreation movement began outside the park movement. The Parks Departments in the larger British authorities started in the second half of the nineteenth century.[50] For instance, in Birmingham, during the 1870's, the Parks Department made many acquisitions of land to form the major part of the present system of parks.

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49. Greater London Council, Greater London Council Study Part 3 Supply Study, Research Report 19 (Greater London Council 1976) p. 40. See Glossary.

50. Molyneux, D.D. 'Working for Recreation', Journal of the Town Planning Institute, vol. 54, No. 4, April 1968, pp. 149-157

Slowly attitudes towards parks changed. In 1922, Stanley Park in Blackpool was redesigned to suggest attractive playing fields, set in a great natural reserve with the largest possible area devoted to organised playing space. Passive recreation was still possible, but the park, as seen in Stanley Park, ceased to be thought of first as an expressive landscape according to the style followed by the designer. It was a landscape arising from certain use requirements to which any style was applied afterwards.

Nineteenth century philosophy allowed that any development for sport and physical recreation should be for people's social and physical welfare, for character training and for self-improvement. Although the single sport had been accepted ever since the 16th century, the idea of collective sports as participation in games or exercises in the open air was only adopted in the second half of the 19th century.[51] The concept of recreation appeared in general use even later, although recreation grounds, as a public ground with facilities for games, had been accepted. Early definitions were limited to participating in active sports, watching sporting activities, and engaging in informal outdoor recreation. In time recreation became any "activity solely of leisure time excluding and involving personal or family commitments, such as overtime, and secondary work, shopping, visiting friends or relatives in their own homes, house repairs, car maintenance, further education, housework, child-care etc."[52]

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51. Oxford English Dictionary, op. cit., p. 1980. See Glossary
52. Greater London Council, Greater London Recreation Study, Part I Demand Study, Research Report 19. (Greater London Council, 1975) p.A3. See Glossary

British recreation facilities developed from decentralised amateur associations. In the early twentieth century, holiday play centres, clubs and camps started from private recreation associations, as the Amateur Athletic Association, Amateur Swimming Association and others, and it is only recently that these have become public associations.

One of the most famous of the private associations is the National Playing Fields Association, started in 1925 to promote the establishment of playing fields and other forms of recreation facilities and programmes.[53a] The National Playing Fields Association has tried to secure adequate playing fields for all ages and sexes and to act as a centre of advice for local authorities. A bulwark of strength in recreation during the Depression and the war years, the National Playing Fields Association set up a council on which were represented national bodies and organised interests in recreation.

In the thirties, the Central Council of Recreative Physical Training was founded. The Council's original involvement was recreation interest, and it took some time to drop the concept of physical training. Later the Council's name changed to the Central Council of Physical Recreation.

53a. National Playing Fields Association, Playing Fields 1925-1975, NPFA Jubilee Year, October-December 1975

The term 'recreation' slowly crept into legislation. The First Education Act of 1918 gave local authorities permissive powers to create facilities for social and physical training.[53b] No mention was made of park use for the playing of games and no major legislation on the playing of games occurred until the passing of the Physical Training and Recreation Act, 1937.[54]

The Physical Training and Recreation Act of 1937, the first law to direct central government assistance to sport and recreation, was founded on the idea that physical training was actually more important than recreation.[55] Passed as a result of the 'Keep Fit' campaign, the Act supported the concepts of playing fields, gymnasiums, swimming baths and bathing places, and also linked up with educational facilities.

In time local authority Park Departments went on to assimilate a large element of organised team sports which has broadened to include team games, golf, tennis, athletics, boating and bowls. Otherwise, attitudes towards parks were slow to change and further major changes following the Physical Training and Recreation Act, 1937 were interrupted by the Second World War, and did not take place until the 1960's.

53b. Roddis, op. cit., pp. 26-27
First Education Act, 1918 (8 & 9 Geo 5, C.39)

54. Roddis, op. cit., pp. 26-27
Physical Training and Recreation Act, 1937 (1 Edw 8 & 1 Geo.6, C.46)

55. Molyneux, op. cit., pp. 149-157

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF PARKS IN THE UNITED STATES

EARLY PARKS IN THE UNITED STATES

There were a few town parks in American cities in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The typical New England village had its own town common. These were originally used for pasturing cattle, providing an open space for the militia, for sport or shows, in the same manner that commons have been used in Britain. Many of these commons have remained until this day, and some of the more beautiful examples are to be found in old towns like New Haven, Connecticut and Wiscasset, Maine.

A few cities incorporated open spaces as a basic part of the structure of their design. Philadelphia's classical squares were laid out by Thomas Holmes, in 1680.[56] He provided for four parks of 8 acres each in the centre of the city to be "ye green countrie town". Two of these parks, Rittenhouse Square and Washington Square, remain as urban open spaces today.

Other cities, like Baltimore, New York and Boston provided residential squares planted with trees, shrubs and lawns in the manner of the Georgian squares in London, Bath and Edinburgh. Likewise, these seventeenth and eighteenth century squares were

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56. Reps, John, The Making of Urban America (Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J. 1965), pp. 157-174

not public parks, but were reserved for the residents of the surrounding houses, privately owned and maintained, in the eighteenth century manner.

Since the eighteenth century plan of Savannah, Georgia was based on the residential square, Savannah is now bestowed with a beautiful display of mature Georgian squares.[57] Early Spanish-American towns began with their central plazas, like New Orleans, which have been kept as public open spaces.

In terms of the Victorian concept of parks, there were few beginnings. In 1828, Philadelphia began developing Fairmount Park with twenty-four acres surrounding the Georgian Water Works.[58] In 1853 New York was one of the first cities to purchase land for a Central Park, but it was only after the Civil War that people started thinking more about outdoor recreation. Those parks which were created were set aside as places for beauty, rest and enjoyment. No active recreation was promoted. The 'meadow' in Washington Park, Chicago was open for team games as early as 1876, but without a programme of recreation. Some cities were already beginning to feel the pinch of overcrowding, but most American cities still had random open spaces inside the town or nearby, or were built at comfortable low densities.

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57. Reps, op. cit., pp. 185-192

58. Marion, John Francis, Bicentennial City - Philadelphia (Pine Press, Princeton, N.J., 1974) "Past and Present in Fairmount Park", pp. 148-167

A singular advantage of European cities over the newer American cities is that for whatever historical reasons, be it Royal privilege or the 17th and 18th century way of life, parks exist in the centre of towns.

The central areas of the newer American cities are, by comparison, poor in parks, since no large centrally located private estates were allowed to exist in a democratic society. Most of America's urban parks were therefore developed from the beginning consciously by the public for public use.

THE GROWTH OF THE AMERICAN PARK MOVEMENT

Christopher Tunnard has described the new movement for picturesque landscape which grew up in the 1840's in the United States and which, after the Civil War, eventually spread through the East Coast of the United States.[59] An important leader in this movement was Andrew Jackson Downing who explained attitudes to gardening and design through his writings.[60]

Downing first advocated public parks in 1848 through commendable examples of park cemeteries, such as Mount Auburn Cemetery in Boston. Others were Greenwood Cemetery in New York, Spring Grove

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59. Tunnard, Christopher and Reed, Henry Hope, American Skyline, the growth and forms of our cities and towns. (New York: The New American Library, 1965) pp. 86-87

60. Downing, Andrew, A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening. (New York and London, Wiley and Putnam, 1841).

in Cincinatti, Graceland in Chicago and Laurel Hill Cemetery in Philadelphia. Greenwood Cemetery drew as many as 60,000 visitors annually in the early 19th century, as the people in New York City had nowhere else to go.[61] Thus a completely American invention, the "rural cemetery" is thought to have influenced public interest in park-like scenery.

Downing's ideal park was to be 50 acres in size containing a collection of hardy trees and shrubs, labelled as in a botanic garden. It was to include a drive, refreshments and a promenade like its 19th century British counterparts.

A greater public park advocate was Frederick Law Olmsted, who could be said to have created single-handedly the park system concept in America. No other person has had as tremendous an influence on park development as Olmsted.

In 1858, Olmsted and his architect, Calvert Vaux, won the competition for Central Park's design for New York City with their plan called "Greenswards", and in that year Olmsted was appointed Architect in Chief of the park. The plan called for 770 acres of park with four or more crossings of the park; a parade ground; 3 playgrounds of up to 10 acres, a site for an exhibition hall, provision for skating and space for a flower garden.[62]

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61. Gordon, Mitchell, Sick Cities (New York: MacMillan Co., 1963) p. 115
See also: Reps, John W., op. cit., Ch. 12 'Cemeteries, Parks and Suburbs'.

62. **Sutton, S.B.Editor, Civilizing American Cities Frederick Law Olmsted's Writings on City Landscape, (Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Mass, 1979) pp. 7-12**
See also, Fein, Albert, Landscape into Cityscape (Ithacon, Cornell University Press, 1968), pp. 47-88

Large open meadows are enclosed by dense trees and shrub protection from the close urban environment, which eventually did surround it. It was meant to be the "rus in urbe", as close to the ideal of Thoreau as was possible in the middle of Manhattan Island, but was also decidedly influenced by Paxton's Birkenhead Park which Olmsted visited as a student, and never forgot.[63]

Olmsted's Greenswards plan for Central Park was designed to "supply to the hundreds and thousands of tired workers, who have no opportunity to spend their summers in the country, a specimen of God's handiwork that shall be to them, inexpensively, what a month or two in the White Mountains or the Adirondacks is, at great cost, to those in easier circumstances."[64] Olmsted battled against the politicians and promoters who wanted to install in the grounds of Central Park a stadium, a theatre, a full rigged ship, a railway, a race track, by advocating the idea that some parkland had to remain inviolate. Central Park was, until it was completed in 1861, the realisation of Olmsted's knowledge of soils and agriculture, social convictions and commitments, his understanding of the environment and recreational needs of the city dweller.

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63. Olmsted, Frederick L., Walks and Talks of an American Farmer in England (New York Putnam, 1852).

64. Olmsted, Frederick Law Jr., and Kimball, Theodora editors, Frederick Law Olmsted, Landscape architect 1822 - 1903 (two volumes in one) (New York: Benjamin Blom, Inc., 1970) p. 46.

Particularly far-sighted in the circulation design of the park, Olmsted developed completely separate systems of circulation for carriages, horsemen, pedestrians, and ordinary street traffic crossings from one side of the park to another, including individually designed underpasses. By sinking the transverse roads in deep-walled trenches, Olmsted preserved the continuing sense of north-south unity by allowing the park to flow visually across the roads. Many people consider these sunken roads the most brilliant stroke of the Greensward plan. Olmsted anticipated the form which whole towns would have to take if they were to master the car.

A skating lake was created at the right low lying place, providing for skating and boating as well as for a diversification of rural scenery, and a winter drive was placed on the west side of the park where evergreen trees and shrubs predominated.

Olmsted did his pioneering work in a period when the need for public playgrounds was not recognised. In his plan for Central Park, he allocated one of the open areas south of the park to a cricket ground, provided a parade ground and small playgrounds were arranged at different points inside the park. There was even a kindergarten play area for small children, and its attention to small details of design is still valuable.

So well done were the playgrounds and so strong is the present day need for playground space that when the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1974 destroyed one of these playgrounds to build an extension

to house the Lehman Collection one of the more violent sit-down strikes occurred, manned by students, conservationists and lovers of the park, who resented any green space removed from an open space hungry city.

It is thought that the success of Central Park, was so significant that the beginnings of the whole movement for public parks in the United States can be traced directly to the one example, Central Park in New York City, and to the two designers working together, Frederick Law Olmsted and Calvert Vaux. Before Central Park there was no deliberately planned example of a large urban park in America, nor were there landscape architects, as the term was invented by Olmsted.

Central Park was the fore-runner of other parks in American cities, many of them designed equally carefully, and on the basis of similar aesthetic and functional premises by Olmsted and Vaux both together, or separately.

These other parks include Riverside Park, and Morningside Park in New York City; Prospect and Fort Green Parks in Brooklyn; the Amusement resort of Rockaway Point in New York; South Park and Jackson Park in Chicago; Franklin and Wood Island Parks in Charlestown playground in Boston, the charming National Zoo in Washington D.C. Olmsted also laid out individual parks for Albany, Buffalo, Rochester, San Francisco, Louisville, Milwaukee and Kansas City and later on, suburbs and subdivisions.[65] Fairmount Park in Philadelphia

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65. Laurie, Michael, An Introduction to Landscape Architecture (New York; Americans Elsevier Publishing Company, Inc.1975) pp.75-76

on the banks of the Schuylkill River, the largest urban park in America, was extended by Frederick Law Olmsted in 1871. It is now 3,800 acres and is still one of the more magnificent open spaces inside a major industrial city.

Olmsted made fundamental contributions to public park designs, such as (1) the realisation that green space is both psychologically necessary and an economically beneficial element of the town; (2) that separate traffic systems in Central Park are designed for enriching human life, not merely easing the traffic flow; (3) the idea of a Parkway system and (4) the provision of playing space for small children.

Charles Eliot., on reading the reports of Olmsted and Vaux, realised that these individual parks were only part of a "mutually supplementary series of parks and subordinate recreation grounds widely dispersed throughout the Metropolitan area and linked together by a system of connecting parkways of a width, capacity and scenic quality of which there were then no examples in this country."[66] Olmsted himself stressed the linkage aspects of a park system in his pamphlet called 'Public Parks and the Enlargement of Towns', which he wrote in 1870.[67]

For example, in 1877 in Boston, Olmsted proposed that a park should be reclaimed from the Back Bay marshes and by 1881 the

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66. Chadwick, op. cit., p. 191

67. Olmsted, Frederick, L. Public Parks and the Enlargement of Towns (Cambridge, Mass: 1870)

purchases had been made for Franklin Park, Wood Island and the Arnold Arboretum. Ten years later Charles Eliot was commissioned by the Boston Metropolitan Park Commission to present a report on the overall character of the park system. His proposed five types of areas included "small squares, playgrounds and parks in the densely populated sections to be provided by the local communities."[68] This was an early recognition of the need for local open space.

The Boston Park system was extended from the Boston Common along the Charles River all the way to Franklin Park as a continuous landscape and associated road system. Thus, as early as 1896 Boston had developed an extensive park and parkway system, and Eliot became the founder of the first American metropolitan system of parks, although his early death prevented the plans from being totally completed. The creation of a park system, as opposed to the limited amelioration of environmental ugliness by the creation of public parks with defined boundaries unrelated to each other, was a major American nineteenth century contribution to the parks movement and to town planning.

Boston's example was followed by other large American cities. When Horace Cleveland was commissioned to create a park system for Minneapolis, 1883, he published "Suggestions for a System of Parks

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68. Eliot, Charles W., Charles Eliot, landscape architect (Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1902) p. 38

and Parkways for the city of Minneapolis" which became the basis for the City's present network of parks.[69]

By the beginning of World War I, it became apparent that the parkway system was also invaluable in separating the requirements of the automobile from the destruction of the residential areas through which the automobile routes had to go. The Bronx River Parkway was started in 1913, and the West Chester County system developed from 1922 onwards. The requirements of the automobile then became the primary factor in the design of parkways.

PARKS, RECREATION AND LEISURE AT THE END OF THE CENTURY

The last quarter of the nineteenth century saw the beginning of many city parks. The creation of these parks were partially the result of social attitudes to recreation stemming from the Puritan aftermath of the Lutheran and Calvanistic doctrines after the Reformation. The Calvinistic doctrine was based on an ethic of salvation through hard work and became one of the most fundamental and most revered values of the American Protestant world. Instead of work being a means of gaining time and money for leisure, it became a means to salvation and therefore it became an end in itself. Work was good and, in order to be good, one must work. Leisure was therefore unnecessary, and also bad.

Recreation meant refreshment by means of some agreeable

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69. Newton, op. cit., pp. 314-315

pastime, a means of getting diversions or entertainment.[70] Leisure meant the condition of having one's time free from the demands of work and having time at one's command.[71] The Middle English word, leisure, was a more popular term in the United States than the term recreation but meant to the Victorian philanthropists the freedom to carry out their Calvinistic ideals.

Until the rise of suburbia, men with the paternalistic, Calvinistic approach felt that they had a social obligation to make cities beautiful, as in the architectural City Beautiful Movement of the 1880's - 1920's.[72]

Thus, nearly every American city has parks that are donated by generations of prominent families. Clawson states that of 103 cities with 100,000 or more people in 1950, 66 of these cities developed their parks in the 1880's.[73] Some of these parks were well designed while some of them were totally unimproved, but the fact that open space was reserved at this time was very important. Thus parks in the Victorian times, and even up to the 1930's, were municipal status symbols.

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70. Webster's New International Dictionary (Merriam-Webster, 1970) p.1899
71. Webster, op.cit., p.1292
72. Tunnard, Christopher, The Modern American City, (New York, Van Nostrand., 1968) Chp. 4 and 5
73. Clawson, M., Held, R., Burnell, R., Stoddard, Charles H., Land for the Future (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1960), p. 144

The movement for organised athletics and sports in America started with the establishment of an outdoor gymnasium in the Salem Latin School in 1821. By 1826 gymnasia were being built at Harvard, Yale, Amherst and Brown Colleges.[74] Many philanthropic associations for the underprivileged, like the Young Men's Christian Association, established in 1844, and social settlements, like Hull House in Chicago, organised by philanthropic leaders, promoted games, sports and playgrounds.

Playgrounds in the United States are recent. The first legislative Act in the United States for playgrounds was in Bookline, Massachussets in 1872.[75] New York State passed a playground law in 1888, providing for parks and playgrounds for children in cities and towns. However, it is generally agreed that the playground movement in the United States had its beginnings in Boston, where the first sand garden was started in 1885, providing the first play activities for children. By the 1890's, New York and Chicago had established model playgrounds.[76]

In Chicago, Grant and Jackson Parks were created to a design prepared by Daniel Burnham in 1896.[77] Designed for the lakefront

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74. Neumeyer, Martin and Neumeyer, Esther, Leisure and Recreation (New York Ronald Press and Company, 1958), pp. 75-76

75. Neumeyer and Neumeyer, op. cit.

76. Rainwater, Clarence E., The Play Movement in the United States (Chicago, the University of Chicago Press, 1922)

77. Reps, op. cit., pp. 517-519

of the city, Burnham saw it as only one part of the comprehensive plan for the improvement of the whole city. The main elements of the park were the Boulevard along the existing lakefront and a long narrow park created artificially from the city refuse and spoil inside the lake to enclose a lagoon for boating between the park and the Boulevard. Burnham's Chicago plan created a Metropolitan Park System with an outer belt of parks and parkways, and demonstrated for the first time in the United States that regional considerations were an essential part of the total city plan. After the Chicago plan, Daniel Burnham created Metropolitan Park Systems for Washington, D.C., for Cleveland, Chio in 1903 and for San Francisco in 1904.

By 1903, the Chicago South Park Commissioners had asked the Olmsted Brothers "to provide small parks or pleasure grounds containing not more than 10 acres each."[78] By 1905 ten "small parks or pleasure grounds" were developed.

The concept of the local open space was so clear that they are historically memorable. They were more carefully designed for varied uses and all age groups than most previous playgrounds done before (see fig.2.3). Age groups were given distinctive areas:[79]

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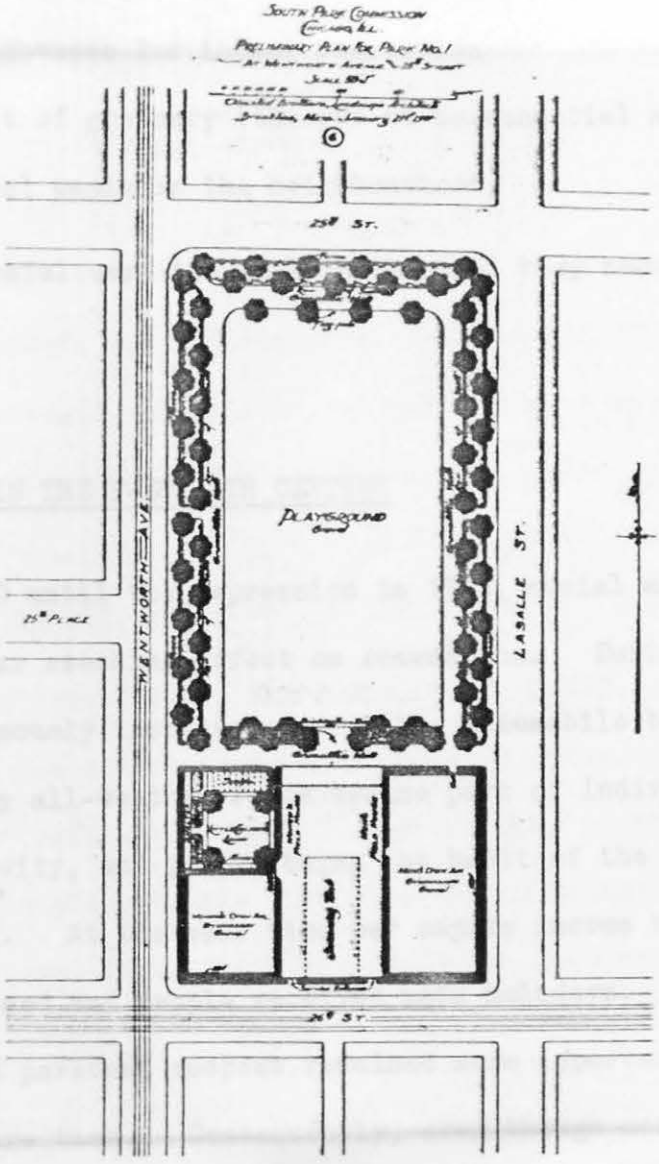
78. Chicago South Park Commissioners, Annual Report, 1903, pp. 7,10

79. Newton, op. cit., pp. 624-625



388. Chicago South Parks: preliminary plan (1904) by Olmsted Brothers for Park No. 1 of the newly authorized series of "small parks or pleasure grounds."

Fig. 2.3

Source: Newton, Norman T., Design on the Land, (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1971).

(a) Play spaces for children

(b) Open air exercise areas for men and women divided by sex

(c) Courts for games, wading and swimming pools

(d) Fieldhouses for indoor recreation

(e) A bit of greenery (thought to be essential as a visual oasis in the neighbourhood)

So successful were the small parks that they became community centres.

AMERICAN PARKS IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

From 1900 until the depression in 1932, social and economic changes had a far reaching effect on recreation. During this period the enormously increased use of the automobile became accepted. Many all-weather roads became part of individual recreation activity, and people began the habit of the Sunday afternoon drive. At the same time per capita income rose, working hours were reduced and people received paid holidays. Personal advancement and personal success remained more important than increased leisure time. Consequently, even though more and more people were successful economically, they would not convert this success into increased leisure time.

The spread of suburbia provided enough space that the need for public open space and children's playing fields was not recognised. There seemed, in the flight to the suburbs in the

1920's, to be unlimited open land on the edge of each development and, by the time a new sub-division had surrounded the old sub-division the pattern had been set. People learned how to live without open space, or even other community facilities. As suburbia grew, developers realised that people would settle for fewer amenities than once were considered to be essential for life in the city.

The First World War served as a catalyst for recreational activity after medical examination of the soldiers revealed a need for physical training. Recreation was seen to be necessary to build morale and to train bodies. Growth took place in both spectator sports and team sports, with golf, baseball and tennis the most popular sports, and women started participating as well.

City parks expanded greatly during this period, and it is thought that the number and acreage of parks in cities of over 100,000 people actually quadrupled.[80] The number of parks and acreages for the smaller cities grew at a faster rate, and the concept of park provision and management was also established during this time.

The interests of both park activities and recreation specialists were co-ordinated into national movements with the formation of the American Institute of Park Executives in 1898, and the Playground Association of America in 1906.

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80. Clawson, Held and Stoddard, op. cit., pp. 145-6

The Playground Association of America became the Playground and Recreation Association of America in 1911, and the National Recreation Association in 1930.[81] The National Recreation and Park Association has continued as the most prominent organisation to promote parks, playgrounds and recreation centres.

American cities began creating their own Park Commissions. After the National Capital Park Commission was established in 1924 in Washington D.C., it acquired parkland, and from 1926 it became the National Capital Park and Planning Commission with the aim of preparing comprehensive plans for the whole of the District of Columbia.

The major contribution to parks at the metropolitan scale was the vast programme of works, inspired and directed by Robert Moses, in New York in 1922.[82] By 1928, he had organised the New York Metropolitan Conference on Parks, which allowed New York City to acquire wooded land in the outlying areas and later use them for parks. In 1933, Moses co-ordinated the provision of parks on a regional basis, so that park and parkway started in the city and continued to the suburbs. With special legislation, state and city could proceed together, resulting in a spectacular number of large projects, such as Jones Beach.

New York's open space increased from 14,000 acres to 35,000

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81. Neumeyer and Neumeyer, op. cit., pp. 87-8

82. Chadwick, op. cit., pp. 216-7

acres, from small neighbourhood playgrounds to major parkways like the Henry Hudson Parkway.[83] The New York system, under Robert Moses, was a very considerable technical and administrative achievement which continues to give pleasure and recreation to millions of people.

The depression of the 1930's had two effects. On the one hand people had less time to spend on recreation, and so there was a drop in commercial recreation activities. On the other hand, people found outdoor recreation the cheapest form of recreation, and so an upturn occurred in the amount of outdoor recreation which occupied people's lives. It was a time of rethinking because employment was hard to find, and jobs were created to provide recreational facilities for a future population which would have employment. The U.S. Government initiated the New Deal projects to these ends.

The New Deal Works Progress Administration (WPA) provided funds for municipal parks which the cities and their local park administrations could not afford, as they carried a heavy financial burden from unemployment and other demands arising out of the depression.[84] The Federal Government provided, through both the

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83. Chadwick, op. cit., p. 218

84. McKelvey, Blake The Emergence of Metropolitan America 1915-1966 (Rutgers University Press, 1968) pp. 82-98

WPA and the National Reconstruction Agency (NRA), funds for new park projects, resulting in increases in the numbers and areas of municipal park facilities, and park improvements.[85]

During the Second World War, petrol rationing and travel restrictions hindered people from using the National Parks. However, since the hours of work increased, and total employment reached new levels, people's incomes increased, with more expenditure on amusements. Following the Second World War more economic and cultural changes occurred which had a major impact upon outdoor recreation. U.S. employment remained high despite occasional recessions; incomes and total population continued to rise and people with higher incomes wanted more leisure time and recreational facilities.

Clawson points out that though there was some expansion in the municipal park system after the Second World War, this expansion was definitely less than the rate of population growth within the cities.[86] It was in the suburbs that the rate of population growth was the most rapid and where the expansion of park acreage lagged most seriously. (see Table 2-1).

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85. National Resources Board, Recreational Use of Land in the United States (Washington D.C., 1938)
86. Clawson, Held and Stoddard, op. cit., p.148

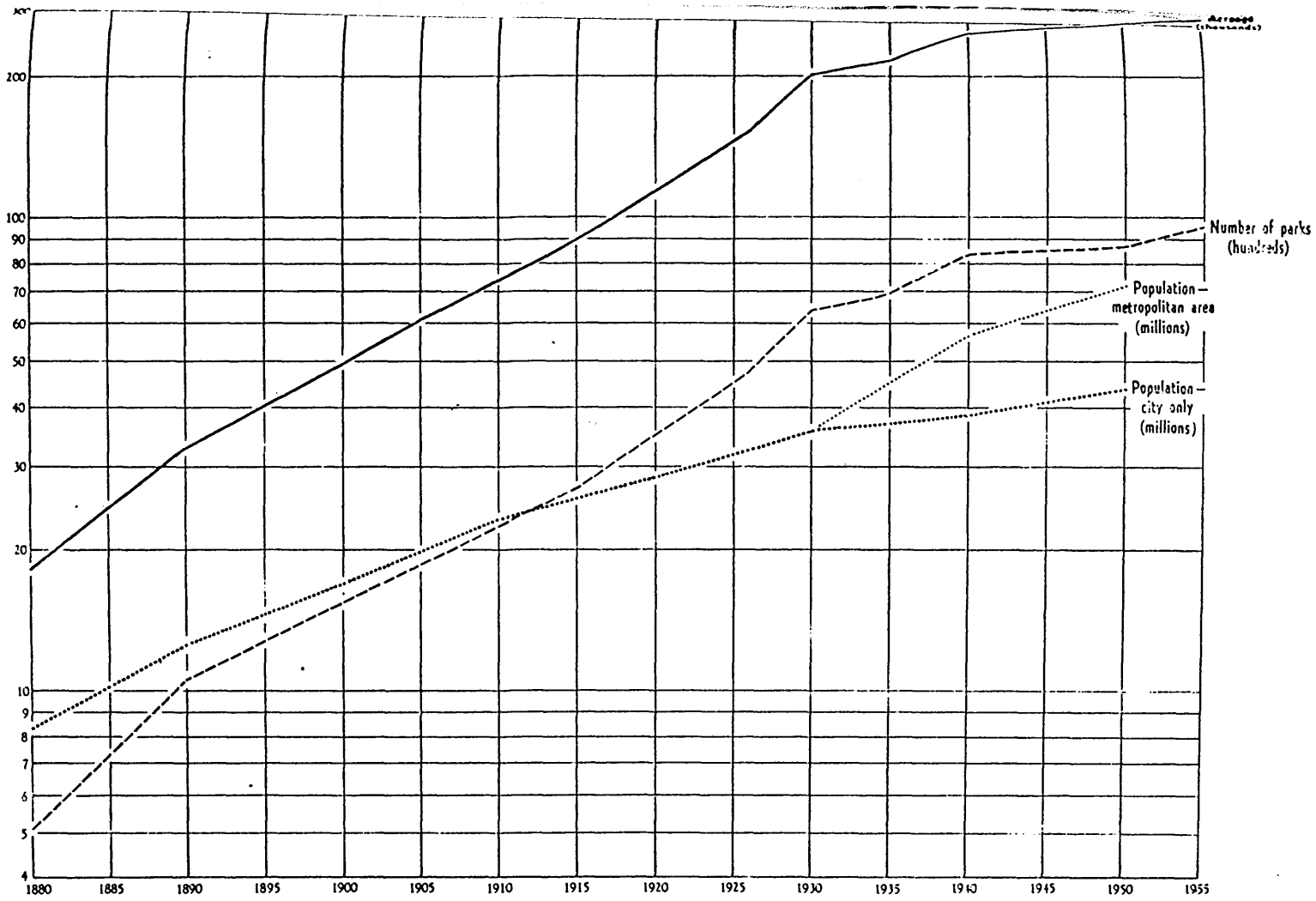

TABLE 2-1

Number and acreage of parks compared with population for all cities of 100,000 population or more in 1950, 1880-1950

Source: Clawson, M., Held, R. Burnell, Stoddard, Charles H., Land for the Future, published for Resources for the Future, Inc., (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1960).

Summary of the Historical Development of Open Space

In Britain, early concepts of open space appeared as the commons, royal hunting grounds, royal parks, pleasure gardens and the eighteenth century landscaped parks. (see Table 2-2). Although many of these parks have survived remarkably similar to their historic state, on to the present day. The landscaped parks had the greatest influence on forms of urban open space. In the eighteenth century the landscaped parks developed into the particular forms of public walks and urban squares, and by the nineteenth century, philanthropic Victorians created "the public park" in the image of the historic landscape park. The Victorians also invented the educational park such as the Botanic Gardens, the Horticultural Gardens and the Zoological Gardens. Legislation made all these parks into legally defined public open spaces.

By the end of the nineteenth century, collective sports started to dominate and recreation grounds and swimming baths focused attention on new concepts of recreation which were introduced. The 1908 Open Spaces Act allowed local authorities to acquire open space but it was not until the 1939 Physical Recreation Act that recreational concepts for sports and leisure facilities were expanded and included in the legislation, although further changes were interrupted by the Second World War.

In the United States an early lack of historical town parks was compensated by the middle and late nineteenth century development

TABLE 2-2

GROWTH OF URBAN OPEN SPACE

PERIOD	BRITAIN	UNITED STATES
11th century	Commons	
16th century	Royal Hunting Grounds	
17th century	Royal Parks Pleasure Gardens	Commons Plazas Squares
18th century	Urban Landscaped Parks	
	Squares, Crescents and Circus' Public Walks	Squares Public Walks Town Plazas
19th century	Footpaths Victorian Public Park Botanic Gardens	Rural Cemetery Victorian Public Park Botanic Gardens
	Horticultural Gardens	Horticultural Gardens
	Zoological Gardens	Zoological Gardens
	Winter Gardens	Winter Gardens
	Educational Museums	
	Open Air Museum	
	Recreation Ground	
	Open Space	Open Space
		Parkways and Park Systems
	Collective sports	Playgrounds
	Swimming Baths	
20th century	"Public Open Space"	Small Parks
	Recreation	Recreation
	National Playing Fields Association	National Park and Recreation Association
	Parks Departments	Parks Departments
		Works Progress Administration
	Leisure	Leisure

of numerous Victorian parks, such as Central Park, New York. These were influenced by the British landscaped park, but developed on a different scale and with permutations of their own, such as the introduction of pedestrians and vehicular segregation. These Victorian parks later developed into parkway systems of open space which have survived as important reservoirs of open space.

In Washington D.C., Chicago and elsewhere in the United States, the concept of comprehensive planning of cities and their environment came very largely through the earlier idea of the planning of complete systems of parks and parkways. This is in contrast to the historical development in Britain where planning legislation and planning agencies arose essentially from the sanitary public health and housing movements.

Recreation concepts began with the birth of the first playgrounds, and were fostered by private organisations. In the early part of the twentieth century American cities expanded the quantity of open space but without complementary legislation. During the Depression and the Second World War, open space and recreation projects were shelved, and so it was not until after the Second World War that the emphasis changed from parks and park systems to the concept of recreation and sport, as well as open space.

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3. Hoskins and Stamp, op. cit., p. 4.

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35. Chadwick, op. cit., p. 125.
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PART ONE: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

CHAPTER III

CHANGES IN ATTITUDES TOWARDS RECREATION AND OPEN SPACE IN THE UNITED STATES AND BRITAIN

CHANGES IN ATTITUDES TOWARDS RECREATION AND OPEN SPACE IN THE UNITED STATES AND BRITAIN

By the mid-twentieth century both Britain and United States were actively concerned with the philosophy and content of leisure and recreation. Major changes in philosophy and attitude developed.

The Changing American Attitudes to Open Space and Recreation

In the United States public parks and playgrounds became the casualties of post-Second World War modern community design and culture. The Victorian idea of the proud city with preserves of open space became obsolete. The new subdivisions, as they developed after the Second World War with Veterans' Housing Administration subsidies, consisted of a shopping centre surrounded by housing developments devoid of parks, libraries and playgrounds.

Most suburban areas neglected to develop parks and playgrounds needed by children and adults. In the new post-war suburbia the well-paid middle-class tax-payer did not do as well for himself and his children in the way of public recreation space as did the former low-paid worker in an industrial town where a few wealthy philanthropists provided the public with recreation areas.

In cities like New York, which once had an admirable record for park development, the rate of land acquisition dropped sharply. Between 1901 and 1940 park land accessions averaged nearly 16 acres for every increase of one thousand people. Between 1941 and 1955, the average dropped to 7 acres per thousand increase in population, although this average was better than the national average.[1]

Similar examples of neglect could be found in every city. In Portland, Oregon, new highways cut into twenty-one of the city's public parks. In Andalusia, Alabama, an entire city square was converted to an asphalted parking lot. In Philadelphia, the University of Pennsylvania turned a park into a parking lot. Concurrent with the neglect, at no time in U.S. history were people in a better position to enjoy and provide for recreation.

Following the Second World War, the increase in the numbers

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1. Higbee, Edward The Squeeze (New York: William Morrow and Co., 1960) pp. 228-9

of people, - over 100 million extra people in the last sixty years in the United States - increasing leisure, shrinking work-weeks, greater mobility, higher incomes were some of the factors creating environmental change.[2]

With the conclusion of the Korean War and the rise of a rich economy in the mid-fifties in the United States there began to emerge a growing interest in recreation, conservation, open space, beautification, pollution abatement, as ways to improve the quality of the environment. As the population pressed on a limited resource base, the task of providing a stimulating and satisfying environment became a greater challenge.

President Eisenhower responded to this challenge by creating, in 1958, the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission and appointing a well-known conservationist, Laurence Rockefeller, as chairman. Following Eisenhower, President Kennedy carried on with the preservation of the environment programme as a response to what Secretary of the Interior, Udall, called "The Quiet Crisis". In a famous quote, he said "There is an unmistakable note of urgency in the quiet crisis of American cities. We must act decisively .... if we are to assert the people's right to clean air and water, to open space, to well designed urban areas, to mental and physical health".[3]

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2. Goodman, William I., and Freund, Eric C. (edited by) Principles and Practice of Urban Planning (Washington, D.C.: International City Managers' Association, 1968) p. 185

3. Udall, Stewart L, The Quiet Crisis (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1963) p. 172

He stated that Olmsted's ideas were still applicable and that every well conceived urban redevelopment project should offer the opportunity to create green spaces in the central city, by "the Olmsteds of our own time to participate in the redesigning of our cities".[4]

Other writers wrote about the need to change attitudes. Charles Abrams preached that the future total man-made environment was where exploration and development needed to take place.[5]

Jane Jacobs had earlier in 1958 produced her book "The Death and Life of Great American Cities".[6] She attacked many attitudes, but particularly the stereotyped attitudes to parks:

> "The main leisure resource in urban areas is still seen as the park whether it be a large tract available to the population of the whole city as is Central Park to New Yorkers, Grant Park in Chicago and High Park in Toronto, or the local park consisting of one block of land grassed over, surrounded by flower-beds and accommodating a children's playground. Too often these are seen only as areas where the people trapped in the city through

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4. Udall, op. cit., pp. 164-5

5. Abrams, C. The City is the Frontier (New York: Harper & Row, 1965).

6. Jacobs, J. The Death and Life of Great American Cities (Random House, New York: 1958)

poverty, disability or mere misfortune can escape from the works of man and find moral and spiritual uplift away from the streets; they are simply the rus in urbe, the ideal of the urban planner. The other major form of publicly provided urban recreation has been the large cultural centre in the heart of the city wherein are grouped theatres, art galleries and concert halls. Both forms of provision, outdoor and indoor, have been attacked on the grounds that they do not give an adequately varied base to the service being offered, especially for the dispossessed who form the nucleus of demand for public and centrally placed amenities".[7]

The Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission

The Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission Report was published by the Kennedy Administration in 1962.[8] No recreation report has been as comprehensive as the ORRRC Report. Covering the wilderness, wildlife, parkland and the whole spectrum of outdoor resources, the report was a landmark of analysis of past

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7. Jacobs, J. op. cit., pp. 89-111

8. Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission Outdoor Recreation for America, 246 pp. Washington, D.C. (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1962).

failures and future opportunities in the United States.

It is notable that the report of the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission marked a turning point in the application of public resources and awareness. It marked the change from thinking about the traditional national parks and national forests to thinking about the places where people live and spend their lives.

The ORRRC Report predicted the future demand for outdoor recreation when America would contain a more concentrated population. "Compared to 63% in 1906, about 73% of the people will be living in metropolitan areas by the year 2000".[9] Longer life expectancy and generous retirement plans will add to the numbers of people able to participate in recreation.

In 1900 the average life expectancy at birth was 47 years. By 1960 it was 67 years for males and 71 years for females. Some demographers predict that the average life expectancy will exceed 80 and 85 years for males and females by the year 2000, but even if the same life expectancy continues, the number of retired people is expected to be 50% greater in the year 2000 than the 15 million who retired at the end of 1960 in the United States. Since 1900, America's population of citizens aged 65 or older has more than quadrupled.[10]

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9. ORRRC Report, op. cit., p. 30

10. ORRRC Report, op. cit., chap. 2

The Commission assumed that American incomes would be higher and more people would move into higher income brackets. At the time of the ORRRC initial survey in 1957, about 14% of their survey consumer units had incomes of over $10,000. By 1976 the proportion was expected to be 40% and by the year 2000 to 60% (having used constant 1959 dollars).[11]

The ORRRC Report predicted that Americans would have more free time, because the work week had been cut almost in half and in most industries the work day had been cut from an eight hour to a seven hour day.[12]

A 32-hour work week was predicted by the ORRRC by the year 2000 with seven-hour workdays. They also predicted three-day weekends which would produce a 28-hour work week. A parallel Census Report predicted a three-day weekend and a thirteen-week vacation by the turn of the century.[13] Most of the extra time would go to recreation and, as at least one-fifth of free time went into outdoor recreation in 1960, the ORRRC Report expected it to rise much more in the future.

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11. ORRRC Report, op. cit., chap. 2.

12. ORRRC Report, op. cit., chap. 2.

13. Urban America, Inc., 'Our People and their Cities', Chart Book, (Washington, D.C., 1965)

Out of the ORRRC Report came many programmes, but the immediate legislation which resulted from President John F. Kennedy's pioneering interest was one of the first Acts providing financial aid to urban areas for the acquisition of open space.[14]

Had President Kennedy lived, undoubtedly more legislation affecting urban areas would have been passed. As it was, the concern in the sixties, following the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission Report, centred on outdoor recreation in the countryside. State governments launched long-range plans for outdoor recreation programmes. New York State began with $75,000,000 appropriation for open spaces and parks; New Jersey had a green acres project; Wisconsin had a $50,000,000 investment programme in open land; Minnesota had an open space programme of major proportions, as did Ohio, Florida, Connecticut and Pennsylvania.[15] Thus, during the sixties and into the seventies recreation, wayside, scenic easements, artificial lakes, wetlands, wildlife refuges and recreational trails were an accepted activity of almost all the states in their countrysides. These programmes were holding actions to prevent the usurption of more open space.

President Johnson continued the Kennedy approach with an enthusiastic crusade for 'natural beauty', 'to reach into the

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14. Udall, op. cit., p. 164

15. **Council on Environmental Quality, The Second Annual Report of the Council on Environmental Quality (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971)**

redevelopment, rehabilitation and conservation of our urban and rural environment'.[16] His concept of the "Great Society" encouraged conservationists to actively pursue open space goals. There emerged many highly sophisticated organisations engaged in promoting conservation.[17] Their strategy was to obtain as much key natural land as possible into some form of permanent public or quasi-public ownership or control. While they very often of necessity were opportunistic in their choice of lands, they have been especially successful in obtaining open space on the fringes of big cities. They have been less successful with obtaining open space in the inner city, because of high costs and entangled ownerships.[18]

It was President Johnson's tragedy that despite his good intentions, by the end of the sixties, the high cost of the Vietnam War, both morally and financially, diverted energy and money from favoured domestic programmes.

Parallel to the foreign involvement in the Vietnam War was the domestic increase in crime and violence in the middle to late sixties. Tragic violence occurred in a dozen of the big cities

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16. White House Conference on Natural Beauty, Beauty for America, Proceedings, May 24-25, 1965 (Washington, D.C.)

17. For example, the Nature Conservancy, the Open Space Action Institute, etc.

18. Little, Charles E. Challenge of the Land. Open Space Action Institute (New York, 1968).
Whyte, William H., The Last Landscape, (Doubleday, New York, 1968).

in the United States in 1965, 1967, 1968 and 1969, which had roots in many problems, as unemployment and poor education of the black population, bad housing, slums, general population explosion, the decay of the leadership of the communities and racial conflicts. The poor environment worsened by the riots, crowded run-down houses, rubbish-littered streets were flagged by utility poles instead of trees; sidewalks were overhung with signs, interiors of blocks were fenced off into useless yards, and choked with garages. Communities lacked trees, grass, parks, quiet, and community facilities.

As the urban populations in the fifties, sixties and seventies became predominantly poor, middle income people abandoned the city for the suburbs or cloistered themselves with ethnic boundaries to preserve neighbourhood identity.

It has been one of the ironic twists of recent years that American cities have been abandoned by those elements of the population which could afford excellence. The cities have been left to the underprivileged who are unable to keep them in repair. Nor have the cities been able to push their administrative and fiscal boundaries out into the suburbs, as European cities have done, to redress the balance.

President Johnson's Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders ranked poor recreation facilities and programmes as the fifth most serious on the list of twelve deep grievances it found in the ghetto areas that were the scenes of the 1967 disturbances.[19]

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19. Johnson, President Lyndon B. "Special Message to the Congress on the Nation's Cities", (House Document No. 99), Congressional Record - House, March 2, 1965, p. 3814

The tastes of the potential users of parks and playgrounds changed. With the disappearance of the local leaders, the parks and playgrounds are not used as they were; the police patrol and playground supervision is not as effective, and there are not as many attendants or ground keepers. Most of New York's Central Park and Philadelphia's Fairmount Park, Olmsted's great creations, are now off limits at night and most people wisely avoid parts of them at all times. Parks, such as these, have degenerated to the point where they harbour vandals rather than stop vandalism. It is not their deficiencies as a physical park that encourages vandalism but rather administrative difficulties, the loss of leadership and finances to maintain the playgrounds. Nor is the degeneration due to a deteriorating interest in city parks and playgrounds.

The poorer population were abandoned in terms of leadership and matters of culture, aesthetics and standards and have been unable to organise for their needs. The professional politician responsible for city development has been too engrossed in keeping down the violence to be active in matters of recreation. Gradually the libraries, museums and historical monuments, the botanical gardens and other cultural facilities are becoming neglected.

A workshop on urban open space in 1969 requested the concerned to provide the opportunity to use leisure time in recreational ways and take pride in the neighbourhood, its design

and its potential.[20]

Both the Kennedy Open Space Programme and the Johnson "Beautify the City" crusade were at a standstill by the end of the Johnson era, and almost disappeared in President Nixon's era, with the Nixon "benign neglect" philosophy and the Watergate trauma.

Nixon considered his prime objective to reduce the riots, end the Vietnam War and reduce controversy. Although he had promised increased Federal aid to the major cities, once elected, he actually reduced urban aid, considering the removal of controversy took precedence over urban relief. Then as Nixon dealt with the aftermath of the Watergate break-in , almost from the beginning of his second term, there was little time to consider urban aid.[21]

The problem facing American cities for planning recreation persists. First, there remains a puritanical attitude about what should be provided, secondly there is the continued lack of funds for the cities, and thirdly the flight to the suburbs beyond the administrative city, and therefore beyond taxation, has been allowed to continue without the cities changing their administrative boundaries. Central facilities, such as public open space, are

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20. Lawson, Simpson F. (edited by) 'Workshop on urban open space', sponsored by American Society of Landscape Architects Foundation (Washington, D.C. 40210: U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development)

21. **Council on Environmental Quality, The Fifth Annual Report of the Council on Environmental Quality, (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1974)**

funded only by those people left within the statutory city limits.

The Changing British Attitude to Open Space, Recreation and Leisure

The British, historically, had granted recreation and leisure mainly to the aristocracy and the elite. It has taken some time for industrialisation and mechanisation to free the rest of British society to permit leisure habits for all society. Indeed Keynes, writing thirty years ago, remarked that the great majority of people would prefer increased income to increased leisure.[22] He failed to perceive that thirty years later, the majority of people would not have to make a choice, but they could enjoy both increased income and increased leisure.

Leisure, implying the freedom or opportunity afforded by unoccupied time to do particular activities, became part of the vocabulary. Recreational activities were a facet of leisure opportunities. But before the desire for leisure imposed itself, recreational activities increased.

The Second Education Act in 1944 gave local authorities specific responsibility to provide adequate facilities for recreation, social and physical training for primary, secondary and

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22. Keynes, J.M. General Economic Theory (London: 1936)

further education.[23] Secondary schools now provide facilities for sports grounds, swimming pools, gymnasia, sports halls or halls for dance and movement.

It was not until the Central Council for Physical Recreation and the National Playing Fields Association joined together in the Report on Sport given by the Wolfenden Committee in 1960 that eventually the central British government became involved with recreation in its own right in 1963[24], with the creation of the Sports Councils.

For Britain the consequences of the Second World War delayed changes well into the 1950s. Stability for Britain only started to emerge in the late fifties. British society as a whole has been conditioned by other traditional attitudes towards leisure and recreation provision. These attitudes come from deep rooted religious and cultural goals concerning developing character or preventing delinquency.

There have been five main trends since 1950 in changes in traditional attitudes towards patterns of recreation.

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23. Education Act, 1944 (7 & 8 Geo. 6) c. 31.

24. Central Council of Physical Recreation. "Sport and the Community", the report of the Wolfenden Committee on Sport (CCPR, 1960)

1. There is a greater interest in cultural pursuits.

2. There is a growth of social recreation - that is, groups of people spending an evening dining out or drinking together at parties.

3. There is increased participation in sport and physical recreation together with a relative decline in the popularity of many spectator sports.

4. There has been increased use of the countryside for leisure, reflecting a greater participation in outdoor pursuits generally.

5. There is a substantial increase in the proportion of people taking an annual holiday away from home.

There have been other developments, such as the pop music revolution and the growth of the tourist industry, which have had their effect on recreation needs.

Actual official attention to recreation and leisure in the fifties was scant. The major land use study of Britain by Dudley Stamp called recreation "the fourth great need of mankind" and stated that parks and playing fields were necessities, not luxuries.[25] But Stamp did not pursue the subject any further.

In the sixties public pressure on the countryside grew and

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25. Stamp, L.D. The Land of Britain: Its Use and Misuse, (London: Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd., 1962), p. 430

with it came some public concern with the problems of access and amenity. Interest was focused on the first of "the Countryside in 1970" Conferences in 1963.[26] Attention was drawn to conflicting interests as well as the numbers of people using facilities. A second 'Countryside in 1970' Conference produced a series of reports to qualify the issues and stimulated a flurry of action and legislation far more positive in intent.[27]

The immediate legislative result of the first Conference was a White Paper on Leisure in the Countryside for England and Wales, which preceded the Countryside Act of 1968[28] and the replacement of the National Parks Commission by the Countryside Commission with wider powers.[29]

Despite the Conferences, there was no great awakening to the leisure revolution in Britain; no recognition on the part of the political parties to provide for the new revolution; no great spate of dedicated proponents to the cause; no rush of published literature.

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26. 'The Countryside in 1970', Proceedings of the Study Conference, November 1963 (London: H.M.S.O., 1964)

27. 'The Countryside in 1970', Proceedings of the Second Conference, Report, London, 10-12 November 1965, published by the Royal Society of Arts and the Nature Conservancy, London.

28. 'Leisure in the Countryside for England and Wales', February 1966 (H.M.S.O.) Cmd.

29. Countryside Act 1968. (C.41)

One of the first groups to realise the coming revolution and still one of the few protagonists was the Civic Trust, whose survey was reported in Michael Dower's "Fourth Wave: The Challenge of Leisure" in 1965.[30] In this oft quoted document, Dower described three great waves which have broken across the face of Britain since 1800. The first was the sudden growth of dark industrial towns. The second was the growth of suburbs along the railway line, and the third was the sprawl of the car-based suburbs. Michael Dower suggested that under the guise of a modest word there is another wave appearing which could be more powerful than all the others, and that this was the leisure growth.

Dower pointed out the reality of British towns. The older towns have few houses with adequate gardens, playgrounds and playing fields are few and small open spaces exist only where the Victorians chose to provide them. In the newer suburbs the gardens are adequate, but there are no pubs or clubs, and in the smaller towns there are few sports halls or all-weather playing surfaces as only in the new towns and one or two enterprising boroughs do the facilities match the demand. Since nine out of ten people live in towns or cities and, since most of the leisure is spent near our homes, cities should be designed for it. Pleading for changing this kind of grave unhappiness in urban life and for reducing the weekend flight from the towns, the Dower Survey was one of the

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30. Dower, Michael 'Fourth wave: the challenge of Leisure', A Civic Trust Survey. Architects' Journal, Vol. 141. January 20, 1965, pp. 122-190

first to say that near the home should be playgrounds, small open spaces, kick-about areas and tennis courts built into the very fabric of the housing areas preferably linked by a network of footpaths.

The Dower Survey called for a higher quality of design in the actual open space, and for a reappraisal of open space and parkland. He suggested the old neighbourhood idea of a planned system of open space in each town linking the elements together. Georgian squares and Victorian parks should be transformed to become part of a continuous matrix of parkland. A change of attitude was the key to open space in the cities, consisting of two motives:

1. The first was architectural, to produce a town which is coherent and compact - a visible unity.

2. To recognise the changes in leisure, particularly the link between many forms of recreation, the need for multiple use in leisure facilities and the growing desire for movement by foot, cycle, horse between the various open spaces without entanglement with motor cars.

Dower asked for a new open space pattern for each town, each region growing from the play space to the local park and the open countryside, not unlike the outward growth of interest and vision as the baby becomes a child, a youth and then a man.

Recognition in Britain is still growing. Curiously enough, no other documents with this philosophic leadership approach have

had the impact of the Dower Fourth Wave report. Instead, attention has taken either an academic or an official research approach.

Summary - Changes in the Philosophy Towards Recreation and Open Space in the United States and Britain

In the United States, although immediately after the Second World War park Development dropped dramatically, following the Korean War and the rise of a rich economy, there emerged a growing interest in recreation, conservation, open space, beautification, and environmental improvement. After President Eisenhower created the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission in 1958, there began a decade of concern and legislation for open space. Because of the ORRRC Report, President Kennedy produced one of the first acts providing financial aid to urban areas for the acquisition of open space. President Johnson continued with an enthusiastic crusade for open space and beautification of urban areas, which were gradually halted by the riots of the late sixties, and almost disappeared in President Nixon's era.

For Britain the consequence of the Second World War delayed changes in recreation and open space until well into the 1950's. The British Government became involved with recreation directly in 1963 with the creation of the Sports Councils. Then interest focused on the amenity and access to the countryside culminating in

the Countryside Act legislation.

Curiously there has been a slow awakening to recreation/ open space programmes in Britain and certainly not the same rush as in the United States of concerned citizens advocating conservation and the development of open space, with the sole exception of the Civic Trust's concern and their "Fourth Wave" report. However open space legislation and programmes began to wane in the United States during President Nixon's term while recognition and programmes in Britain are still growing. Instead in Britain attention was originally focused on academic or official research.

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17. For example, the Nature Conservancy, the Open Space Action Institute, etc.

18. Little, Charles E., Challenge of the Land, Open Space Action Institute, (New York, 1968).
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PART TWO: THE PROBLEM

CHAPTER IV

THE DEMAND FOR OPEN SPACE

THE DEMAND FOR OPEN SPACE

CHANGING BEHAVIOURAL PATTERNS

On both sides of the Atlantic, because of people's desires for more recreational activities with their new leisure time, researchers began in earnest to study recreational patterns of demand and supply of open space and recreational facilities. Many different questions arose with the newly acquired leisure, a phenomenon mostly restricted to the industrialised countries like Britain and the United States.

Recreation Research

A. Definitions of Leisure and Recreation

Although the terms leisure and recreation may appear to be

used interchangeably, there are definite distinctions. Palmer, for instance, offers the following definition:

> "Leisure is essentially the time one has free from income earning responsibilities and from personal and family housekeeping activities, such as eating, sleeping, keeping house, shopping and similar activities that are necessary for day-to-day existence.
>
> Recreation, in any socially accepted sense, involves constructive activity for the individual and the community. Sport is essentially recreation involving physical effort. The more leisure time available, the more recreation is demanded and the greater are the pressures on land use for recreational purposes".[1]

The International Study Group on Leisure and Social Science defined leisure as consisting of "a number of occupations in which the individual may indulge of his own free will either to rest, to amuse himself, to add to his knowledge and improve his skills disinterestedly and to increase his voluntary participation in the life of the community after discharging his professional, family and social duties".[2]

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1. Palmer, J.E. 'Recreational Planning - a Bibliographical Review', Planning Outlook, New Series, Vol.2 (1967) pp. 19-69.

2. Maw, Ray, 'Construction of a Leisure Model', Official Architecture and Planning, Vol.32, No.8, August, 1969, pp. 924-35.

The Countryside Recreation Glossary states, "Leisure is the time available to the individual when the disciplines of work, sleep and other basic needs have been met and recreation is any pursuit engaged upon during leisure time other than pursuits to which people are normally highly committed".[3]

It is not clear to which activities people are "highly committed". In Sebastian De Grazia's view, society has turned definitions upside down. Work has become easy, while leisure has become difficult requiring money and energy.[4] In a similar vein, Burton explains the changing definition of leisure and recreation, where leisure can no longer be considered as the residual time left over after work, chores or sleep. Leisure time has become an imperative function in which it is time set aside to (1) provide relaxation; (2) provide entertainment; and (3) provide for personal and social development. As Burton stresses, leisure is not an alternative to work, rather it presupposes the existence of it and provides a contrast or complement to it.[5]

Most recreation studies assume that the classic economic model of supply and demand is in operation for recreation. Although

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3. Countryside Commission, Countryside Recreation Glossary, (Countryside Recreation Research Advisory Group, 1970)

4. De Grazia, Sebastian, Of Time, Work and Leisure, 20th Century Fund, (New York, 1962).

5. Burton, T.L. The Classification of Recreation Demand and Supply. (University of Birmingham Centre for Urban and Regional Studies), 1967.

many other aspects of man's life are planned, such as work, sleeping and eating, man's leisure time is free to respond to basic market laws of supply and demand. Man can dispose of his free time as he wishes, thus indicating freely his demands, and can decide how much of his leisure time he wants to fill with recreation activities. At the same time, the supply of recreational resources, even if partially controlled, has to compete with commercial resources and economic competitors. Thus, most of the studies consider recreation and open space resources from the economic supply and demand point of view.

Burton analysed recreation demand and supply based upon:-[6]

i) an assessment of supply

ii) an assessment of demand

iii) the resulting demand and supply relationship.

The difficulty in estimating and evaluating recreation demand and supply stems from the complex nature of recreation and leisure, and the wide range of differently defined activities which hinder coordination of the results of various studies.

Burton's terms of classification contain certain broad categories which are generally recognised. He makes the distinction between active and passive pursuits, formal and informal pursuits. Active pursuits involve strenuous participation,

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6. Burton, op. cit., pp. 1-4

such as football, golf or climbing. Passive pursuits do not require physical energy, like picnicking or driving for pleasure. Formal pursuits require some organisation, such as a team sport. Informal pursuits are unorganised, individual activities, such as walking or camping. Formal pursuits tend to require specialised facilities in areas, whereas informal pursuits make less specific but sometimes more widespread demands.

B. Studies of Recreation Demand

A few British and American major studies remain the main sources of information on recreation demand. Latterly, since 1970, lack of funds have forced local authorities and research organisations to concentrate their meagre resources on local area surveys.

The earliest report in depth and still the most thorough and comprehensive study in the field of outdoor recreation was that of the United States Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission,[7.] conducted by the U.S. Bureau of the Census, based on a National Recreation Survey of interviews with 16,000 persons while other research workers studied the effects of projected changes on income, population and leisure time. Following the ORRRC Report, there were several other smaller regional American studies between

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7. Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission, Outdoor Recreation for America, A Report to the President and to the Congress, January 31, 1962 (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1962)

1960 and 1975.

Although there is no such analysis of recreation demand in Britain comparable in scale to the ORRRC Report, there have been three important studies. The first survey, the Pilot National Recreation Survey by the British Travel Association in conjunction with Professor H.B. Rodgers of the University of Keele in 1967, covered the whole country.[8] In 1969, a regional breakdown appeared in a second report.[9] The Pilot Survey is most comparable with the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Report. The second national survey was the Government Social Survey, carried out by the Ministry of Housing and Local Government, with the Sports Council, published with the title, Planning for Leisure by K.K. Sillitoe, in 1969.[10] The third group of studies, the extensive Greater London Council Surveys, were conducted in stages over a ten year period.[11]

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8. British Travel Association/University of Keele, Pilot National Recreation Survey; Report No. 1, H.B.Rodgers, (July 1967).

9. British Travel Association/University of Keele, Pilot National Recreation Survey, Report No. 2, Regional Analysis, 1969.

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Greater London Council, Recreation Research Report, Vol. I, II and III. (Greater London Council, 1975, 1976, 1977).

The two main British Studies were based on smaller samples than the ORRRC Report. In the Pilot National Recreation Survey, only 3,167 respondents were questioned, spread over the regions of Great Britain, as against the very large sample of 16,000 plus respondents of the ORRRC Report. The major study following the Pilot Study never materialised. The Government's Social Survey was based on interviews with 2,682 people in urban areas. The Greater London Survey was based on interviews with 2,015 adults from a stratified random cluster sample of 33 wards in London.

These major studies examine leisure and recreation from different approaches. Studies based on straight socio-economic indices of change are the American ORRRC Report and the British Pilot National Recreation Study.

Studies based on changes in taste and habit are the British Government Social Survey, as well as the American Chapin household activity system studies and the time-budget diaries of Maw.[12] The environmental quality studies concerned with recreation/leisure supply studies by the Greater London Council are concerned with measuring the quality of the environment.

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12. Maw, op. cit.
Chapin, F.S. and Hightower, H.C., 'Household activity patterns and land use', Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. 31 (August 1965), pp. 222-231

C. Problems of Recreation Research

The major areas of recreation research which have not been studied sufficiently are (1) socio-psychological factors; (2) physical factors underlying recreational choice; and (3) anthropological factors. Indeed, the American ORRRC Report predicted that only 30% of recreation determinants were socio-economic. The other 60% were based on more complex reasons.

The social attitudes or the personality traits of people in the home and working environment that may determine recreation choice are still unknown. Ten-pin bowling boomed for a while and then declined in Britain, all within a ten-year period. Now there is an interest in dry-skiing on artificial surfaces. Taste appears to be based on historical background, but it also appears unnecessary that each population group follows the taste of its historical antecedents. There may be revolutionary changes caused by changes in socio-psychological factors. Studies describing social attitudes towards recreation are needed to investigate recreational desire lines.

Measuring demand for different types of recreation creates a further difficulty because these reflect the present supply of recreation. If the facilities do not exist there is apparently no demand, but if one supplies the facilities it may lead to an expansion of demand. The questionnaire interview technique used by all the major studies forces the interviewee to express verbally a kind of latent demand factor, but the

interviewer must still attempt to understand if the response is genuine. The CRRRC Report suggested that "where the facilities are, people will use them or that supply stimulates its own demand, making possible the satisfaction of an unfulfilled demand".[13]

Thirdly, the anthropological approach studies the micro-cultural differences among urban dwellers. Regional variations exhibit differences in the total pattern of recreation demand, as well as distinct local differences which have to be recognised in any local provision. In Herbert Gans' studies of The Levittowners, examination is made within the activity system's framework of the values and situation of a residence in the area.[14] Logical field observation provides possibly better answers than the interview technique.

Regional variations in supply result in the substitution of demand for one specific activity for which facilities are lacking by other activities for which there are facilities. The complexity is such that one needs to analyse the factors as well as the absolute demand.

Up-dating statistics and research is just as necessary. For instance, the Pilot National Recreation Survey published in 1965, was to be followed by the Main Survey, but prohibitive costs ended the proposed Main Survey and all further work.

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13. CRRRC Report, op. cit., Chap. 2.

14. Gans, H.J. The Levittowners, (New York: Pantheon Press, 1967)

The qualitative nature of the recreational experience has not been pursued. Attention is paid to the quantity of recreation and the requirement of each facility, but not to the quality of the recreational provision. Social and psychological experimentation is needed before judgements about quality can be made.

With these problems in mind, the experimental studies by Chapin and Hightower which concentrate on household activity systems methods reveal attitudes towards quality and satisfactions with present activity patterns by the gaming method.[15] The gaming method technique discovers possible future changes in the use of leisure more reliably than the cheaper and more popular interview technique. The gaming technique gives inarticulate people a variety of options which they probably could not verbalise in an interview technique, but can easily visualise in a gaming situation.

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15. Chapin and Hightower, op. cit.

Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission

The Pilot National Recreation Survey - Outdoor Recreation

A. Overall Demand

The 27 Study Reports of the ORRRC were summarised in one volume entitled Outdoor Recreation for America. The Report concentrated on the existing demand for recreational resources and, by examining socio-economic determinants, predicted future trends.

Only the first part of the Pilot National Recreation Survey examined general recreation patterns and their trends and thus can be compared to the American ORRRC findings. The second part of the Pilot Survey is thus more comparable to the later Government Social Survey, as it examined the use of total leisure time.

The most oft-repeated fact from the ORRRC Report concerns the size of the problem. The Commission estimated that although the American population would nearly double, the overall demand for outdoor recreation would treble by the year 2000.[16] The magnitude of demand is indicated by the percent of increase in the use of recreation facilities between 1951 and 1959. There was an 86% increase in visits to national parks, a 143% increase

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16. ORRRC Report, op. cit., pp. 26-31

in visits to selected recreation areas and yet, at the same time, the population and their per capita disposable income each only increased 15%.[17]

Examination of the total demand showed the favourite activities were (see Table 4-1):[18]

1. Driving for pleasure
2. Walking for pleasure
3. Playing outdoor games
4. Swimming
5. Sightseeing
6. Cycling
7. Fishing

What they preferred to do underscored what the Americans actually did. Their preferences were (see Table 4-2):[19]

1. Driving for pleasure - 61%
2. Going on picnics - 59%
3. Swimming or going to the beach - 36%

In comparison to the ORRRC Report, the British Pilot Survey found seven outstanding outdoor activities with high participation

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17. ORRRC Report, op. cit., pp. 26-31

18. ORRRC Report, op. cit., pp. 26-31

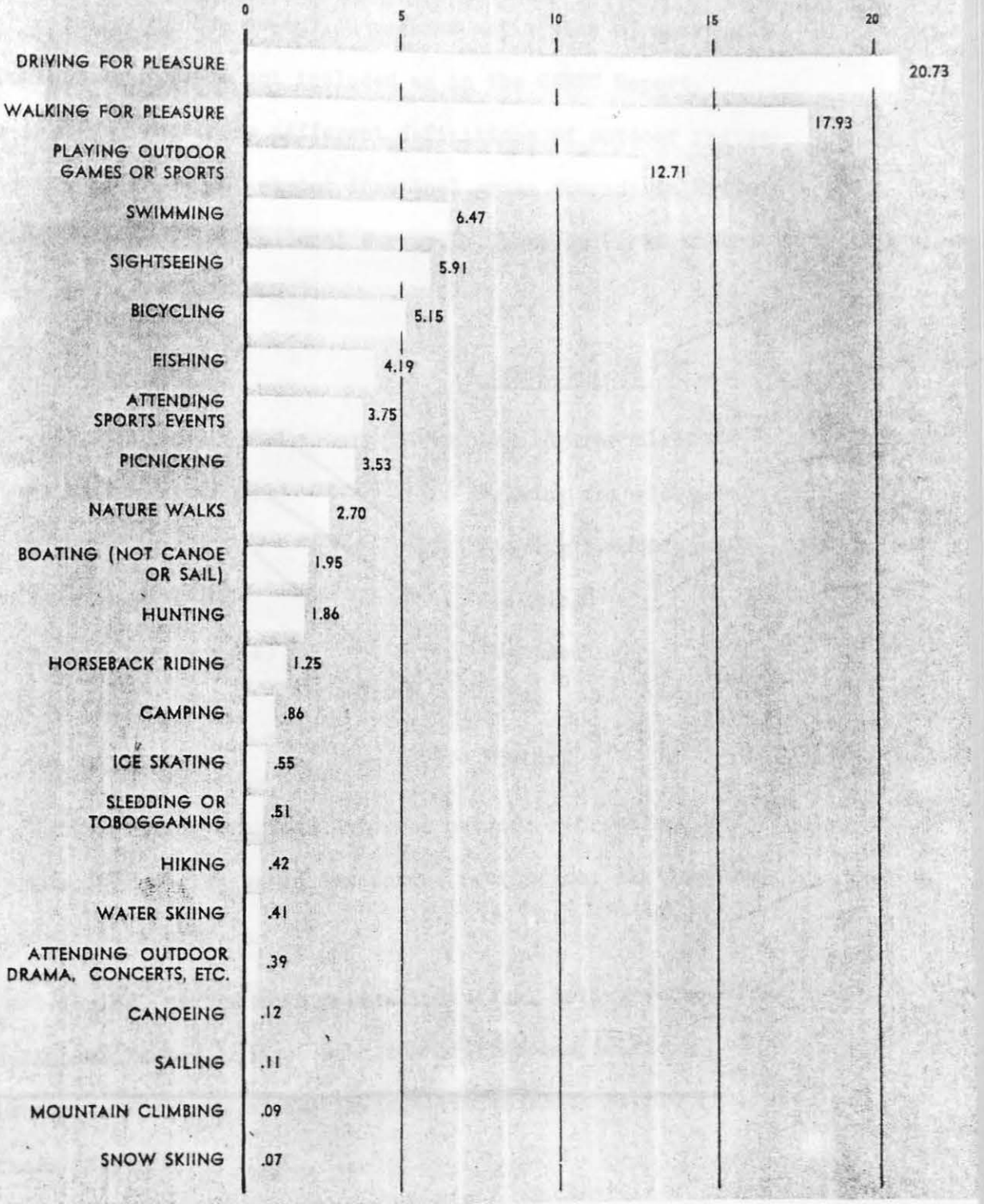
19. ORRRC Report, op. cit., Chap. 2

TABLE 4-1

WHAT AMERICANS DO MOST

NUMBER OF ACTIVITY DAYS PER PERSON, 12 YEARS AND OVER

JUNE 1, 1960—MAY 30, 1961



Source: ORRRC - Outdoor Recreation for America.

rates.[20] Since the emphasis in the Pilot Survey was on active outdoor recreation, the so-called passive activities of driving and simple walking were not included as in the ORRRC Report. Taking into account these different definitions of outdoor recreation in the two surveys, almost identical gross demands in Britain were found by the Pilot National Survey. These were, in order of popularity (see Table 4-2):

Pilot Survey	ORRRC Report
1. Team Games (56%)	1. Driving for pleasure
2. Swimming (50%)	2. Walking for pleasure
3. Cycling (47%)	3. Playing outdoor games
4. Tennis (36%)	4. Swimming
5. Athletics (36%)	5. Sightseeing
6. Camping (31%)	6. Cycling
7. Hiking (30%)	7. Fishing

Neither study examined informal outdoor recreation, and were pre-occupied with so-called active recreation, listing team and individual sports.

Swimming was the most common individual active recreational accomplishment found amongst both the British and American population, and is one of the few activities which people continue all their life.

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20. BTA Pilot Survey, op. cit., p. 5.

TABLE 4-2

PATTERNS OF RESPONSE

	1 Activities reported ever done		2 Activities reported for 1965		3 Activities reported for 1960-64		4 Activities contacts would like to do		5 Activities contacts plan to do		6 % owning relevant equipment	
	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%
Team games	1	56%	4	4%	10	4%	13	3%	7	1%	2	8%
Swimming	2	50%	1	11%	1	10%	4	6%	2	2%		
Cycling	3	47%	10	2%	5	5%	18	2%	7	1%		
Tennis	4	36%	4	4%	5	5%	11	4%	7	1%	1	18%
Athletics	4	36%	13	1%	13	2%	18	2%	18	0%		
Camping	6	31%	4	4%	2	6%	11	4%	2	2%	2	8%
Hiking	7	30%	2	5%	5	5%	13	3%	7	1%		
Skating	8	23%	13	1%	10	4%	7	5%	7	1%	7	3%
Fishing	9	21%	2	5%	2	6%	7	5%	2	2%	2	9%
Bowls	12	13%	10	2%	5	5%	13	3%	2	2%		
Golf	13	12%	7	3%	10	4%	2	9%	1	3%	6	5%
Riding	14	11%	13	1%	13	2%	4	6%	7	1%	9	1%
Hill walking, climbing	15	10%	13	1%	13	2%	18	2%	7	1%	8	2%
Natural history	15	10%	10	2%	13	2%	13	3%	7	1%		
Youth hostelling	17	8%	18	0%	18	1%	18	1%	18	0%	2	8%
Motor sports	18	7%	13	1%	13	2%	7	5%	7	1%		
Sea sailing	10	17%	7	3%	5	5%	1	11%	2	2%	9	1%
Inland sailing	10	17%	7	3%	2	6%	3	7%	18	0%	9	1%
Sub-aqua sports	19	4%	18	0%	18	1%	13	3%	18	0%	9	1%
Winter sports	20	3%	18	0%	18	1%	4	6%	7	1%	9	1%
Archery	20	3%	18	0%	18	1%	7	5%	7	1%		

Source: British Travel Association/University of Keele, Pilot National Recreation Survey, Report No. 1, 1967.

B. Pattern of Recreation Demand

The ORRRC Report used socio-economic determinants to predict future recreational use.[21] The Commission concluded that measurable socio-economic determinants accounted for only 30% of the variance in participation levels and that fashion, taste and changing lifestyles of different generations accounted for the larger part of the variation in demand for recreation facilities. Thus, further more precise studies must be made of changing lifestyles.

Both reports studied similar socio-economic determinants; age, income, education, sex, occupation and location, as follows:

1. Age (see Table 4-3): - Of all the factors, age was the most predictable determinant. The older people became, the less time they spent in outdoor activities. This was particularly obvious in the more strenuous activities such as cycling, hiking, riding, water-skiing and camping, although people, even in late middle-age, spent a lot of time swimming, boating, fishing and going on nature walks. Conversely, there were those recreational activities such as walking and driving for pleasure, sight-seeing and fishing where high participation rates were enjoyed even by senior citizens. Since there is still no technical innovation which has changed the normal physical inability of advancing years preventing participation in active outdoor recreation, people tend to do less outdoor

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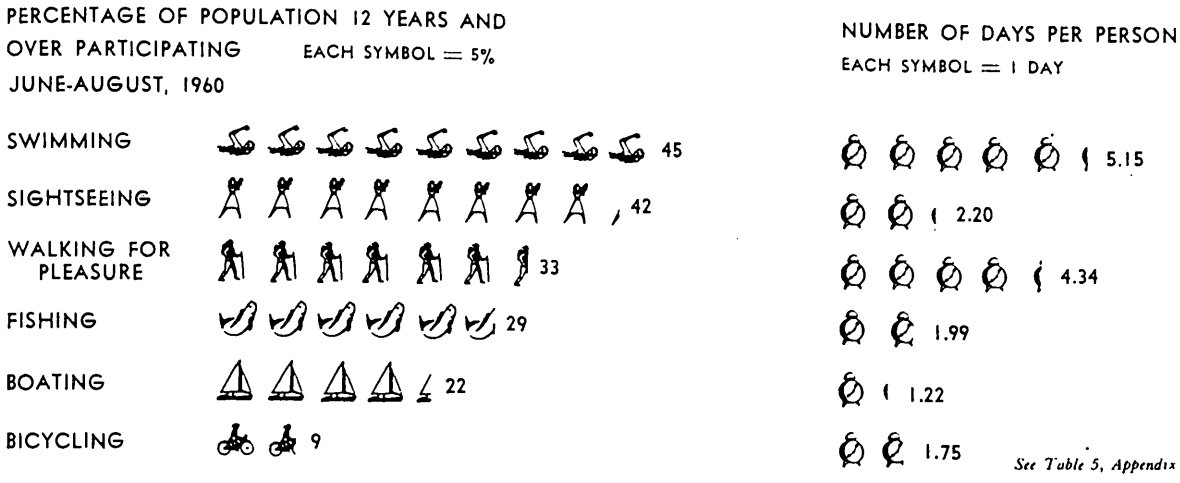
21. ORRRC Report, op. cit., pp. 26-31

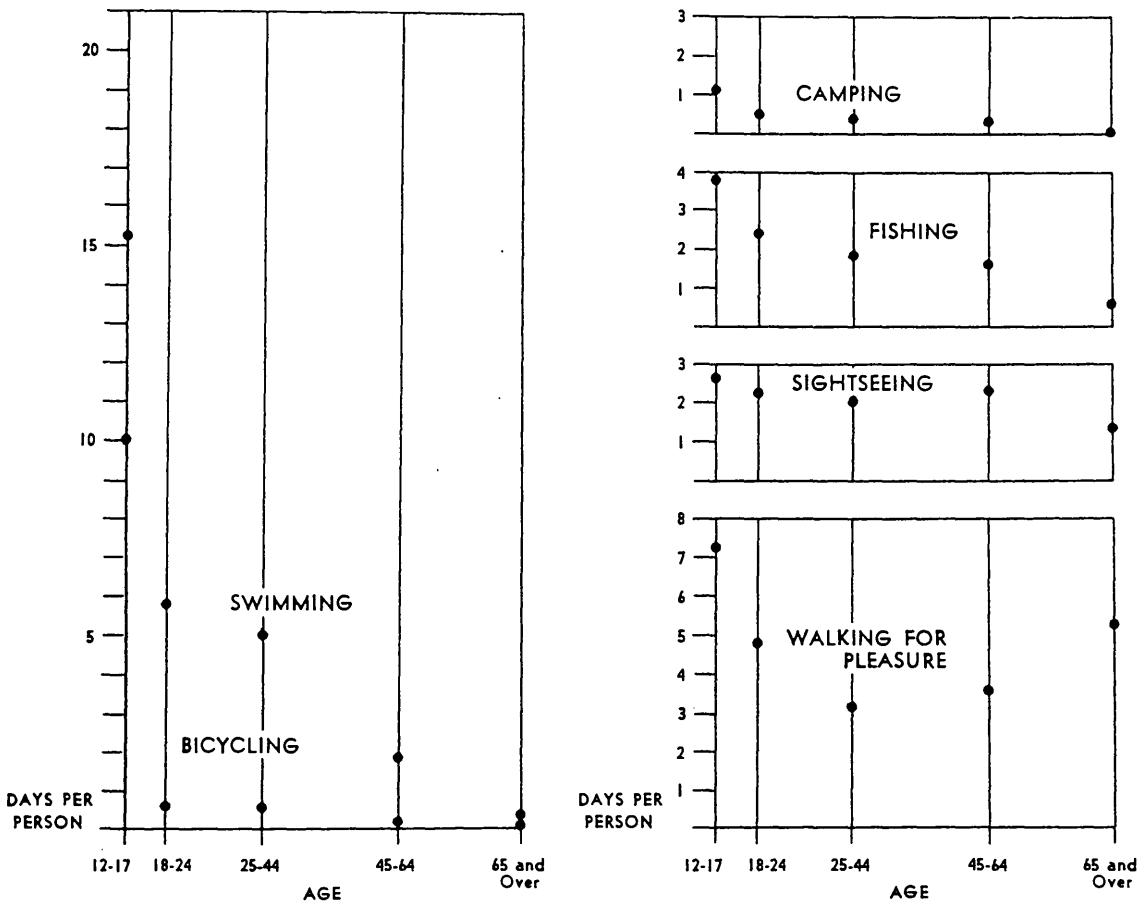
TABLE 4-3

At present, it is the SIMPLE PLEASURES Americans seek most.



See Table 5, Appendix

Of all the factors, AGE has the sharpest influence. As might be expected, older people engage less in most outdoor activities.



These are primarily activities of the young

these tend to last a lifetime

Source: Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission, Outdoor Recreation for America, A Report to the President and to the Congress (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1962).

activities as they get older.

Unlike the ORRRC Report, the Pilot National Survey noted that marriage inhibited outdoor recreation in Britain more than age.[22] In the Pilot study, the single, regardless of age, were markedly more active, and this difference was so consistent across the whole range of pursuits that it was taken as standard. The only exceptions were those married couples who engaged in family activities. These particular married couples returned as high a rate of incidence of participation as the single people.

This finding corroborates the ORRRC finding that where family recreation activities are very strong, differences in age participation rates drop.

2. Income : - Income had a direct effect on the rate of participation in active recreation. Those British families with incomes below £650 (equivalent to those families in the United States with incomes below $1,300) were predominantly from the older age group and it was found that 25% of them had never attempted any outdoor activity on the list and indeed seemed to be totally inactive.[23]

Outside the lowest income group's lack of participation,

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22. BTA Pilot Survey, p. 5.

23. BTA Pilot Survey, op. cit., pp. 6-7

almost every pursuit increased with income. It was difficult to identify any generally low income recreation, although team games and cycling were the most characteristic low income recreations. Bowls, fishing and swimming showed a marked increase in incidence within the first two income stratas, indicating a lower middle income association.

High income respondents were more active than the greater part of the population, not only in the away-from-home recreational activities, but also in the passive and social ones. The higher income pursuits included virtually all the individual sports such as golf (most characteristic), gliding, archery, skin-diving.

In both studies, high income was associated with a high level of participation in almost every field without much reference to the level of expense involved and some of the cheapest pursuits, i.e. walking in the U.S. and hill-walking in Britain, were strongly associated with high income levels. In fact, the Pilot National Recreation Survey points out that university education seems to breed a keen interest in cheap recreation. Thus, a higher income population will throw greater pressure than those people of lower incomes on outdoor recreational facilities of a variety of types. As general standards of education and incomes rise, this pattern will become less a specific regional pattern of a minority group, and more the general case.

3. Education : - Educational level had an effect on recreational habits because it repeated the trends shown for

income and occupation. Generally, more educated people were more active in recreation. This was particularly true in the active sports of swimming, playing games, walking and climbing for pleasure.

Adding educational attainments and income level determinants together, other trends appeared. The low income/low educational category recreation required modest facilities such as those for cycling and fishing or modest space allocations for swimming and team games, which do not generate serious transport demands. A local swimming bath, a few acres of football pitch and a length of canal bank meet these needs.

On the other hand, high income/high education category recreation generated land demand, as for golf, gliding, sailing, camping, or water skiing, and required the provision of very specific facilities which were localised to particular types of site. In most cases these activities were further away from home and generated large localised traffic flow. A balance is required for recreation areas of different income distributions and different educational attainments.

4. Sex : - Sex is not the strong determinant in the United States that it is in Britain, as seen in the British Surveys. In the ORRRC Report, sex did not affect the participation rates as much as age or income. There was sexual emphasis in the traditionally masculine pursuits of shooting and fishing. But in the family activities in which both men and women participate,

such as swimming, driving, picnicking and camping, the participation by women was as much as the men. It was found that in families who sought outdoor recreation together, 60% of the husbands and wives indicated that the whole family enjoyed at least two of the same outdoor activities together. Families turned to those activities in which the children could participate with the parents.

5. Occupation : - Occupation had considerable influence although it was not particularly the work that a person engaged in but how much he was paid for it and how long a vacation he was given. In the ORRRC Report, professional people enjoyed the most recreation and farmworkers enjoyed the least. The managerial and proprietor group enjoyed under the average recreation, which may be explained by the large number of self-employed in the group, and generally, the self-employed and their wives showed a lower rate of outdoor activities than others.

In Britain the higher occupational groups had a wider recreational experience than the lower, so that recreations that supposedly have a lower occupational group association, such as fishing, were reported as often by executives and families in the higher occupational groups than by the manual workers reporting the inexpensive recreations such as camping and youth hostelling. Other pursuits with an executive image, such as riding and tennis, were more widely shared than might have been expected.

To summarise the British participation in outdoor sport, age is the most important determinant and follows the pattern of the ORRRC Report in America.[24] Cycling, team games, athletics and skating were dominated by the very young. Tennis, riding, swimming, hiking and hill-walking persisted through the 24-35 age band and were about the most popular sports in early adult life. Fishing, camping and golf, and the more expensive forms of sailing showed a peak or a plateau of incidence in the middle age ranges, and bowls was almost exclusively a low income and old persons' sport.

The ORRRC Report also considered location of outdoor recreation which the British Pilot Survey did not. It was found that three out of four Americans went no more than 50 miles from home to get away for the day.[25] The greatest pressures for recreation demand were not in the wide open spaces or even the medium open spaces, but were in the nearby zone - the day trip possibilities. Out-of-town parks, or country parks, were not accessible to the inner city family without a car. The minority groups, the old and the very young needed recreational facilities close by.

It was the discovery that the greatest pressures on recreation demand were not in the wide open spaces, or even the

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24. BTA Pilot Survey, op. cit., p. 12

25. CRRRC Report, op. cit., Chap. 2

medium open spaces, but in the accessible spaces, which persuaded later Federal government agencies to start considering the open space problems of the urban area and eventually open space near the home.

The ORRRC Report concentrated on the national and the state parks, but instead discovered a need for simple close-to-home activities, such as the unexpected preference for walking for pleasure, and that the most urgent areas of need were in the cities and suburbs.

Government's Social Survey - Planning for Leisure

The Pilot National Recreation Survey

A. Use of Leisure Time

Also relevant to the study of open spaces was the Pilot Survey's concern with how people used their leisure time. Examining total leisure time showed how little time was spent in active outdoor recreation, and that the emphasis on active recreation had been overdone.

The Government's Social Survey by Sillitoe, in 1968, benefitted by the growing awareness of the importance of leisure over recreation and was entitled fittingly "Planning for Leisure".[26] Thus, the second part of the Pilot National Survey concerning

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26. Government Social Survey, op. cit., Introduction

leisure should be compared with the first part of the Government Social Survey, concerning use of leisure time.

The Government Social Survey was based on a national sample, on a sample of the New Towns and on a sample from Inner London so it represents, "a contrast between three different kinds of environment, Inner London and the New Towns representing the extremes of the urban spectrum with the national sample falling in between".[27]

B. Leisure Time Activities

The Pilot Survey examined the time each family devoted to leisure and found that an individual had a 45-50 hour block of disposable time, which was not necessarily leisure time. Most of this disposable time was at the weekend. More than half the average respondents' weekend disposable time was spent away from home, and therefore likely to generate a demand for facilities of one sort or another.[28] (see Table 4-6). We cannot assume, however, that this time was spent in recreation, since a lot of the time was absorbed by shopping.

Despite the complexity of analysing leisure time desires, the Pilot Survey found that the population of Great Britain was

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27. Government Social Survey, op. cit., p. 2

28. BTA Pilot Survey, op. cit., pp. 26-50

TABLE 4-6

AWAY FROM HOME ACTIVITIES REPORTED FOR THE SATURDAY AND SUNDAY PRIOR TO INTERVIEW
(% OF CONTACTS REPORTING: -)

	Morning	Afternoon	Evening
1. Active recreations	(3)	(7)	(1)
Walk (of 3 miles or more)	2	4	1
Played active game	0	1	0
Other outdoor sport or pursuit	0	0	0
Water sports (inc. fish, sail, swim)	1	1	0
Had picnic	0	1	0
2. Passive recreations	(6)	(14)	(2)
Drive (2 hrs. or more)	2	5	2
Watched live sport	0	3	0
Went shopping	4	6	0
3. Social recreations	(6)	(12)	(16)
To party or friends	6	12	14
Went dancing	0	0	2
4. Cultural recreations and entertainments	(0)	(1)	(3)
To cinema/theatre or concert	0	1	3

Values in brackets are the total 'mentions' of activities, by groups per hundred contacts.

Source: British Travel Association/University of Keele, Pilot National Recreation Survey, Report No. 2, (British Travel Association, 1967).

not looking for an increase in leisure time, unlike their American counterparts (see Table 4-7).[29] Just under half the respondents, 48%, felt they had enough leisure. The 45% who wanted more leisure were distributed unequally across the population. The young, aged 17-24, and the very old, 65 or older, thought they had enough leisure at the moment. It was the age band from 25-45 years of which 60% wanted more leisure time.

In occupational terms, the demand for more leisure was greater for the executive group than for the others, and it appeared that the more income one earned, the less satisfaction one had with the amount of spare time.

According to the Pilot Survey, passive pursuits were dominant for weekend time, as two-thirds of the sample watched television during the evening of the weekend before (see Table 4-8).[30] As weekend mornings were spent in bed, weekend afternoons were relatively more active than morning or evening. The proportion of time devoted to outdoor recreation beyond the confines of the home was very much a minority use, for activity in and around the home and passive activity in particular, occupied the bulk of disposable time. Even excluding general social activities, well over half the leisure time of both men and women was spent at home.

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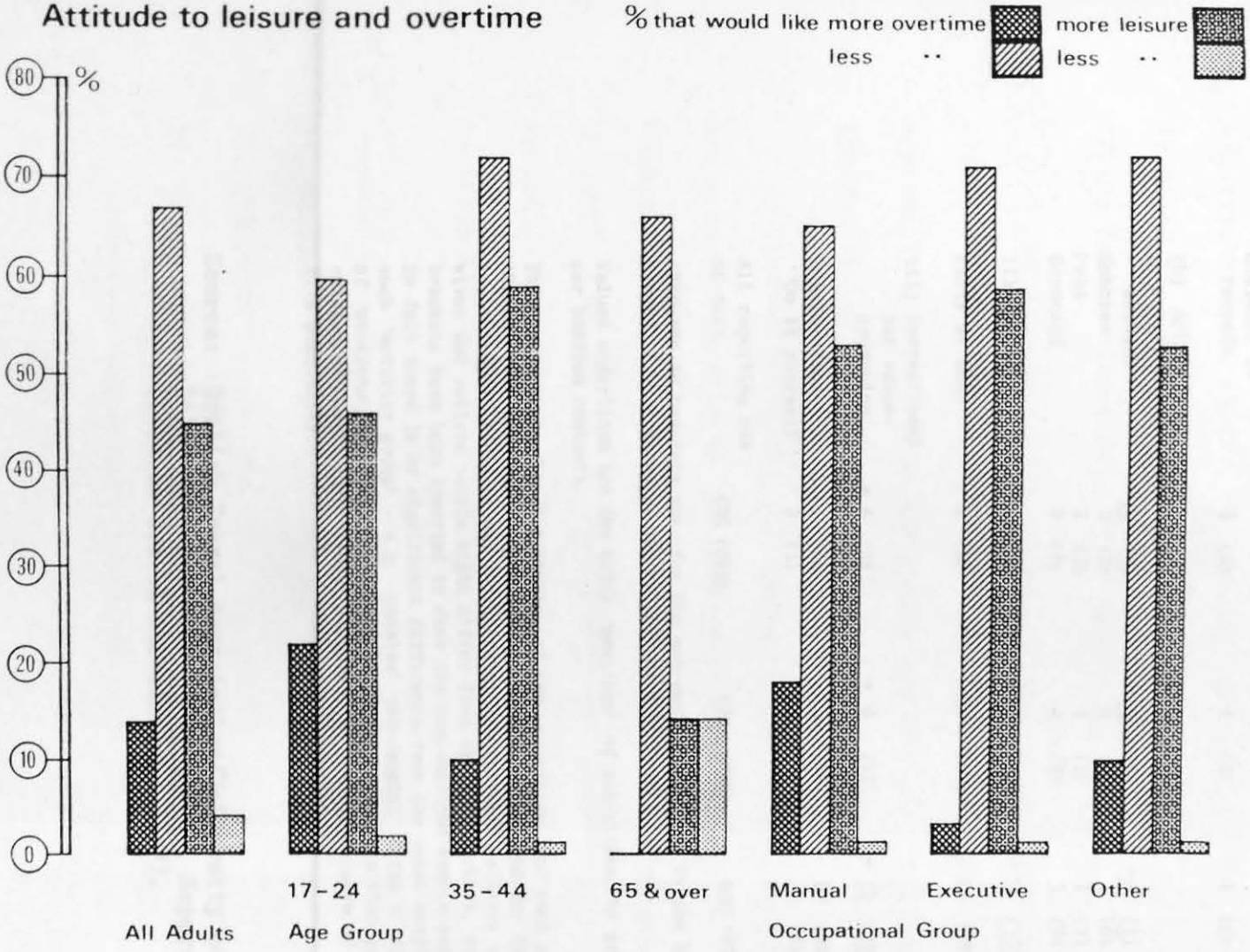
29. BTA Pilot Survey, op. cit., pp. 42-43

30. BTA Pilot Survey, op. cit., p. 46

TABLE 4-7



British Travel Association/University of Keele, Pilot National Recreation Survey, Report No. 1, 1967. p.32.

TABLE 4-8

Leisure activities at home last weekend (Saturday and Sunday (% of total adult sample reporting the following)

Activities	During the morning of Sat. or Sun.		During the afternoon of Sat. or Sun.		During the evening of Sat. or Sun.	
(a) Passive	=79	(78)	=62	(63)	=109	(113)
Watched TV	1	(1)	20	(19)	65	(71)
Read paper	41	(39)	19	(20)	21	(19)
Read book/mag.	3	(2)	7	(9)	9	(9)
Listened to radio	31	(34)	12	(13)	10	(12)
Listened to records	3	(2)	4	(2)	4	(2)
(b) Active						
i) Purely recreational	=10	(8)	=10	(9)	=3	(1)
Hobbies	0	(0)	0	(0)	1	(0)
Pets	2	(2)	1	(1)	1	(1)
Gardened	8	(6)	9	(8)	1	(0)
ii) Social	=4	(5)	=10	(15)	=12	(15)
Party at home	4	(5)	10	(15)	12	(15)
iii) Recreational but value-producing	=4	(2)	=9	(11)	=12	(19)
Handicrafts	1	(1)	5	(9)	10	(18)
'Do it yourself'	3	(1)	4	(2)	2	(1)
All reporting one or more	63%	(65%)	62%	(67%)	80%	(87%)

(Figures in brackets are for the non-employed persons in the adult sample, i.e. housewives and retired people).

Values underlined are the total 'mentions' of activities, by groups, per hundred contacts.

This table shows the distribution of the activities, for each period of the day (but for Saturday and Sunday taken together) and for the total adult sample. Since it was thought that the activity patterns of housewives and retired people might differ from those of workers, figures in brackets have been inserted to show the non-employed sample separately. In fact there is no significant difference from the total sample. For each 'activity group' - e.g. 'passive' and 'social' - the total number of 'mentions', per hundred contacts, of activities within that group (including all multiple-mentions) is given, as a crude measure of comparative popularity.

Source: British Travel Association/University of Keele, Pilot National Recreation Survey, Report No. 2, (British Travel Association, 1967).

Despite amalgamating both indoor and outdoor activities, unlike the Pilot Survey, the Government Social Survey produced the same result, that the most time-consuming leisure activity was watching television (see Table 4-9).[31] This was the chief pursuit of about a quarter or more of the leisure periods of men and women. The next outstanding activity amongst women after television, were crafts, needlework and knitting.[32] There was no other single recreation activity which occupied as much as 10% of the total leisure periods of either men or women.

The male equivalent of needlework in the indoor domestic pursuits were the do-it-yourself activities and car maintenance, a strongly middle income and middle age activity, but largely ignored by the lowest income groups.[33]

Outdoor activities of sports, games and visits to the parks are grouped together in the Government Social Survey. These combined outdoor activities did not individually take up large proportions of available leisure time, but grouped together took 22-26% of the leisure periods available to men, and about 20-27% of those available to women (see Table 4-10).[34]

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31. Government Social Survey, op. cit., p. 17

32. BTA Pilot Survey, op. cit., pp. 46-48

33. BTA Pilot Survey, op. cit., pp. 46-48
See also Appendix

34. Government Social Survey, op. cit., p. 17

TABLE 4-10

Chief leisure activities by area

(The proportion of leisure periods during weekdays and weekends throughout the year, when each activity was cited as the chief pursuit.)

Activity	ALL MALES					ALL FEMALES				
	Inner London	New Towns	National Sample			Inner London	New Towns	National Sample		
			Within conur-bations	Outside conur-bations	Total			Within conur-bations	Outside conur-bations	Total
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Television	29	25	24	22	23	32	27	23	23	23
Reading	8	6	5	5	5	8	6	8	9	9
Crafts and Hobbies	4	5	3	5	4	11	17	15	18	17
Decorating and House/Vehicle Maintenance	6	6	7	9	8	1	1	1	1	1
Gardening	5	14	12	12	12	3	9	7	7	7
Social Activities	7	4	3	3	3	10	6	9	8	9
Drinking	3	2	3	3	3	1	*	2	1	1
Cinema and Theatre	2	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	1
Non-Physical Games and Misc. Club Activities**	4	5	6	5	5	3	4	6	3	4
Physical Recreation –										
i) as participant	8	11	10	11	11	4	5	5	3	4
ii) as spectator	2	2	3	3	3	1	1	1	*	1
Excursions	7	9	7	7	7	6	9	7	8	7
Park Visits and Walks	5	3	6	4	5	6	5	4	6	5
Anything else	7	5	6	7	7	8	6	6	8	7
No answer or don't know	3	2	4	3	3	4	2	5	4	4
Total persons	581	823	1,311	1,513	2,824	740	909	1,577	1,874	3,451

*Less than 0·5%. **Other than for activities already specified.

Source: Sillitoe, K.K., Planning for Leisure, Government Social Survey, (London, H.M.S.O., 1969).

The Government Social Survey found people slightly more active than the Pilot National Survey.

In rank order, the Pilot Survey found recreation activity away from home as follows: (see Table 4-6)[35]

Active Recreation

1. Walking
2. Playing active games

Passive Recreation

1. Driving (2 hours or more)
2. Shopping

Social Recreation

1. Going to parties or friends

The only active pursuit that was reported with any frequency was the simplest and cheapest of all - walking. Walking is thus overwhelmingly popular on both sides of the Atlantic. One could not say that one person in ten engaged in any significant form of active away-from-home recreation at the weekend, but passive away-from-home recreations were better supported.

The two chief passive away-from-home pursuits were shopping and going for a drive, but even the afternoon drive or shopping outing were reported by only one-twentieth of the respondents.

The Pilot National Recreation Survey concluded that even

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35. BTA Pilot Survey, op. cit. See Appendix

with the existing recreational equipment which seemed to be strained to capacity, it was used by a small minority of the total population even at the peak period of demand at the weekend. If only another 5% of the total national population took active outdoor recreation more seriously, it would strain present facilities even further.

Changes in occupational structure, more semi-professional and professional groups, spread of higher education, improved housing conditions; all these could add to the total numbers taking outdoor leisure.

C. Attitudes to Recreation

Unlike the Pilot Survey, the Government Social Survey investigated attitudes to outdoor recreation, asking people the satisfaction they got in sports or games outdoors. The attitudes of men and women differed. Women wanted activities in the open air, but were not so interested in keeping fit as they grew older. All categories of women said that if the outdoor activity allowed them to mix with other people, this was their chief incentive. Competition had the least appeal.[36] **(see Table 4-11).**

Men changed during their life cycle. Those who were still studying thought about competition first and the open air came fourth in appeal, but as age increased, men became less

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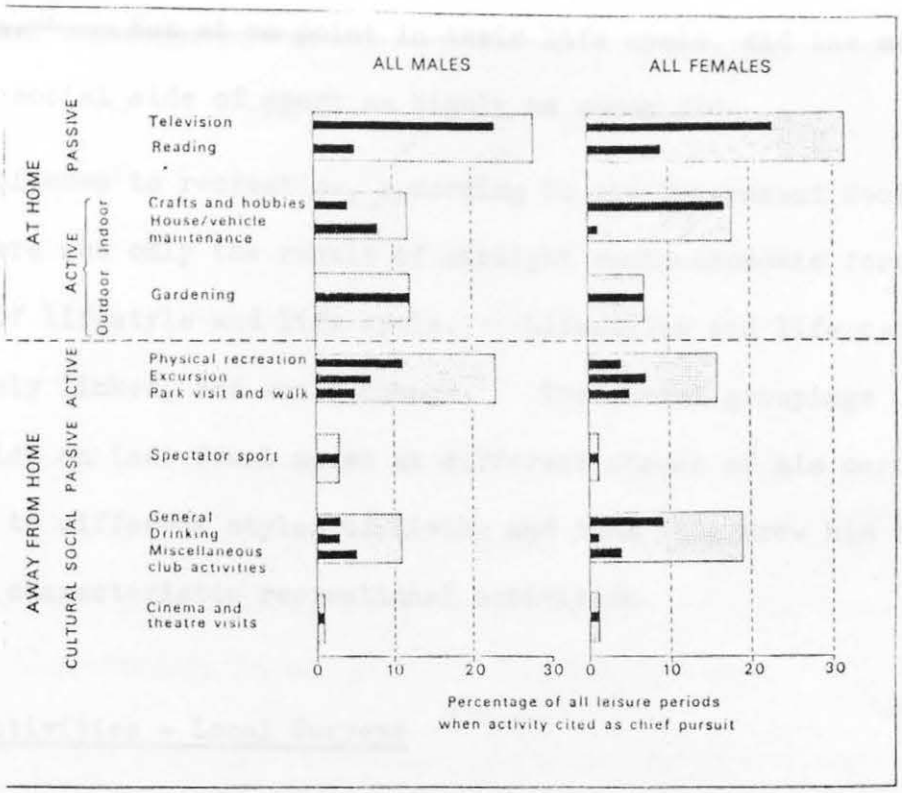
36. Government Social Survey, op. cit., p. 29

TABLE 4-11



The use of leisure time, 1965–6 (data from *Planning for leisure*).

Source: Patmore, Land & Leisure, Problems in Modern Geography, (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1970).

interested in the competitive aspect of sport and showed much greater interest in the idea that outdoor recreation allowed one to get out in the open air. By the time men reached 46 years of age, they gave top priority to being in the open air and agreed with women.[37] But at no point in their life cycle, did the men value the social side of sport as highly as women did.

Attitudes to recreation, according to the Government Social Survey, were not only the result of straight socio-economic forces but also of lifestyle and life cycle. Lifestyles and life cycles were closely linked, and would change. The social groupings within which an individual moves at different stages of his career draws him to different styles of living and thus will draw him to different characteristic recreational activities.

Leisure Activities - Local Surveys

Smaller regional household surveys have been carried out by the North Regional Planning Committee,[38] the North West Sports Council,[39] and Kent County Council.[40] Indeed the Sports Council asked all its regional branches to conduct surveys into the use of

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37. Government Social Survey, op. cit., p. 29

38. North Regional Planning Committee, Outdoor Leisure Activities in the Northern Region, City Planning Office, Newcastle upon Tyne, 1969

39. North West Sports Council, Leisure in the North West, the Technical Report of the Leisure Activities Survey of the North West Sports Council (Salford North West Sports Council, 1972)

40. Kent County Council. Social Survey, (1962)

their sports facilities, but most of these surveys were not concerned with the demand for public open space.[41]

The North Regional Planning Committee's Survey is particularly valuable as it portrayed some striking figures of low levels of participation in outdoor leisure activities. Only 7% of the total respondents participated in outdoor sports and games.[42] The remaining 93% of the population were not involved, either as players or spectators! More significantly, walking and day-trips raised the participant level to 20-32% on the weekends, similar to the other major studies.

The most popular activities were visiting friends, going to church and places of entertainment. Participation levels of 57-65% are hardly pertinent to the normal kind of outdoor recreation planning, but valuable in terms of localised activities.

The North West Sports Council Survey demonstrated the importance of indigenous surveys to reveal local variations. Compared to the South-East worker, the North West individual has a longer working week of 44 hours, a shorter block of leisure time of 33 hours, as against 45-50 hours for Britain as a whole, while married couples with children averaged only 26 hours per week.

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41. Sports Council, Planning for Sport, published for the Sports Council by the Central Council of Physical Recreation, 26 Park Crescent, London, W1N 4AJ, 1968.

42. North Regional Planning Committee, op. cit., p. 9

The North West report itself concluded "these values scarcely suggest that an age of leisure has yet dawned in the North-West".[43]

A. Time Budget Diaries

Another approach to analysing recreation patterns in both Britain and the United States has been to examine the time spent in households on each activity over a weekend and during the week in a time budget diary. This approach was used in studies of household activity patterns by Chapin in 1965 and in time budget diaries by Maw in 1969.[44] The method obtains a clearer idea of the pattern of leisure activities and provides a basis upon which the demand of leisure can be measured. Each of these studies undertook a time budget study of a hypothetical family, in the case of Maw, or existing families in the Chapin study.

Maw found that for the hypothetical British family, there was no time period when the whole family could be involved together in a joint recreational activity.[45] In summary, the total leisure time per week was 30% of the husband's time, 33% of the wife's

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43. North West Sports Council, op. cit., p. 22. See also: Coppock, J.T. and Duffield, B.S. Recreation in the Countryside. (The Macmillan Press Limited, London, 1975), p. 11

44. Chapin and Hightower, op. cit.
Maw, R., op. cit., pp. 924-935

45. Maw, op. cit., pp. 924-935

time and 23-40% of the children's time.[46] In the case of adults below retiring age, the total time per week was divided into three roughly equal portions for sleep, other essential time and leisure time.

Maw concluded that the major free time occurred in 3-5 blocks of time over the weekend. But he was able to show that even these leisure time blocks were constrained by fixed activities so limiting that it was possible to predict what people would do in a given situation, given the other determinants of income, social class, age and other socio-economic factors.

Maw's activity patterns followed a time related sequence. Committed activities occurred before optional activities, but active activities occurred before passive activities, and competitive activities occurred before social activities. This finding was in direct contrast to the findings of the Government Social Survey and the BTA Pilot Survey in which passive activities were the most predominant and active/social activities were more important than competitive activities. The Maw study took place in an inner urban area in London from a small sample and, for that reason, the responses may have been different from the norm for the country as a whole.

Maw's findings agreed with the ORRRC Report, the Pilot National Survey and the Government Social Survey that a rise in

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46. Maw, op. cit., pp. 924-935

household income significantly changed the type of leisure activity pursuit. The housewife, more than any other member of the family, is likely to change her pattern of outdoor activity; and increased car ownership will change leisure pursuits. Maw's Time Budget Diary showed that the impact of changes in leisure activities will be greatest in urban areas throughout the week. The Time Budget Diary also showed clearly how much time is spent on television. Television, more than other mass-communication media, has increased people's awareness of the types of activities they could follow, and thus it will increase their desires particularly in the more active pursuits.

B. Household Activity Systems

Chapin's study into household activity systems of real households in Durham, North Carolina, concentrating on their leisure activity, found the greatest changes were likely to occur for the predictable reasons of increased income and lessening work week.[47] Eight systems of leisure activities, subdivided into 35 sub-systems, were investigated by home interview technique and "gaming" technique.

Most of the actual behaviour and the reported behaviour showed that the normal recreation activity of the residents was passive and limited to the home, in activities like watching

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47. Chapin, op. cit., pp. 222-231

television, reading and sitting around, agreed with the other studies by Maw, Sillitoe and Rodgers (see Table 4-15).

The recreation pattern of preference was very stable between the two different socio-economic status groups investigated, except that those who had a slightly higher socio-economic status were the ones most disposed to enjoy recreation and relaxation outside their homes.

There were differences in activity patterns between the areas which were not simply reflections of differences attributed to status but could also be attributed to factors specific to the area. They concluded that most residents of American cities do not have any particular identification with areas of a scale between the immediate residential environment and an area whose population is measured in hundreds of thousands. To put it in area terms, Americans were indifferent to any time-space distance over a quarter to a half-hour, however modified by city size and other characteristics. The emphasis on the need for recreational activities within fifteen minutes to one half hour is corroborated by other physical studies.

Holman's National Time Budget for the year 2000, showed that the aggregate discretionary time for the nation would increase in America.[48] Holman contended that 80% of the increase in discretionary time available to housewives and working people would come on workdays or on the weekend rather than in the vacation

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48. Holman, M.A., 'National Time-Budget for the Year 2000'. Sociology and Social Research, Vol.XLVI (October 1961), p. 19

period when families were likely to go outside of their region, so that the increase for the possibilities for recreation would be home-based rather than in the countryside.

Summary: Implications of the Demand for Public Open Space

Since 1973, few studies have been made other than localised ones. Any factual basis for decision making depends on the CRRRC Report, the Pilot Survey and the Government's Social Survey.

The Pilot National Recreation Survey's usefulness is limited by the small size of the sample and its general lack of concern with urban recreation. The Government's Social Survey, although based on a similar small sample, is far more useful, with its specific concern about attitudes.

Despite all the temporal and quantitative limitations, these studies still provide the following valuable implications for recreation demand:

1. Demand for recreation facilities will increase, particularly in urban areas.
2. Higher income and more education increase the desire for recreation facilities.
3. There will be more leisure time, with a shorter working week.
4. Family-orientated recreation activities will predominate.
5. The greatest pressure for recreation demand is in the nearby

zone within the day-trip or closest to the home. All three major studies emphasised the need for close-to-home activities, as did the smaller studies.

6. The emphasis on providing land and facilities for outdoor sport is overdone. Most people are passive in their attitude to recreation. The only frequently active pursuit was walking. Walking for pleasure is the first or second most pleasurable recreation for the most number of people, despite age, sex, income, occupation and education.

7. The low participation levels in outdoor sport re-emphasise that a change in attitude to recreation is due. The cultural acceptance of the dominance of sport for historical reasons should not continue in the light of these demand surveys. Once it is accepted that most people do not participate actively in outdoor recreation, then a whole series of new decisions follows. These decisions involve the role of the Sports Councils, the budget allocations to the Sports Councils, the role of leisure centres and their budget allocations, and the creation of alternative informal outdoor recreation facilities, such as public open space, which satisfy the demands of greater numbers of people.

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17. ORRRC Report, op. cit., pp. 26-31.

18. ORRRC Report, op. cit., pp. 26-31.

19. ORRRC Report, op. cit., Chap. 2.

20. BTA Pilot Survey, op. cit., p. 5.

21. ORRRC Report, op. cit., pp. 26-31.

22. BTA Pilot Survey, p. 5.

23. BTA Pilot Survey, op. cit., pp. 6-7.

24. BTA Pilot Survey, op. cit., p. 12.

25. ORRRC Report, op. cit., Chap. 2.

26. Government Social Survey, op. cit., Introduction.

27. Government Social Survey, op. cit., p. 2.

28. BTA Pilot Survey, op. cit., pp. 26-50.

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30. BTA Pilot Survey, op. cit., p. 46.

31. Government Social Survey, op. cit., p. 17.

32. BTA Pilot Survey, op. cit., pp. 46-48.

33. BTA Pilot Survey, op. cit., pp. 46-48.
See also Appendix.

34. Government Social Survey, op. cit., p. 17.

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Maw, R., op. cit., pp. 924-35.

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PART TWO : THE PROBLEM

CHAPTER V

THE SUPPLY OF URBAN OPEN SPACE

THE SUPPLY OF URBAN OPEN SPACE IN BRITAIN

The studies of the supply of open space give a more detailed examination of open space demand and supply than the highly generalised recreation demand studies. In Britain there have been only a few major studies done, including:

1. The second part of the Planning for Leisure Survey by the Government's Social Survey.[1]

2. The Greater London Council Surveys of the Use of Open Spaces; a first set in 1968[2] and a second set, entitled

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1. Sillitoe, K.K., Planning for Leisure, Government Social Survey, SS388, 1969 (H.M.S.O.).

2. Greater London Council Planning Department, Surveys of the Use of Open Spaces, (Greater London Council, 1968) Vol. I and Vol. II.

Greater London Council Recreation Research Reports, completed in 1976.[3]

3. Wager's Survey of Common Lands.[4]

4. Masser's Birmingham Study.[5]

5. The Building Research Station User Study.[6]

6. Edinburgh Corporation's Open Space Plan in 1971.[7]

These studies of the supply side of planning for recreation concentrate on the present resources available to meet the demand. They very thinly try and predict what future resources are needed.

Most of the other published studies which are concerned with supply policies for recreation facilities relate to the countryside, and the outer suburban areas. It has been fashionable to investigate the countryside and the ex-urban regions, following the Countryside Acts and the creation of the subsequent Countryside Commissions, to the extent that the pressing needs of the urban and inner urban areas have been neglected.

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7. Edinburgh Town Planning Department, Open Space Plan for Edinburgh (Edinburgh, 1969, Reprinted 1971).

A. Government's Social Survey

The second part of the Government's Social Survey, "Planning for Leisure", concerned people's visits to public open spaces, and the use made of the spaces. The total number of visits to public open spaces was highest in Inner London and lowest in the New Towns.[8] (See Table 5-1). There was not any appreciable difference in the number of visits made to open spaces between the regions outside Greater London, but in the suburbs of London the visiting frequencies to public open spaces were very close to the levels for Inner London.

The Government Social Survey study concluded that an exceptional interest in public open spaces was shared by all Londoners, whether people lived in a congested environment or lived in the suburbs with a private garden.

Young mothers living in New Towns were generally satisfied with their gross open space provision (60%), whereas only 47% in the national sample and only 46% in the Inner London sample said they were satisfied [9]. The majority of people (54%) did not have the public open spaces they desired.

It was a feature of the Government Social Survey that there

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8. Government Social Survey, op. cit., p. 20.

9. Government Social Survey, op. cit., p. 31.

TABLE 5-1

Frequency of visiting public open-spaces by principal domestic-age categories and area.

Domestic-age category	Average number of visits per person† during the summer –					
	Inner London		National		New Towns	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Single 15–22	20	24	16	17	14	13
Married with children 23–30	29	36	24	36	16	27
Married with children 31–45	25	34	21	24	15	21
Married without children 46–60	19	19	16	17	14	15
All 61 +	24	18	19	12	12	9
All persons	22	25	18	17	14	18

†For all purposes other than to take an active part in formal/organised sports or games.

TABLE 5-2

Improvements wanted to public open-spaces, by area
(Male and Female visitors combined.)

Improvements wanted	National	Inner London	New Towns
	%	%	%
New, more or better –			
Public lavatories	8	7	9
Cafes/Restaurants	8	10	7
Facilities for children	8	7	10
Games/sports facilities	4	3	3
Parking facilities	1	1	2
Seats	1	2	1
Shelters	1	1	*
Fencing/Rails/Gates	1	*	1
Introduction of open-air bands/musical concerts	*	*	*
Needs cleaning up/more litter bins wanted	1	1	1
Supervision of children's playgrounds/ pools/facilities wanted	1	*	1
Better general supervision/patrols needed/ prevention of vandalism	1	1	1
Is not large enough/too crowded	*	*	*
Anything else	4	4	3
None/don't know	61	63	61
No answer	1	*	*
BASE (total places visited)	9,782	2,294	2,177

*Less than 0·5%.

N.B. The columns sometimes add to slightly more than 100% because some persons suggested more than one improvement per place.

Source: Sillitoe, K.K., Planning for Leisure, Government Social Survey, (London: H.M.S.O., 1969).

was high priority given to having easy access to parks and public gardens. In both the national sample and the Inner London sample, both the male and female samples taken as whole, the wish to have ready access to parks and public gardens placed second only to the desire for convenient shopping facilities.

The majority of visits were to urban spaces within the urban area and as much as 33% of the visits were to open spaces within five minutes' walking distance of home.[10]

Married couples, from 23 years onwards, in every socio-economic group, wanted shops and parks or public gardens sited closest to their homes. The only people who were not interested were single young men below the age of 23 who wanted indoor sports centres. Young single women adopted an in-between attitude. They were less interested in physical recreation than the young men, and placed parks and theatres very much higher and, like all the older women, gave shopping first priority.[11]

The kinds of amenities that all people wanted in public open spaces were more and better provision of public lavatories, cafes or restaurants and facilities for children (see Table 5-2)[12].

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10. Government Social Survey, op. cit., p. 33

11. Government Social Survey, op. cit., p. 33

12. Government Social Survey, op. cit., p. 79

Differences in ages of the children seemed to have no effect on the level of satisfaction although the biggest demand was for playgrounds for younger children.

Next, people wanted more trees and grass generally. Excluding the New Towns, people in both the Outer London areas and the Inner London areas were as much concerned with enhancing the general urban landscape with grass and trees as with having access to larger parks and public gardens. This would indicate that different forms of open space design are needed instead of bigger parks. Flexibility of choice amongst open spaces is conducive to using a variety of resources.

There were some important variations. Married women of all ages, without children, were interested in improving the provision of public parks and the only appreciable socio-economic difference was that both men and women in the top group of employers and managers showed a less than average interest for enlarging their private gardens, and were more interested in improving the urban landscape with grass and trees.

Although suburban Londoners wanted more and larger outdoor sports facilities, central Londoners were less keen to improve outdoor sports facilities despite the underprovision of outdoor sports facilities provided in Central London. People in inner urban areas do not feel the need for more outdoor sports facilities, because inner urban areas, like London, offer other diversions.

The use made of public open space was fairly similar between socio-economic groups and any differences were created by domestic age patterns (see Table 5-3)[13]. There were no appreciable differences between the habits of people who belonged to different occupational groups or different social classes.

Most often people, when they visited open spaces, went for the purpose of taking the children to the playground, either in the national samples, the Inner London samples, or the New Town samples. At different stages of the life cycle, the most striking changes occur with parenthood. As to be expected, women of the ages 23-45, married with children, made 95% of their visits principally to accompany their children to a playground, and fathers, in the same age category, devoted 85% of their visits to taking the children to the playground (see Table 5-3)[14]

Londoners, on the other hand, were characterised by their stress on walks (44% of all visits) and were less concerned with watching sports or actually participating themselves in informal games. Londoners walk in open spaces more often than other people elsewhere, accounting for their exceptionally high rate of visiting open spaces. It is their reaction to the high density environment of Inner London and to their lack of private

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13. Government Social Survey, op. cit., pp. 74-75

14. Government Social Survey, op. cit., p. 71

TABLE 5-3

Frequency of visiting public open-spaces by domestic-age category – National

Domestic-age category		Proportion who –						Average no. of visits made per person for purposes other than sports and games	
		Never visited for any purpose, the previous summer		Visited only for formal/ organised sports and games		Visited at least one open-space for purposes other than sports and games			
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
		%		%		%		No.	
Single	15–18	27	22	13	5	60	73	16	18
Single	19–22	22	23	10	6	68	71	15	14
Single	23–30	35	22	4	5	61	73	15	9
Married without children	23–30	15	16	9	0	76	84	14	22
Married with children	23–30	9	5	6	0	85	95	24	36
Married with children	31–45	15	11	4	0	81	89	21	24
Married with children	46–60	31	†	0	†	69	†	18	†
Married without children	46–60	22	27	6	1	72	72	16	17
Men in full-time employment	61+	42		4		54		15	
Retired men	61+	35		4		61		22	
Married women	61+		37		0		63		19
Widowed women	61+		60		0		40		8
All persons		26	30	5	1	69	69	18	17

†There were insufficient persons in this category to furnish reliable figures.

TABLE 5-4

Proportion of places visited according to the form of transport used and the average number of visits per place, by possession of private motorised transport.

Form of transport used to visit open-space	Proportion of places visited by each form of transport				Average number of visits per place			
	By people –				By people –			
	With a car		Without a motor vehicle of any kind		With a car		Without a motor vehicle of any kind	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
	%		%		No.		No.	
On foot	22	29	53	47	17	16	18	16
By car	70	65	8	13	6	4	4	4
By public transport	6	6	37	37	5	6	5	5
Others**	2	*	2	2	7	19	11	1
All	100	100	100	100	8·5	7·5	12	10

*Less than 0·5%.

**Mostly bicycles, motor-cycles and scooters.

Source: Sillitoe, K.K., Planning for Leisure, Government Social Survey, (London: H.M.S.O., 1969).

gardens.[15]

Retired men went to public open spaces frequently.[16] The high average figure for retired men shows that there were at least 29% of the sample who went at least twice weekly which, for some men, probably meant every day. This change of behaviour amongst men when they retire can be explained by their previous daily habit of going off to work throughout their adult life, so that visiting a local park or a public garden provides them with something to do and an excuse to get away from home for a few hours. Watching sports was a major interest for men from 46 years onwards until they retired, accounting for about 40% of the visits (in the national sample).

Widows and retired women, on the other hand, did not have the same tendencies, and losing their husbands made them reclusive in respect of the use of local public open spaces. They seemed to seek out social activities.

Two out of three visits to open spaces were made on foot. The only difference between the outer urban areas and the inner urban areas was that London Public Transport was used more often and cars less often in the Inner London areas. Foot journeys were, on average, longest in Central London and shortest in the New Towns, due to the differences in proportion of car owners

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15. Government Social Survey, op. cit., p. 71.

16. Government Social Survey, op. cit., p. 33.

in each area and relative accessibility to open spaces.

Car ownership did not create an appreciable change in the average number of visits to open spaces although, when people acquired a car, there tended to be a fall-off in the frequency of visits by individuals, but an increase in the frequency of visits by people who went together to public open spaces (see Table 5-4)[17]. Car ownership created the most important change in that there was a decline in visits on foot to open spaces situated more than five minutes' walking distance from home. For example, the reduction of foot journeys amongst retired men occurred almost always on visits to places situated more than a distance of six to ten minutes' walk, but open spaces that were within a six minutes' walk of the house were visited as frequently by men with a car as by those without[18].

Once beyond five minutes' distance away people went by car to a greater variety of places. But within a five minute distance owning a car did not alter the pattern of visiting local open spaces. As the desire for ready access to parks is by foot, since owning a car makes no appreciable difference, local open space within five minutes' walking distance of the home is most important indeed. This trend is pertinent to decisions on where to site public open spaces in relation to residential areas.

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17. Government Social Survey, op. cit., p. 93

18. Government Social Survey, op. cit., p. 83

Visits by women in households with a car showed a slight reduction.[19] Whilst women also did not walk so far when they have a car, total journeys on foot in all groups of women averaged to the almost identical figure. Women were willing to walk up to ten minutes whether or not they possess a car.

B. Greater London Council Surveys

A second major study was that of the Greater London Council's Surveys of the Use of Open Spaces published in 1968, from a survey carried out on behalf of the former London County Council in 1964 by a variety of home interviews, surveys in parks, and by a schoolchildren's survey.[20]

The highest visiting rates were amongst those people in full time education, those who possessed a dog, those who were exceptionally well provided with open space, those with larger gardens, those with jobs in the professional and intermediate categories, and those who were aged 15 - 19 years (see Table 5-5). In the population aged 15 years and over, 70% had visited at least one open space in the month preceding the interview, and 39% had made a visit in the last week.[21] As people improve their socio-economic characteristics, they increase their attendances at public

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19. Government Social Survey, op. cit., pp. 87-90

20. Greater London Council, op. cit.

21. Greater London Council, op. cit., p. 5

TABLE 5-5

FACTORS INFLUENCING LEISURE DEMAND

	1955	1965	1971	2,000 (forecast)·	
				High	Low
Population (millions)	49	52	55	70	64
Income (£per head at 1961 values)	317	412	507	1267	750
Cars (millions)	3½	7	12	30	20
People over 15 in full time education (thousands)	429	930	1282	2000	1600
People beyond retirement age (millions)	7	8	9	12	10.5
Basic industrial working week (hours)	45	42	40	30	37
Expenditure on entertainment and recreation (1961 = 100)	84	124	143	?	?

Source: The Fourth Wave. Michael Dower (1964) Planning Service 1973.

VISITS TO PARKS BY DIFFERENT AGE GROUPS

Age Group	Proportion in each age group who visited during past week %	Proportion in each age group who visited between 1 and 4 weeks ago %
Under 4	46	34
4–10	46	35
11–15	51	30
15–19	50	37
20–34	43	32
35–44	38	40
45–64	38	26
Over 64	22	22

Source: Greater London Council, Surveys of the Use of Open Spaces (1968) as published in Haringey Borough Plan.

open spaces.

Contrary to the other surveys, the GLC Survey found that 70% of all visits made to open spaces were made between Monday and Friday and that weekend visiting was more selective than week-day visiting. People were more likely to visit larger parks, to travel further and to spend more time in company on the weekends. 78% of all journeys to parks were on foot, with a slightly lower proportion of people travelling on foot at the weekends. 71% of those having access to a car made their journeys on foot compared with 81% of non-owners. This is not too great a difference between the two groups and corroborates the findings of the Government Social Survey.

Short movement journeys of less than a half mile formed 58% of all visits with higher proportions travelling less than a half mile during the week, and 63% at the weekends (see Table 5-6).[22] Most pedestrian journeys took place over distances of less than a mile, while journeys by car and public transport tended to be over one mile in length. Corroborating the findings of the Government Social Survey, 63% of the visits made to open spaces were within short movement journeys of less than half a mile.

86% of the visits to open spaces involved activities of a generally passive nature such as sitting, walking or enjoying the view. There were very small proportions engaged in

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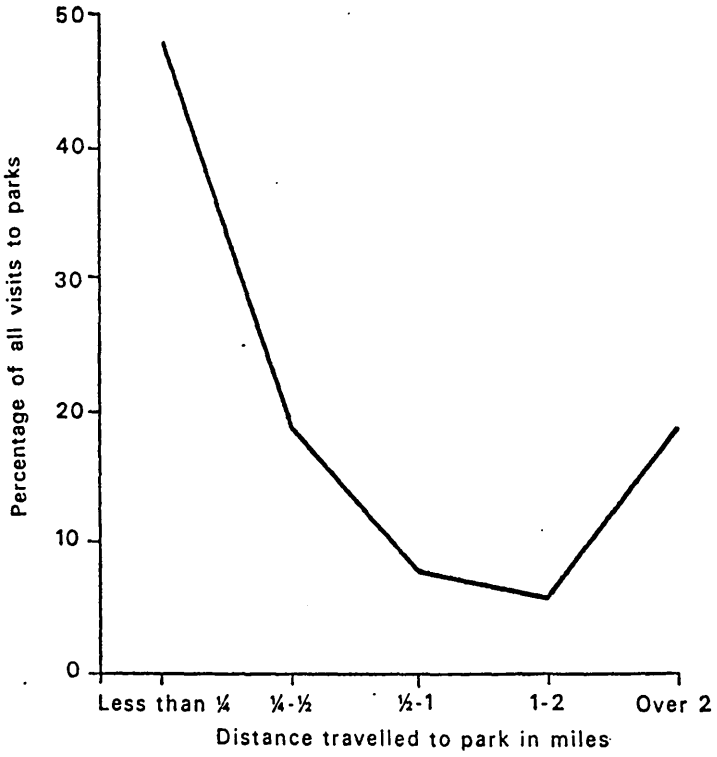
22. Greater London Council, op. cit., p. 5

TABLE 5-6



Park visits in London: distance travelled and park size (data from GLC *Survey of the use of open spaces*).

Source: Patmore, Land & Leisure, Problems in Modern Geography, (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1970).

specialised activities. Only 6% engaged in sports, only 12% in activities for children and only 3% in entertainment. Watching people and watching sport was mentioned by 19% of the weekly visitors, particularly the older age group. 25% of the sample stated that they played one or more sports regularly in parks elsewhere with the highest proportion playing tennis, cricket, football or swimming.[23]

Park visiting is closely attached to the importance of young children and influences the patterns of activities of adults with children, corroborating the findings of the Government Social Survey. 81% of the children aged 1½ years to 9 years had visited a park in the last month including 46% in the last week, and over half the children visiting a park on the previous day had been accompanied by an adult.[24]

A higher proportion of adults went to the parks with children at weekends than at weekdays. Women with children under ten spent more time in parks than women of the same age groups without young children and a higher proportion of them visited smaller parks. Women with young children tended to choose parks with facilities such as playgrounds, equipment and entertainment in preference to those without any facilities. Activities with

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23. Greater London Council, op. cit., p. 5

24. Greater London Council, op. cit., p. 5

children were mentioned by 12% of all visitors to the parks and almost half the sample mentioned facilities for children as an important component of the ideal park.[25]

Access to a garden made little difference to the numbers of children playing in the streets or visiting parks. 33% of the children who had gardens had played there on the previous day.

School children aged 11 to 16 were shown to be the most important group of park users, having a higher visiting rate than adults. 81% had visited their favourite park in the last month. In general, the visiting patterns were similar to those of adults, although 58% of all visits were to parks of over 50 acres with 52% of all adults making weekly or monthly visits to large parks. Schoolchildren mentioned parks as one of the places visited most often when spending time out of doors.[26]

In the Greater London Council Survey, scenery was the most important element mentioned by those expressing requirements for an ideal park, but it was more important to them in a large park than it was in a small park (see Table 5-7). In a small park they wanted play facilities, accessibility, quiet, safety and comfort.

Higher proportions in the home interview survey wanted

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25. Greater London Council, op. cit., p. 5

26. Greater London Council, op. cit., p. 6

TABLE 5-7

PREFERENCES FOR THE COMPONENTS OF AN 'IDEAL PARK' BY SEX, AGE AND OCCUPATION

	Total	Sex		Age			Occupation			
		M	F	15-19	20-44	45+	Prof. and Interned	Skilled Non Manual	Skilled Manual	Semi and Unskilled
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Scenery	64	55	71	47	61	71	75	67	60	57
Childrens' Facilities	49	47	50	39	54	44	42	47	58	54
Seats etc.	54	50	57	18	50	42	51	51	35	35
Sports Facilities	50	40	22	60	55	21	26	56	37	29
Refresh-ments	18	16	20	19	18	18	15	21	18	18
Entertain-ments	8	9	8	14	8	7	4	9	8	8

Again percentages total more than 100 as some respondents had more than one preference.

ACTIVITIES IN PARKS BY DURATION OF VISIT, SIZE OF PARK AND DISTANCE TRAVELLED

	Duration of Visit			Size of Park			Distance Travelled from Home			
	Under ½ hr.	½-2 hrs.	Over 2 hrs.	0-9 acres	10-49 acres	Over 50 acres	0-½ mile	½-1 mile	1-2 miles	Over 2 miles
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Walking and Sitting	96	85	72	85	80	88	88	76	84	82
Watching	5	23	33	15	26	20	16	34	25	29
Activities with Children	1	14	21	13	15	9	16	20	12	9
Social Activities	2	12	20	10	11	10	9	14	15	17
Organised Sports	-	4	18	4	13	5	3	13	8	5
Entertain-ment	-	4	6	2	1	5	3	2	7	8
Activities with Animals	1	4	3	-	2	4	3	4	4	1

Source: Greater London Council Surveys of the Use of Open Spaces (1968), as published in Haringey Borough Plan.

parks that contained space and facilities for children and sports facilities. The schoolchildren liked parks because they could play games (47%), or find "plenty to do". The older children liked the grass, landscaping and the sense of freedom. The most desired improvement for schoolchildren were swimming pools.[27]

A more recent summary of the Greater London Council's attitude towards the needs for open spaces was contained in the "Leisure for Londoners" report put out in 1973.[28] The very young and the very old (37% of London's population) share the characteristics of comparative lack of mobility, a fairly circumscribed range of interests on a comparatively small discretionary income.

The report concluded that this 37% deserved local provision and special attention. Their use of London's parks is extensive and they need simply a place to sit, talk to friends, and watch other people go by.

The middle group of London's population (63%) has a wider range of recreational demand and includes a variety of people, like sportsmen, housewives, mothers of young children, and workers at lunch time. Their needs are yet to be fulfilled. There are those in this group who are socially and financially

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27. Greater London Council, op. cit., p. 29

28. Greater London Council, Leisure for Londoners - a paper for discussion, February 1973

deprived and live in poor environments with few opportunities for recreation available and little chance of going far beyond their locality. These people also require special provision.

With the majority of all journeys to parks being made on foot (78%), the need for local public open space is quite clear as from the previous studies.

The Leisure Report also pointed out that despite the increase in income expenditure between 1961 and 1970, and despite the fact that expenditure on motor vehicles doubled, the increased mobility among Londoners was still only limited to half of London's households as the other half of London's households did not possess a car. With increasing petrol costs, it has become even more imperative in recreation planning to take account of the half population that do not have a car.

C. Smaller British Studies

Two or three of the smaller British studies pinpoint local uses of urban open space and underscore the major points of the larger national surveys.

1. Wager's Commons Study

In a study of town commons, it was found that enjoying the natural attractions of the town common played the largest recreational role (54% of all visits) in their use.[29] The most

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29. Wager, op. cit., pp. 398-403

important use of the common was for walking. Although most commons are associated with rural areas, there are many commons associated with urban areas, or acting as village greens, and Wager's study reinforces their amenity importance.

2. Masser's Birmingham Study

Masser made a study of the use of recreational facilities in Birmingham by examining local public open space within ten minutes' walking distance.[30] He found 70% of the population over fifteen years of age had visited one open space in the month prior to the interview.

People living close to a park made more visits than those who did not. Proximity to a park was helpful. The opportunity stimulated and encouraged visits. Even in the summer time, only 22% of the people went to the parks for the purposes of active sports.

The types of favoured activity repeat the Government Social Survey and the Greater London Council Study with amazing monotony. Almost 50% of the total number of visits were concerned with children's play whether it was winter or summer, and 33% of the visits were made for strolling, walking the dog or the baby. These largely passive visits increased to 37% of all visits in the winter time (see Table 5-8).

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30. Masser, op. cit.

TABLE 5-8

THE USE OF OUTDOOR RECREATION FACILITIES

Car-ownership and intensity of use of local areas available for outdoor recreation

Total of households	% persons using local areas one or more times a week					
	Winter			Summer		
	car-owning households	non-car-owning households	all households	car-owning households	non-car-owning households	all households
Parents:						
Mothers	27.6	15.1	20.6	56.9	50.7	53.4
Fathers	16.9	18.6	17.8	40.7	52.8	47.3
Children:						
Under 5 yrs	34.5	18.3	24.5	67.2	51.6	57.6
5 to 11 years	50.8	29.5	37.8	83.6	71.6	79.5
Other members of the household	15.6	3.8	10.3	37.5	23.1	31.1
TOTAL	30.6	19.6	24.3	59.3	54.9	56.8

'The use of outdoor recreation facilities' - Masser, Town Planning Review, 37, 1966.

Again with monotonous regularity, the facilities provided did not reflect what people wanted to do. Sports facilities were the main users of open space and walking areas or children's play areas were the most poorly developed. Yet most of the visits were made for children to play or stroll, and only a small number were made for sport. The conclusion arises that some reduction in sports facilities and an increase in children's play and adult walking areas could be made to satisfy local needs.

The Birmingham study emphasises that a clear distinction has to be made when allocating land for outdoor recreation between the facilities required to meet purely local needs and other kinds of facilities. The quantity of land required for strolling or for children's play areas is determined by local needs and local accessibility, and most adapt to whatever are the local restraints. On the other hand, sports facilities can be related to a larger catchment area and located at a greater distance, thus stopping the wastage of previous inner urban areas for sports facilities which could be located elsewhere.

Another important result of Masser's Study is the influence of car ownership, which had the effect of increasing the use of local areas for recreation. Although the sample was small, in every category, except for fathers, there was a consistency that car ownership encouraged people to visit local open spaces more often, even in the use of sites that were within ten minutes' walking distance of the survey area (see Table 5-9). The previous Government Social Survey Study and the later Greater London Council.

TABLE 5-9

THE USE OF OUTDOOR RECREATION FACILITIES

Purpose of visits to local areas available for outdoor recreation

	Winter		Summer	
	Visits per month*	% all visits	Visits per month*	% all visits
Active sport	208	17.6	560	21.7
Play (children only)	532	45.0	1,178	45.7
Other putposes (largely passive)	443	37.4	839	32.6
ALL VISITS	1,183	100.0	2,577	100.0

NOTE - * represents the total number of visits made by the survey population

'The use of outdoor recreation facilities' - Masser, Town Planning Review, 37, 1966,

Study concluded that car ownership had relatively little effect on use of local parks within a five minutes catchment area, but Masser's study showed that people with cars actually visited local open spaces more often!

3. Building Research Station User Survey

Most of the attention of the major studies has been towards the larger open space or the major facility. Neglect of the local facility or the local open spaces has been aided by the belief in universal car ownership. Most members of British households still have not cars at their disposal and therefore nearby facilities are needed for the sake of social equity.

The over-dependence on any one form of transportation or facility can lead to undesirable consequences in either the short term or the long term. A new balance will have to be struck to gain the economic benefits of multiple small scale provision which are less obvious. The belief that any form of neighbourhood planning was no longer relevant because of an increase in car-ownership now is not correct. With the lack of mobility, there is once again the need to create neighbourhoods and local planning which fulfil the needs of family life. The Building Research Station 1974 Survey reflected this point of view when Bruce asked a lower middle income neighbourhood which facilities were needed where they lived.[31]

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31. Bruce, op. cit., pp. 290-291

The majority of the sample desired most: Shops (95%), the doctor (88%), the bus stop (85%), and open space (74%) before they wanted the primary school (34% of the population). This survey result contradicts the traditional neighbourhood concept based on the proximity to the primary school.

The Building Research Station findings, compared with the Government Social Survey Study, show facilities desired common to both, only this time the rank order is slightly different. The BRS neighbourhood would prefer to have the bus stop, the library, the doctor and the open space grouped with the shops rather than with the pub and the church. The designers of precincts and centres include shops, the pub, and the church for reasons such as multi-use car parking spaces, or the architectural effect or attendance for social purposes. Such functional relationships are not necessarily carried out in the minds of the users themselves.

4. The Edinburgh Open Space Study

A more recent study of how local parks are used was completed by the Edinburgh Town Planning Department in 1969 and published as the Open Space Plan for Edinburgh.[32]

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32. Edinburgh Town Planning Department, op. cit.

The most popular parks were centrally located or historic open spaces like the Meadows. In the Edinburgh situation the popularity of centrally located open space resulted from the balanced and varied pattern of land uses which occurred on the periphery of the space and the activities which succeeded one another throughout the year. In Edinburgh a continuing process and adaptation to contemporary needs on the adjoining land uses has sustained cultural values which have resisted violent change so that the parks in the centre still have remained a part of the neighbourhood exhibiting a community pride resulting from this historical evolution. It has the added benefit that higher standards of maintenance prevail; there is less litter compared to other centrally located parks in other cities and fewer acts of vandalism occur. In the case of the centrally located parks it has benefitted their survival. The popularity for centrally located parks corroborates the other studies.

Open spaces located in high density housing areas are extremely popular. This concurs with the findings of the GLC's Inner London Study. High density housing areas have intensive patterns of use since the majority of houses in their catchment areas have no gardens so that the park or the street are the only practical areas for children's play. Contrary to the centrally located parks which are surrounded by a variety of land uses and by an historical heritage, the open spaces in high density housing areas show a high deterioration of standards and a high incidence of litter and vandalism, possibly

because of the high level of use and the lack of alternatives.

The Edinburgh Study shows that open spaces with special attractions, such as the Botanic Gardens or the fishing/boating complex at the Cramond Foreshore, are used very consistently throughout the year by a wide range of people, even in the poorest weather conditions. People respond to design and appreciate the psychological effect that stimulating design provides.

Although there is a steady rise in the level of park use as the seasons advance, nevertheless, in winter there is a steady pattern of use varying from walking through the park to casual ball games. Pursuits, like walking, took place in the poorest weather and are more permanent, hardy activities than those activities that rely upon good weather. The regular park users belong to all age groups, providing a base level of use throughout the year irrespective of weather condition. (see Table 5-10)

Perfect weather conditions virtually double the attendance that normally prevails, so that if park use is so sensitive to weather, it is indicative of a strong, latent interest in all types of space and emphasises the important social role they could fulfil if it were not for the weather. If the influence of the weather on the facilities in parks could be overcome, then the use of parks would rise considerably. This points to more all-weather surfaces, the use of better designed surfaces and an increased number of protected spaces and indoor facilities. A similar request was made in the Greater London Council Study

TABLE 5-10

SEASONAL CHANGE IN AGE GROUPS IN PARKS

	AUTUMN		WINTER		SPRING		TOTAL	
	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number
i.Children	22.3	18,424	25.5	19,152	34.0	55,644	29.0	93,220
ii.Teenagers	12.6	10,375	14.4	10.811	14.5	23,799	14.0	44,985
iii.Adults with children	6.3	5,233	7.3	5,592	5.4	8,922	6.1	19,647
iv.Adults	50.3	41,800	47.2	35,447	36.7	60,172	42.6	137,119
v.Senior citizens	8.5	7,028	5.6	4,203	9.4	15,545	8.3	26,776
	100.0	82,561	100.0	75,105	100.0	164,062	100.0	321,728

Edinburgh Town Planning Department, Open Space Plan for Edinburgh.

and the Government Social Survey where people consistently asked for the use of toilets and cafes, presumably without expressing their unconscious desire to find a retreat from the weather.

Maximum summer use came close to what could be considered the maximum practical use. This became the density of use at which people, in perfect weather, then would leave the park because of either congestion or excess, or incompatibility of activities.

Like the Government Social Survey and the Greater London Council Survey, the Edinburgh Survey found that the activities most pursued in the parks consisted of seven types of activities:

1. Walking through the park
2. Casual walking
3. Exercising the pets
4. Casual ball games
5. Children's play
6. Sitting
7. Sunbathing

In each period of the year the Edinburgh Study showed that these accounted for at least 87% of the total attendance and, of this figure, approximately half is made up of people who just walk through the park.[33] (see Table 5-11)

The Edinburgh Study concluded that walking through the

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33. Edinburgh Town Planning Department, op. cit., p. 25

TABLE 5-11
PARK ACTIVITIES AND INTENSITY OF USE

	AUTUMN		WINTER		SPRING		TOTAL	
	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number
1 Walking through park	54.7	45,067	47.3	35,574	29.3	48,134	40.0	128,775
2 Casual walking in park	11.5	9,468	15.7	11,794	16.4	26,903	15.0	48,165
3 Exercising pets	10.7	8,823	12.4	9,304	8.4	13,798	9.9	31,925
4 Casual ball games	4.7	3,873	5.5	4,156	12.3	20,195	8.8	28,224
5 General children's play	4.3	3,514	5.0	3,718	11.4	18,646	8.0	25,878
6 Sitting or sunbathing	2.3	1,891	1.2	864	9.3	15,324	5.6	18,079
7 Organised ball games	1.3	1,102	0.4	283	3.1	5,154	2.0	6,539
8 Courting	2.3	1,902	2.6	1,924	1.2	1,968	1.8	5,794
9 Feeding birds & animals	2.2	1,824	2.9	2,202	0.9	1,458	1.7	5,484
10 Viewing from cars	1.0	810	1.9	1,438	1.7	2,757	1.6	5,005
11 Studying trees or veg.	0.6	512	2.7	2,036	0.7	1,092	1.1	3,640
12 Ski-ing	1.2	1,097	0.9	705	0.4	654	0.8	2,456
13 Spectating	0.8	633	0.3	231	0.8	1,285	0.7	2,149
14 Organised children's play	0.9	791	-	-	0.7	1,156	0.6	1,947
15 Viewing from vantage points	0.3	227	0.3	241	0.7	1,100	0.5	1,568
16 Reading books or newspapers	0.3	213	0.2	132	0.4	690	0.3	1,035
17 Photography or painting	0.1	124	0.1	50	0.5	792	0.3	966
18 Picnicking or lunching	0.2	144	0.1	84	0.4	674	0.3	902
19 Visiting monuments or relics	0.1	124	0.1	38	0.4	728	0.3	892
20 Pleasure driving	0.1	100	0.2	147	0.3	433	0.2	680
21 Fishing or boating	-	8	0.1	96	0.3	445	0.2	549
22 Discussion groups	0.2	180	-	12	0.1	132	0.1	324
23 Riding	-	33	-	11	-	34	-	78
24 Other	0.1	101	0.1	65	0.3	510	0.2	676
	100.0	82,561	100.0	75,105	100.0	164,062	100.0	321.728

Edinburgh Town Planning Department, Open Space Plan for Edinburgh.

park and exercising pets were necessary everyday events for central areas while the other four activities could be indulged in by all groups without any special preparation or at short notice when the weather was suitable. The only variations occurred for casual ball games and children's play which showed a five times increase in participation in the spring as compared with the winter and the autumn. Parks with facilities that catered for these six activities are the most popular throughout the year for the widest range of age groups.

Nevertheless, contrary to this overall use pattern, certain parks did single themselves out for specialised activities which reflected their own location, design and particular value role in the community. They found that parks which lay on main pedestrian routes showed a great predominance of adults, while open spaces that have a lot of play equipment tended to attract large numbers of children from a wide area.

The Supply of Urban Open Space in the United States

American urbanised areas have given up open space to other uses. Only 1,800 out of 17,000 municipalities and towns across the United States have the minimum of 20 acres of parkland for every increase of 1,000 in population.[34] Gordon points out

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34. Gordon, Mitchell, Sick Cities, (New York: Macmillan Co., 1963)

that in the provision of local parks and recreation grounds, cities in the United States are underdeveloped.

In the late sixties as cities had spent the past decades destroying their existing open space, there were only three-quarters of a million acres in community parks, or about a third of what was required. The most profitable land uses, whether they were unsightly or not, crowded out the less lucrative and more aesthetic uses. New highways, new developments occurred where resistance was weakest and this was very often an existing park or an unspoilt open space. For instance, Atlanta, Georgia used up more than 60% of its parkland, while Richmond, Virginia sacrificed so much land to highways and development it could not achieve a goal of one acre per thousand people.[35] A review of major U.S. cities in 1970 shows vast differences in provision, where Boston, Denver, Milwaukee and Phoenix are generously endowed with open space, while Detroit, Houston and New Orleans are deficient. (see Table 5-12).

The Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission Report suggested that if the population in the city regions continued expressing increased affluence in terms of the good life requiring lots of space, then the use of space might easily quadruple in the megalopolis while the population only doubled, and the pleasantly remaining open spaces in the city

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35. Gordon, op. cit., pp. 110-115

TABLE 5-12

Recreation land-population ratio comparisons

City	1970 Population	Area for park and recreation lands*	Ratio: acres per thousand population
Boston	641,071	6,900	10.76
Denver	514,678	16,686	32.42
Detroit	1,511,482	5,954	3.94
Houston	1,232,802	4,762	3.86
Kansas City	507,087	7,355	14.50
Los Angeles	2,816,061	15,947	5.66
Memphis	623,530	4,981	7.99
Milwaukee	717,099	14,264	19.89
New Orleans	593,468	422	0.74
Philadelphia	1,948,609	9,822	5.04
Phoenix	581,562	18,696	32.15
San Antonio	654,153	4,455	6.81

Area-percentage ratio comparisons

City	Total area (acres)	Area for park and recreation lands*	Percentage ratio of park and recreation to total
Boston	29,440	6,900	23.44%
Denver	60,928	16,686	27.39%
Detroit	88,320	5,954	6.74%
Houston	277,696	4,762	1.72%
Kansas City	202,752	7,355	3.63%
Los Angeles	296,768	15,947	5.37%
Memphis	138,496	4,981	3.60%
Milwaukee	60,800	14,264	23.46%
New Orleans	126,144	442	0.35%
Philadelphia	82,240	9,822	11.94%
Phoenix	158,656	18,696	11.78%
San Antonio	117,760	4,455	3.78

Sources: U.S.Department of Commerce for year 1970.
Simmonds, J.O., Earthscape, (McGraw-Hill Inc., 1978),p.279.

* Exclusive of other open space lands.

regions would vanish.[36]

Some of the relevant American studies include the following:

1. The New York Regional Plan Association Studies[37]
2. Baltimore Study[38]
3. Psychological Studies (Gans, Keller)[39]
4. San Francisco Street Study[40]

A. Studies by the New York Regional Plan Association

In their studies of "The Spread City", the New York Regional Plan Association showed that in the New York Metropolitan area, as much rural land was covered with homes, factories, roadways and

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36. Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission, Outdoor Recreation for America, A Report to the President and to the Congress, January 31, 1962 (Washington, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1962).

37. Regional Plan Association, Spread City, Bulletin 100, (New York, 1962).

38. Bangs, Herbert P., Jr., and Mahler, Stuart, 'Users of Local Parks', The American Institute of Planners Journal, Vol. 36.5 (September 1970), pp. 330-334

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Keller, Suzanne, The Urban Neighbourhood, (Random House, New York, 1968)

40. Appleyard, Donald and Lintell, Mark, 'The Environmental Quality of City Streets: The Resident's Viewpoint', Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. 38, No.2, (March 1972), pp. 84-101

other urban structures in the thirty years to 1960 as was turned to urban purposes in the previous 300 years.[41] The Regional Plan Association went on to forecast that by 1985 the region's urbanised land area would double to 4,000 square miles. At this rate, the New York Metropolitan area would run out of open undeveloped land altogether by the year 2010, even if there was no provision made for additional recreational acreage.

With the difficulty of living in the core of the New York region, the present trend is that families with children will not stay in the inner core.[42] The Regional Plan Association showed that in the period 1950-1960, well over 1½ million persons left the New York region's core and they expected another ½ million more core residents to join the new people living outside the inner city. The Regional Plan Association argued that because the inner city was becoming such a poor place to live in, and too crowded to satisfy human needs, plans should be made to arrange the inner core so that it could attract families with children. The total requirement of 2,800 square miles of additional land for urban use by 1985 to provide for local community facilities would demand more space for their cars, for their homes, industries and more space for recreation.

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41. Regional Plan Association, op. cit.

42. Regional Plan Association, op. cit.

B. Baltimore Study

The Baltimore Study by Bangs and Mahler is more comparable in scale and attitude to some of the British studies.[43] In 1969 various areas were examined in Baltimore, which contained residential population surrounding each local open space comparable in socio-economic and cultural terms, to determine significant differences in the use of the open spaces. Comparisons were made of the use of the open space by users and non-users.

Users were those who used the spaces almost daily, or at least once a week. Non-users were those who only used the spaces a few times a year. The study found that use of the parks dropped off at distances which varied from 200 to 400 feet, or less than 1/8th of a mile. When there was good pedestrian and visual access it appeared that use did not drop off so abruptly as the distance increased, a similar finding to the Edinburgh Open Space Study.

Usage also varied according to the size of the space. Usage within 300 feet of the spaces varied from 52% in the ½ acre space, to 65% in the 1.8 acre space to 95% in the 2 1/4 acre open space. These usage figures may also be distorted slightly by the better equipment available in the largest space. It was also realised that spaces do not need to be more than 2½ acres,

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43. Bangs and Mahler, op. cit.

and not the 3 acres previously recommended.

The study shows that the local open space programme which Baltimore developed has been highly successful, especially in these areas of traditional red-brick terraces for middle-income and lower middle-income families. Not only did they find the usage within the 400 feet service distance had been very high, but the spaces had served a critical age group that otherwise might have gone to backyards, back alleys or into the streets. By providing focal points where children of all ages could congregate, the programme had some useful secondary effects.

Originally the Baltimore planners had thought a 650 foot service distance would be sufficient, but the study clearly showed that most Baltimore people will not regularly use a local open space if it is further than 400 feet away from their homes.[44]

There had been a suggestion that there should be a system of larger recreational spaces surrounded by smaller "tot lot" spaces. This hierarchical system did not work for the 5 - 15 year age group as the larger spaces still were not able to "draw" children beyond the 400 foot maximum distance. For local use, the Baltimore Study recommends the below-2½-acre small open space.[45] The Study recommended that the larger recreational space should be

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44. Bangs and Mahler, op. cit.

45. Bangs and Mahler, op. cit.

considerably larger and provide a variety of activities which would please both the older teenager as well as the single adult.

Contrasting the Baltimore Study with the Greater London Council conclusions, the Baltimore planners eliminated the traditional 5 - 10 acre local park and concentrated on the large park of 25 - 50 acres and the small park of under $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres.

C. The Psychological Awareness of Open Space

Few studies have concentrated on the psychological needs for open space, although the Baltimore Study tried to investigate the psychological causes for open space demand without success. Previous studies had suggested that open space could help influence friendship patterns, but there does not seem to be any agreement on this aspect. In Herbert Gans' study of The Levittowners, in a relatively heterogeneous community, he concluded that neither the open spaces, the site plans nor the block plan influenced friendship.[46]

On the other hand, William Whyte, in The Organization Man, suggested that friendship patterns were related to site planning of houses and open space areas.[47] Suzanne Keller's book, The

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46. Gans, op. cit.

47. Whyte, William H., The Organization Man (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1956).

Urban Neighbourhood, suggested that physical distance was less important in determining friendship than it was in determining neighbourhood activities.[48] Physical distance does not destroy friendship patterns whereas a neighbourhood ceases to exist as a neighbourhood once the spatial distance intervenes. Christopher Alexander discusses the psychological necessity for intimate contact among individuals and supports the idea that the home and the spaces around the home are where such contacts can develop.[49] He contends that the location of the open spaces are significant in determining social relationships. Further work needs to be done for any definite conclusion.

D. Appleyard Study - The Street or Local Open Space

Perhaps forced on by the difficulties of obtaining urban open space, several recent studies have examined the potential of the street as permanently designed local open space.

The Appleyard and Lintell study examined three similar San Francisco streets to determine, amongst other aspects, environmental awareness, social interaction and general liveability of the street.[50]

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48. Keller, op. cit.

49. Chermeyeff, Serge, and Alexander, Christopher, Community and Privacy, (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co. Inc., 1963).

50. Appleyard and Lintell, op. cit.

One type of street, classified 'Light street', functioned as a lively close-knit area, divided into different use zones by the residents. Front steps were used for sitting and chatting, pavements by children for playing, and by adults for standing and passing the time of day, and the roadway itself by children and teenagers for playing more active games like football. The 'Light street' was fully used. (see Fig. 5-1).

The strongest proposal resulting from the Appleyard and Lintell study was the designation in the adopted Urban Design Plan (San Francisco Planning Department, 1971) of "protected residential areas" throughout San Francisco.[51] Amongst other policies these areas would be protected from traffic by design devices such as rough pavement surfaces, narrowing of entrances, bending alignments, special landscaping, lighting and pavement treatment to slow down the traffic to a residential pace and, as Appleyard states, "incidentally" provide more recreation space.

Subsidies are to be provided for:

> "On streets where traffic flows and speeds could not be reduced, ways of ameliorating conditions were proposed. These included sidewalk protection by means of trees, low walls, hedges, and so on; the provision of

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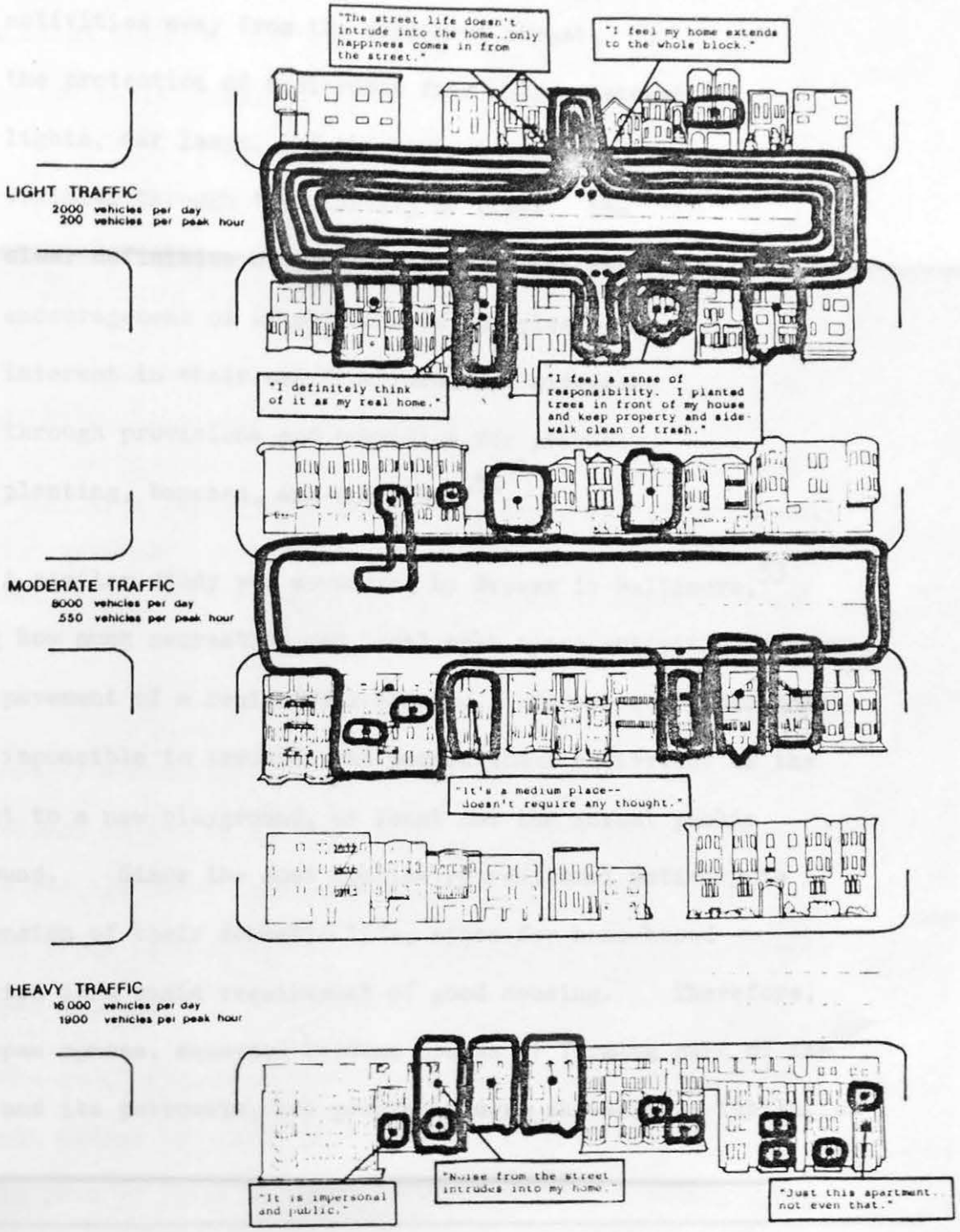
51. San Francisco Planning Department, Urban Design Plan (1971).



Home Territory
Lines show areas people indicated as their "home territory."

Fig. 5-1

Source: Appleyard, Donald and Lintell, Mark, 'The Environmental Quality of City Streets: Resident's Viewpoint', Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. 38, March 1972.

alternative play spaces to divert children's activities away from the dangerous street; the protection of residences from glaring street lights, car lamps, and the view of passing vehicles through the planting of trees; the clear definition of parking spaces; and the encouragement of inhabitants to exercise some interest in their own frontyards and sidewalks through provisions and subsidies for private planting, benches, and the like."[52]

A similar study was conducted by Brower in Baltimore,[53] showing how much recreation and local open space activities occurred on the pavement of a residential street. Brower concluded that it was impossible to transfer the recreational activities of the pavement to a new playground, at least not the normal public playground. Since the most routine recreational activity is an extension of their domestic life, space for home-based recreation is a basic requirement of good housing. Therefore, small open spaces, squeezed between houses or forming part of the street and its pavements, are generally more suitable as facilities

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52. Appleyard and Lintell, op. cit.

53. Brower, Sidney, 'Streetfront & Sidewalk', Landscape Architecture, Vol. 63, July 1973, pp. 364-369.

for home-based recreation than public parks or playgrounds. Brower's Study supports the need for the small open space on a psychological basis. (see Fig. 5-2)

Summary - The Supply of Open Space

The supply studies show a greater need for open space in the inner city, like London, than in the New Towns. It is a feature of the Government Social Survey, and the Greater London studies that high priority is given to having easy access to parks and public gardens. Landscaping and public amenities, like lavatories and facilities for children were important aspects of all parks. With the majority of all journeys to parks being made on foot (GLC Studies) the need for local open space is quite clear.

Masser's Birmingham study showed that car ownership had little effect on visits to local parks. Indeed people with cars actually visited local open space slightly more often. The Edinburgh Study emphasized walking and the need for linear spaces to enhance walking.

The American supply studies also emphasized the need for local open space, and the Baltimore study particularly emphasized the small park of under $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres. Other American studies, (Gans, Keller, Appleyard, Bower) all stressed the psychological importance of the local space.

There are now sufficient number of corroborative studies of people's behavioural patterns which show a need to study in depth

Fig. 5-2

Source: Brower, Sidney, 'Streetfront & Sidewalk', Landscape Architecture, Vol. 63, July 1973, pp. 364-9.

local requirements, quality and the kind of open space that specifically suits the particular activities and role of the individual community. Interest should focus on the design aspects of local open space.

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12. Government Social Survey, op. cit., p. 79.

13. Government Social Survey, op. cit., pp. 74-75.

14. Government Social Survey, op. cit., p. 71.

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16. Government Social Survey, op. cit., p. 33.

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PART TWO : THE PROBLEM

CHAPTER VI

THE DEVELOPMENT OF OPEN SPACE STANDARDS IN BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES

THE DEVELOPMENT OF OPEN SPACE STANDARDS IN BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES

It has been thought that the demand for public open space could be solved by the application of standards by local authorities. However, standards are too often represented as a maximum or an ideal rather than as minimum requirements.

Open space standards have been justified on the following grounds:

1. Standards serve as a guide to determine what and how much open space is needed to fulfill the demand. Standards can help in the location of public open space.

2. Standards serve as justification to political authorities in the disposing of open space budgets for the acquisition and development of parks and recreation facilities.

Local authorities and municipalities also claim standards as a device to determine priorities.

3. Standards serve as a measure against which the performance of different local authorities, or the performance of different sectors of local authorities, can be judged.

Examination of the past thirty years will show whether in fact these justifications for open space standards have been fulfilled.

In both Britain and America standards for recreation provision and open space were developed historically by enlightened organisations, which began privately and then became semi-public groups. These organisations have maintained their original historical dominance for the setting of standards. For over fifty years the standards for recreation provision and open space in Britain have been those made by the National Playing Fields Association. In the United States the National Recreation and Park Association has played a similar role.

Certain major studies have been accepted in Britain as classic interpretations of standards. These include the National Playing Fields Association Reports,[1] Abercrombie's County of

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1. National Playing Fields Association, Memorandum on Standards of Playing Space, 1955. (Sir George Pepler, Chairman, Grounds and Layout Committee, March 1955)

London Plan,[2] the Parker Morris Report,[3] and the City of Liverpool Report on Open Space.[4]

In the United States, besides the annual reports of the National Recreation and Park Association,[5] the American Public Health Association produced accepted standards for open space[6] as has the New York Regional Plan Association[7].

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The Development of Open Space Standards in Britain

A. The British National Playing Fields Association

In 1925 the British National Playing Fields Association recommended that there should be 6 acres (2.40 ha.) of playing space per thousand people, but it excluded school playing fields, woodlands, commons, ornamental gardens, full length golf courses and open spaces where the playing of organised games was discouraged. For over fifty years, 6 acres (2.40 ha.) per thousand people has remained the standard open space provision for recreation. In addition, the National Playing Fields Association recommended there should be 1 acre (0.40 ha.) of ornamental public open space per thousand people and 3 acres (1.20 ha.) of school playing fields, thus making a total of 10 acres (4.00 ha.) for each thousand people[8]. (see Table 6-1). This standard was accepted as the ideal by Patrick Abercrombie in both his plans for London County and Greater London in 1944. The National Playing Fields Association reconfirmed the standard in 1955 and again in 1971[9]: and so the standard is still widely used.

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8. National Playing Fields Association, Playing Fields 1925-1975 NPFA Jubilee Year, October-December, 1975

9. National Playing Fields Association, Outdoor Playing Space Requirements - Review of NPFA Playing Space Target, 1971 (National Playing Fields Association, London 1971)

The National Playing Fields Association arrived at this standard by assuming that active games playing was limited to the ten to forty-year-old age group, which, at that time in the mid-nineteen twenties, constituted half of the total population, and even 30% of this group were served by school facilities.[10] As a result, the remaining population could be accommodated on a 6 acre site which could provide a senior football pitch, a junior hockey pitch, a cricket square, a bowling green, two tennis courts, a children's playground and a pavilion.

By 1955, with changes in population structure, less than half of the people in the ten to forty-year-old age group were interested in active sports. Nevertheless, the National Playing Fields Association argued that the 6 acre (2.40 ha.) standard was still important because the ten to forty-year-old age group needed even better facilities and a greater proportion of older people were enjoying active recreation.

The NPFA standard is often mistaken for an overall standard of open space. This is unfortunate as it covers only that part of open space needed for sport, games and general play and specifically excludes woodlands, commons and ornamental gardens. Even full length golf courses and school playing

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10. Patmore, J. Allan, Land and Leisure in England and Wales Problems in Modern Geography (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1970) p. 83

fields are excluded. The Association insists they are concerned primarily with space for organised sport, which attitude many local authorities do not appreciate.

The flat overall standard of the National Playing Fields Association does not take into account private use versus public use, location, or the kind of person who would use open space. Of these three deficiencies, the need for proximity and accessibility is the most frequently mentioned requirement in the supply and demand studies. Therefore the lack of a locational standard is the major deficiency in the NPFA standard. In addition, the gross calculation of the National Playing Fields Association estimates the areas required for different games and age groups at saturation point and then the remaining land is used for all other purposes. This has been a superficial approach bearing little relation to the psychological need for distinguishing the types of open spaces required for different people.

B. County of London Plan 1943

Patrick Abercrombie, in the County of London Plan, 1943, adopted the National Playing Fields Association standards as the ideal. But confronted by the highly developed urban area of London, Abercrombie had to manipulate the standard. He assumed that the extra 3 acres of school playing fields would be provided outside the County of London area either in the green belt or in

the proposed wedges of open space from the green belt to the county boundary. The other 7 acres which included 1 acre of park and 6 acres of playing space could not be provided in the highly developed areas. The compromise conclusion was 4 acres (1.60 ha.) per thousand population as a reasonable figure to adopt for the then County of London.[11] (see Table 6-1)

As planning policy the 4 acres of open space per thousand population was to be provided within local neighbourhood areas. However, even by including the protected Georgian squares, and all the disused burial grounds, Abercrombie still could not locate geographically a 4 acre standard sufficient for each part of London. It was suggested that where there were a surplus, such as in Woolwich and Greenwich, this surplus, if it was sufficiently close to a neighbouring district, should be used to cover the deficiencies of that nearby district. The calculations on the required new open space were based on a population density of 136 persons per acre after allowing for the decentralisation of people into the proposed eight New Towns and sixteen Satellite Communities.

Amenity open space was allocated a small proportion of the standard, one third of an acre (0.13 ha.) per thousand population, even though amenity open space could only be provided if and

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11. Abercrombie, L.P. and Forshaw, J.H., op. cit., p. 37

TABLE 6-1

OPEN SPACE STANDARDS per 1000 population

OPEN SPACE	National Playing Fields Association 1955-1971		Greater London Plan 1944		County of London Plan 1943		London County Council 1950	
Playing space (all public)	6 acres	2.40 ha.	4 acres	1.60 ha.	2 acres	.80 ha.	2½ acres	1.00 ha.
Ornamental Public	1 acre	.40 ha.	1 acre	.40 ha.	1⅔ acres)	.80 ha.		
Amenity Open Space	-	-			⅓ acre)			
Playing Space (private Sports Grounds)	-	-	2 acres	.80 ha.				
Sub-Total	7 acres	2.80 ha.	7 acres	2.80 ha.	4 acres	1.60 ha.	2½ acres	1.00 ha.
School Playing Fields	3 acres	1.20 ha.	3 acres	1.20 ha.	(provided in green belt)		3 acres (outside county)	1.20 ha.
TOTAL	10 acres	4.00 ha.	10 acres	4.00 ha.	4 acres	1.60 ha.	2½ acres	1.00 ha.

Sources: National Playing Fields Association, 1971 Review
Abercrombie and Forshaw, County of London Plan 1943
Abercrombie, Greater London Plan 1944
London County Council, Administrative County of London Development Plan, (London County Council, 1950).

when redevelopment took place in the higher density areas. Abercrombie accepted a pragmatic answer of 4 acres per thousand population as being as close to the ideal as he could attain for the dense London population.

The 4 acres per thousand people were to include all types of green open space in the net density figures, as follows:[12]

1.	General Playing Fields	2 acres (.80 ha.) per thousand population.
2.	School Playing Fields	
3.	Recreation and Sports Centres	
4.	Large amenity parks and parkways	1 ⅔ acres(1.32 ha.) per thousand population.
5.	Riverside pleasure gardens	
6.	Amenity open space and playing fields between adjacent communities /industrial areas	1 ⅔ acres(1.32 ha.) per thousand population.
7.	Allotments	
8.	Small playing centres for children	1/3 acre (.13 ha.) per thousand population.
9.	Small amenity open spaces	

One of Abercrombie's more valuable innovations was to redefine the NPFA's standard of ornamental Public Space, which had been in terms of the Victorian ornamental garden or the Victorian

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12. Abercrombie and Forshaw, op. cit., p. 38

Park (which he relabelled 'the large amenity park'). Abercrombie expanded the definition of ornamental public space to include "riverside pleasure gardens" (forerunner of riverside linear parks today), amenity open space between adjacent communities (the small green belt for the neighbourhood) and allotments.

Abercrombie doubled the NPFA's open space standard for the ornamental public space and reduced the emphasis on playing fields. More importantly he pressed for the small amenity open space, small (under one acre) in size but locally provided, as well as the small children's playing centre. He accurately forecast the demand for small open spaces, as shown by the demand studies twenty years later, even though the National Playing Fields Association still advocate an answer which has little relevance to the results of the demand studies. The following Table summarises Abercrombie's advanced pragmatic answer.

TABLE 6-2

OPEN SPACE	National Playing Fields Association 1955-1971		County of London Plan 1943	
Playing Space Public	6 acres	2.40 ha.	2 acres	.80 ha.
Ornamental Public Open Space	1 acre	.40 ha.	1⅔ acres)	.80 ha.
Small Amenity Open Space			⅓ acres)	
Sub-Total	7 acres	2.80 ha.	4 acres	1.60 ha.
School Playing Fields	3 acres	1.20 ha.	(to be provided in Green Belt).	
TOTAL	10 acres	4.00 ha.	4 acres	1.60 ha.

Sources: National Playing Fields Association, 1971 Review

Abercrombie and Forshaw, County of London Plan, 1943

Abercrombie noted certain areas with considerable amount of open space surplus to the standard of 4 acres per thousand, but being privately owned, they had not been included in the calculations. If they had become public, the calculations for the County would have been better. Not being able to use the private open space, a total of 13,000 acres was required to provide 4 acres per thousand people.[13] Only 7,800 acres was available, leaving

13. Abercrombie and Forshaw, op. cit., pp. 38-41

a deficiency of 5,200 acres. Abercrombie considered taking 1,200 acres of private open space but that still left 4,000 acres to be found which meant a deficiency of over 1¼ acres per thousand population on this greatly reduced open space standard of the National Playing Fields Association. Taking into account both private and public open space, the largest city in Britain was unable to provide even a minimal standard.

The Government's Social Survey, the Pilot National Recreation Survey, and other studies concluded that if any public open space standard has to be reduced, reductions should come out of the large amenity parks category or even the school playing fields category, but not from the local space, which is desired by most people.[14] Abercrombie came to a similar conclusion. School playing fields were to be found elsewhere, but 50% of the available open space was to be ornamental public space, of which one-third were to be the small amenity open spaces. Abercrombie's Plan was ahead of his time.

C. Greater London Plan, 1944

The standards for the Greater London area could be higher than those for the County of London. The Greater London Plan,

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14. Sillitoe, K.K., Planning for Leisure, Government Social Survey, (London, H.M.S.O. 1969) SS 388
British Travel Association/University of Keele, Pilot National Recreation Study (1967)

1944 accepted the National Playing Fields Association standards of 7 (2.80 ha.) and 10 acres (4.0 ha.) per thousand population for the inner urban and suburban ring.

Although some areas had a surplus, on the whole in the inner urban and suburban rings there was still a deficiency, which, when added to the deficiency of 5,200 acres of open space lacking in the County of London, represented the total amount of open space deficiency in the built-up area of London.[15] No calculations were made for the Outer County ring for towns in the green belt, as these, having their own green belt and close accessibility to open space, were in a more advantageous position.

Abercrombie resorted to using private playing fields in the Greater London Region to achieve the National Playing Fields standard of 7 acres (2.80 ha.) per thousand people for the inner urban and suburban areas. Although at least 1 acre (.40 ha.) was to be in parks and parkland, of the 4 acres (1.60 ha.) of playing fields, 2 were to be public and 2 acres were to be private playing fields. Certain playing fields were far away from the actual communities they served. For the rest, and most of the Greater London Region, it was possible to allocate 10 acres per thousand people (see Table 6-1). In the inner urban zone it was possible to provide only 4 acres (1.60 ha.) per thousand population.[16]

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15. Abercrombie, Patrick, Greater London Plan, 1944 (H.M.S.O. 1944) p. 100

16. Abercrombie, op. cit., p. 116

Abercrombie proposed a park system for Greater London which ranged from the smallest open space for children's playgrounds, which should be found in every community at regularly spaced intervals, to outer urban country parks. The components of this park system for Greater London was expanded from the County of London Plan list to include:[17]

1. Children's playgrounds which should be $\frac{1}{4}$ mile apart
2. A town square or amenity spaces (within the built-up areas)
3. School playgrounds and fields
4. Landscaped town parks
5. Large playing fields for adults and senior school children
6. Recreation and sports centres
7. Connecting and radiating parkways
8. Wedges of open land
9. Smaller green belts and strips of open space for defining the boundaries and growth of communities
10. Commons and heathlands
11. The river embankments, like the Thames and the Lea
12. Green belt reservations, the hills, forests and woodlands
13. Areas of high scenic value
14. Normal farmland

In the Greater London Plan, Abercrombie expanded his advocacy of small amenity spaces. Children of three to five

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17. Abercrombie, op. cit., p. 103

years should play in children's playgrounds which were easily within reach of every home, and less than $\frac{1}{4}$ mile apart. Children of five to eleven years, while probably playing at school, should also play in small playgrounds of one quarter to one half acre each which should be distributed throughout parts of the neighbourhood and not necessarily be very close to the schools. Thus, in a neighbourhood of ten thousand people, Abercrombie advocated making eight small playgrounds which would provide a playground for every 1,250 people, thus fulfilling desires expressed in the demand and the supply studies. For the eleven to fifteen year children, Abercrombie suggested there should be two 1 acre plots of playing area which were not connected with the school fields and which were simply for neighbourhood team games.[18a]

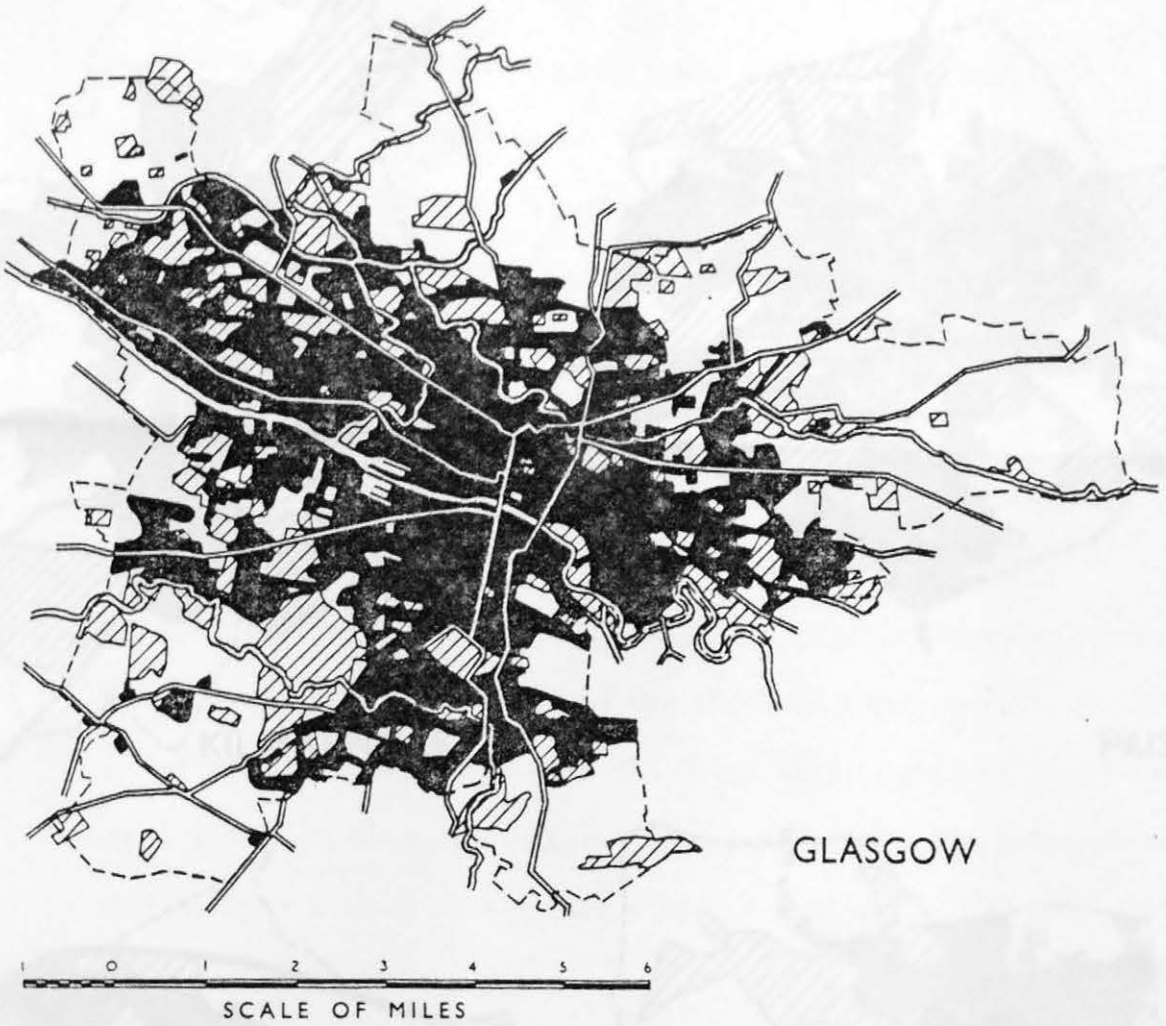
Abercrombie wrote other plans including the thoughtful Clyde Valley Regional Plan of 1946. The Clyde Valley Plan called urban open spaces, "The core of the problem" for urban areas and described 'the lamentable paucity of recreative open space in the central areas, the areas which are most heavily populated and need it most.'[18b] (see figs. 6-1 & 6-2)

The plan decried the rigidity of planning standards and

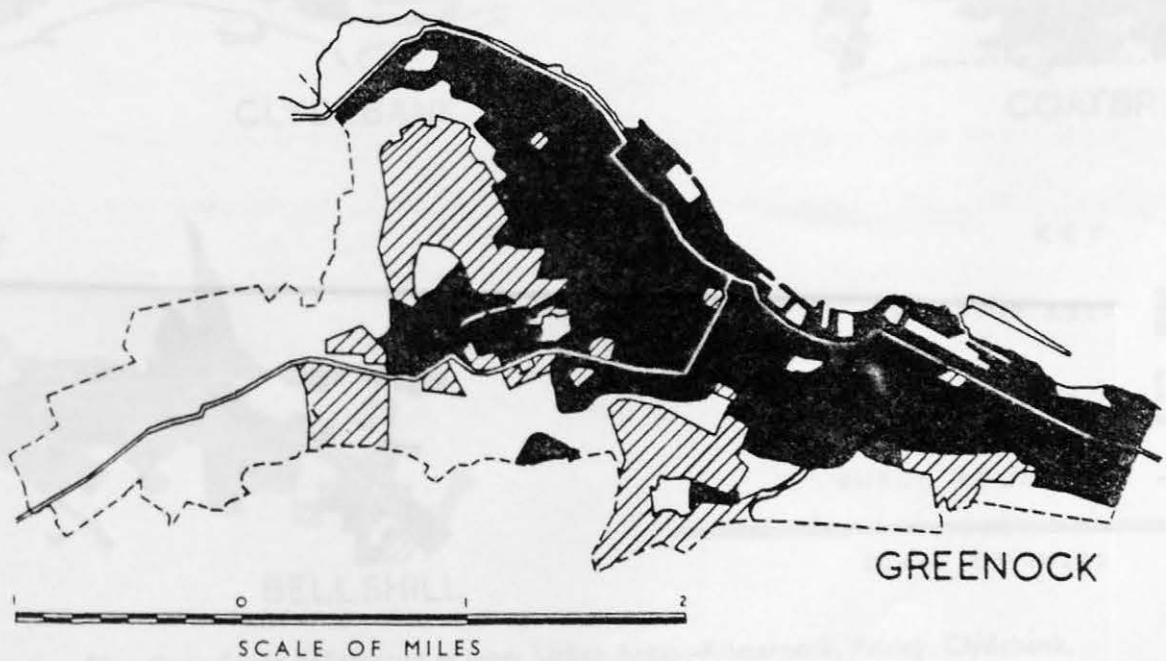
18a. Abercrombie, op. cit., pp. 116-7

18b. Abercrombie, Sir Patrick and Matthew, Robert H., The Clyde Valley Regional Plan, 1946, a Report prepared for the Clyde Valley Regional Planning Committee, (H.M.S.O., Edinburgh, 1949), p.155

Fig. 6-1

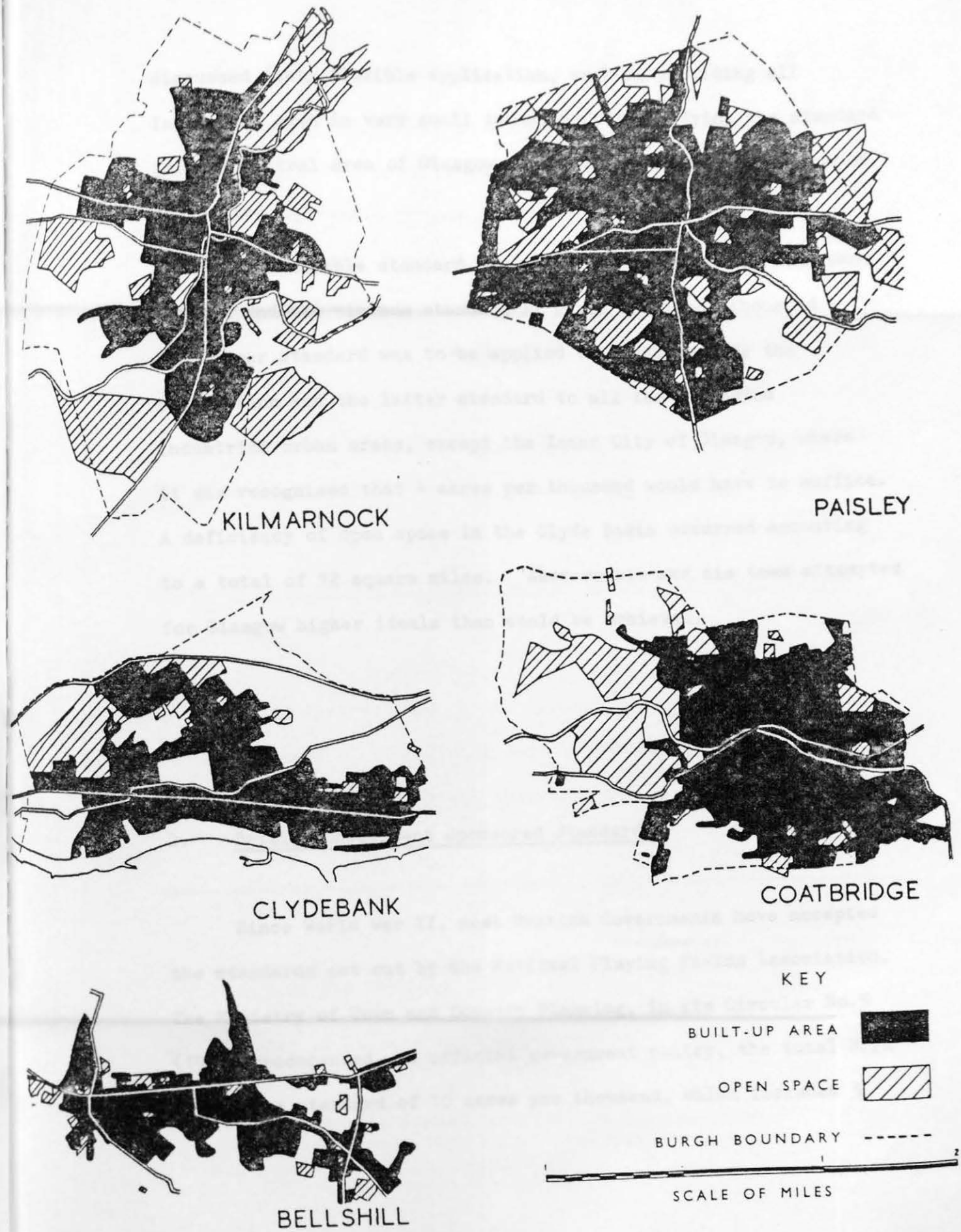


48. Open Space deficiency in Inner Urban Area of Glasgow



49. Open Space deficiency in Inner Urban Area of Greenock

Abercrombie, and Matthew, The Clyde Valley Regional Plan, 1946 (H.M.S.O., 1949).



50. Open Space deficiencies in Inner Urban Areas—Kilmarnock, Paisley, Clydebank, Coatbridge and Bellshill

Abercrombie, and Matthew, The Clyde Valley Regional Plan, 1946 (H.M.S.O., 1949).

discussed their flexible application, such as providing all facilities even in very small towns and yet modifying the standard for the central area of Glasgow so as not to dispossess thousands of people.

The desirable standard was adopted as 10 acres per thousand persons and the minimum standard at seven acres per thousand. The former standard was to be applied to towns outside the conurbation and the latter standard to all the congested industrial urban areas, except the Inner City of Glasgow, where it was recognised that 4 acres per thousand would have to suffice. A deficiency of open space in the Clyde Basin occurred amounting to a total of 12 square miles. Abercrombie and his team attempted for Glasgow higher ideals than could be achieved.

D. British Government Sponsored Standards

Since World War II, most British Governments have accepted the standards set out by the National Playing Fields Association. The Ministry of Town and Country Planning, in its Circular No.5 (1943) recommended, as official government policy, the total NPFA open space standard of 10 acres per thousand, which included 3

acres for school playing fields, but excluded allotments.[19]

Over a decade later in 1956, the Ministry of Housing and Local Government formally reconfirmed their faith in the NPFA's standard of six acres of permanently preserved playing space per thousand population in addition to school playing fields, and the one acre in parks and three acres of school playing fields, making a total of ten acres. The Ministry furthermore wrote "no better assessment of need has so far been put forward."[20] The NPFA's own memorandum, Standards of Playing Space, 1955, was appended to the Ministry's Memorandum.[21]

E. Standards and Provision of Open Space in the Fifties and Sixties

Under instructions, local authorities accepted the standards of the National Playing Fields Association as their goal, although most big cities did not reach these standards. Other local

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19. Ministry of Town and Country Planning, Circular No. 5 (H.M.S.O. 3rd November, 1943)

20. Ministry of Housing and Local Government, Technical Memorandum No. 6, Open Spaces (1956) (H.M.S.O. 1956), p.2

21. National Playing Fields Association, Memorandum on Standards of Playing Space, 1955 (Sir George Pepler, Chairman, Grounds and Layout Committee, March, 1955)

authorities did not know how to use the 6 acres of playing space that they did possess. Wide variations in open space provision existed between different types of towns or cities, between towns of the same type, and between different parts of a town.

The 1950 London County Council Development Plan suggested an inferior standard of 2½ acres per thousand population, although the full standard was 4 acres, supplemented by 3 acres outside the county.[22] (see Table 6-1)

By the first Quinquennial Review in 1960, the County of London overall had achieved the objective of 2½ acres per thousand, although 16 boroughs remained well below the minimum standard.[23] Deptford, Finsbury, Shoreditch, Southwark and Stepney all had less than one acre per thousand persons and Islington had only 0.3 acre per thousand.[24] The London County Council concluded it ought to bring each of these 16 boroughs up to a minimum standard of 2½ acres, "an enormous task" in itself, before it could consider open space standards of 4 acres for the

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22. London County Council, Administrative County of London Development Plan, (London County Council, 1950) p.6

23. London County Council, Administrative County of London Development Plan, First Review 1960, County Planning Report (London County Council 1960) p.116

24. London County Council, Administrative County of London Development Plan, First Review 1960, County Planning Report (London County Council 1960) p.116

whole of London.[25] Even by 1970, parts of Inner London, like Lambeth, Southwark, Newham and Tower Hamlets, still had less than 1.6 acres, while Islington had 0.5 acre per thousand population.[26]

Table 6-3 shows how very little progress had been made by London's Quinquennial Review in 1960. Since Abercrombie's original standards, seventeen years earlier, there had only been a one acre rise in standard for open space within the urban area.

Other local authorities exhibited similar deficiencies. In Liverpool the inner area of Everton has only a quarter of an acre for every thousand persons and to bring the open space up to NPFA standard of 6 acres per thousand would have reduced the population by 20,000 people who would have had to be housed elsewhere.[27] Rehousing such a number of people was unacceptable politically in terms of the city's housing needs as a whole.

In 1964 the Ministry for Housing and Local Government requested local authorities to review their areas to determine existing and future provision for sport and physical recreation.[28]

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25. London County Council, op. cit., p. 117

26. Whitaker, Ben and Browne, Kenneth, Parks for People, (London: Seeley Service & Co., 1971)

27. Patmore, op. cit., pp. 83-4

28. Ministry of Housing and Local Government (49/64) and the Department of Education and Sciences (11/64) Joint Circular of 27th August (H.M.S.O. 1964)

TABLE 6-3

OPEN SPACE	County of London 1943		London County Council, 1950		London County Council Review, 1960	
Playing Space Public	2 acres	.80 ha.	2½ acres	1.00 ha.	2½ ac.	1.00 ha.
Ornamental Public	1⅔ ac.)					
Small Amenity Open Space	⅓ ac.)	.80 ha.				
Sub total	4 acres	1.60 ha.	2½ acres	1.00 ha.	2½ ac.	1.00 ha.
School Playing Fields	6 acres (to be provided in green belt)		3 acres (outside County)	1.20 ha.	3 ac. (outside the County if necessary)	1.20 ha.
Total (within urban area)	4 acres	1.60 ha.	2½ acres	1.00 ha.	5½ac.	2.20 ha.

Sources: Abercrombie and Forshaw, County of London Plan, 1943
London County Council, Development Plan, 1951
London County Council, First Quinquennial Review, 1960

It was then found that great variations occurred between County Authorities. For instance, the average provision for a thousand persons in Lancashire was 2.7 acres of open space[29] while in Cheshire

29. Lancashire District Council, Recreation Facilities in Lancashire Survey of facilities for Sport and Recreation (1967)

it was 4.6 acres of open space.[30] Indeed, within some parts of the counties there was no provision of open space at all, or under .5 acres per thousand people, as in Tarvin Rural District, whereas in Wigan Rural District in Lancashire there was 21.5 acres per thousand people, while Bucklow Rural District in Cheshire had 40.9 acres per thousand people.[31] The Ministry found just over half the local authorities had been 1 and 6 acres of open space per thousand people.[32]

The generosity of provision tended to be directly proportional to the size of the population; thus large towns had higher levels of provision than smaller towns. For instance, the rural villages and towns with relative accessibility to the countryside, therefore had the lowest levels of provision as they did not need substitutes for rural amenity, but in the larger towns, as the countryside became increasingly remote, there was more of a desire to preserve areas of open space. The general trend was for park acreage to increase with increasing total population.

The provision for sports grounds also showed some variation between the counties, but not as much variation as for parks and

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30. Male, Kenneth, O. Recreation in Cheshire Survey of Existing Facilities for Sport and Physical Recreation. Preliminary Report (Cheshire County Council, May 1967) pp. 3-8

31. Patmore, op. cit., pp. 81-2

32. Ministry of Housing and Local Government, Joint Circular, op. cit.

playgrounds. In Lancashire there was an average of 1.6 acres per thousand population, but if all the golf courses were added into the figure this raised the provision to 3.7 acres per thousand persons. Cheshire was a good deal better off with 5 acres of sports grounds per thousand people. Patmore points out that, as with parks, local authorities with the larger populations tended to have higher levels of provision of sports facilities.[33]

The number of playgrounds per local authority varied immensely from 21 in Chester County Borough to only 13 in Stockport. The number of children per playground varied from 200 in Alderly Edge Urban District to 3,500 in Chester Rural District, which meant an average of 850 children per playground, a higher average than Abercrombie had envisaged.[34] It appears that the larger the child population per local authority, the greater the number of children per playground.

The location of playgrounds is more important than size or numbers, because they serve a highly localised need, nevertheless playgrounds were summarised quantitively.

F. The Parker Morris Report

The Ministry of Housing and Local Government's 1961 Report

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33. Patmore, op. cit., p. 81

34. Male, op. cit., p. 8

children allowed for each playground.[37] This standard provided an area of approximately 1,200 square feet, on the premise that actually all the children would not be there at the same time.

G. City of Liverpool: Review on Open Space 1964

A comparison of open space standards made in 1965 showed deficiencies common to other cities. Birmingham had 4.0 acres (1.60 ha.) of open space per thousand population, while Manchester had only 2.8 acres (1.15 ha.), Liverpool had 2.5 acres (1.0 ha.), London 2 acres (0.80 ha.) and Sheffield had 1.7 acres (0.68 ha.).[38] (See Table 6-4)

Liverpool's Review of Open Space showed Liverpool to be particularly deficient in open space.[39] In 1964 there was virtually no open space in the inner areas and a 40% deficiency in school playing fields.

In an attempt to rectify this situation, Liverpool set out new standards for recreation purposes of 5 acres of open space per thousand persons.

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37. Allen, Lady M. of Hurtwood, Design for Play, (Housing Centre Trust) (London 1962) p. 18. See: Allen, Lady M. of Hurtwood. Planning for Play (London, Thames and Hudson, 1968)

38. Ekistics, Vol. 20 (1965) p.61

39. Liverpool Corporation, Review of City Development Plan Report No. 15 Open Space, (Liverpool, 1964)

TABLE 6-4

OPEN SPACE STANDARDS per 1000 population

OPEN SPACE	London County Council Review 1960		Liverpool City Review 1964		Livingston New Town	
Playing Space (Private Sports Grounds)					4.4 acres	1.76 ha.
Playing Space (all Public)	2½ acres	1.00 ha.				
Ornamental Public			1 acre	.40 ha.	1.6 acres	.64 ha.
Amenity Open Space					1.6 acres	.64 ha.
Sub-Total	2½ acres	1.00 ha.			7.6 acres	3.04 ha.
School Playing Fields	3 acres (outside county)					
TOTAL	5½ acres					

Sources: London County Council, First Review 1960
Liverpool Corporation, Review of City Development Plan 1964
Livingston Corporation, Livingston New Town

They accepted two acres per thousand population of actual playgrounds and playing fields and local parks at one acre, following Abercrombie's example but proposed that the other two acres of space should be outside the city, in the form of country parks of approximately 200 acres each and a major regional park of approximately 600 acres.

In practice, the standard for the inner urban area of Liverpool remained at 3 acres per thousand which was a lower standard than the Abercrombie standard for inner London in 1943 . (see Table 6-1).

Priority was to be given to essential local uses, such as toddlers' play spaces within 220 yards of housing, older children's playgrounds with 440 yards of housing and a nucleus of public playing fields next to the school. The Liverpool Report suggested 0.7 acres per thousand population, but in higher density areas more playground area was needed and some attention had to be given to the older teenager, the younger teenager and the older child.[40]

Influenced by the Parker Morris Report, Liverpool's approach was the gross standard approach. A more subtle method to the provisions of open space would consider specific locations, local preferences and physical characteristics.

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40. Liverpool City Corporation: Bor, Walter, Review of City Development Plan, Open Space, August 1964

H. The Department of Environment Analysis of Open Space Provision

The Department of the Environment surveyed the supply of open space by examining the development plans of some 200 towns, 17 expanded towns and some 16 conurbations in 1965.[41] The total sample included 263 town maps, seemingly a comprehensive sample. However, most of the data for the conurbations came from development plans that had been submitted before 1960, and were pre the 1968 Town and Country Planning Act and therefore were not based on the new Structure Plan system.

The study was limited in three ways. In most cases it was more than likely that the proposals shown were standards towards which to aim rather than as proposals which had any hope of achievement and that the actual provision of open space varied enormously. Secondly, the study looked at the provision for each town map area as a whole and gave no indication as to the internal distribution or whether particular open space needs were being met adequately, not being able to examine either the level of provision or the size and function of each particular open space. Thirdly, no attempt was made to evaluate the usefulness of the open spaces. It cannot be assumed that one type of open space could be an adequate substitute for another, or that evaluating usefulness should not take into account changes in demand attitudes.

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41. Department of the Environment, Open Space Provision in Urban Areas: An Analysis of Development Plans, 1973.

The classification of open spaces was based on a 1968 Ministry of Housing and Local Government Memorandum.[42] There were only three types of open space, namely, public playing fields, other public open space, and private playing fields, with the result that the small public and private open spaces in residential areas were excluded and the small public and private open spaces that exist in non-residential areas were lumped into the 'other public space' category which was so extensive that it included golf courses. The result of such classifications is that it gives an impression of good open space provision which in reality, may not exist.

Figures were given in terms of all 200 towns and then separately for the conurbations and separately for the remaining towns. From the results, it appeared as if open space provision for the 200 towns was generous. The mean figure for total open space for all towns was 8.5 acres per thousand population, to be increased by the end of the plan period of 0.9 acres to 9.4 acres (see Table 6-5).

The average provisions for total open space (in the conurbations) was 5.4 acres per thousand people at the time of the survey and proposals were contained within the development plans to increase the average provision to 7.8 acres per thousand people at the end of the plan period (see Table 6-6). If the planned

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42. Ministry of Housing and Local Government, Urban Planning Directorate, Technical Study, Survey of Open Space Uses in New Towns, 1968.

TABLE 6-5

MEAN OPEN SPACE PROVISION: MAIN SAMPLE

Main Sample (200 Town Maps)	Acres per Thousand Population		
	Date of Survey	End of Plan Period	Net Change
TOTAL OPEN SPACE	8.5	9.8	+ 1.3
Total Public Open Space	7.1	8.6	+ 1.5
Total Playing Fields	2.9	3.9	+ 1.0
Public Playing Fields	1.5	2.7	+ 1.2
Private Playing Fields	1.4	1.2	- 0.2
Other Public Open Space	5.6	5.9	+ 0.3

Source: Department of the Environment, Open Space Provision in Urban Areas: and Analysis of Development Plans Crown Copyright 1973.

TABLE 6-6

MEAN OPEN SPACE PROVISION : CONURBATION TOWNS

Conurbation Towns Sample (n = 46)	Acres per Thousand Population		
	Date of Survey	End of Plan Period	Net Change
TOTAL OPEN SPACE	5.4	7.8	+ 2.4
Total Public Open Space	4.1	6.7	+ 2.6
Total Playing Fields	2.6	4.0	+ 1.4
Public Playing Fields	1.3	2.9	+ 1.6
Private Playing Fields	1.3	1.1	- 0.2
Other Public Open Space	2.8	3.8	+ 1.0

Source: Department of the Environment, Open Space Provision in Urban Areas: An Analysis of Development Plans, 1973.

provision had been successful there would have been greater similarities between the conurbations, but, as yet, there has been no further DOE survey to assess whether the proposed standards were attained.

The worst deficiency between the total sample of towns and conurbations is the lower provision of the category 'other public open space'. Although the average provision was planned to increase from 2.9 acres to 3.8 acres per thousand people all the conurbations still would be below the total town sample standard of 5.2 acres per thousand people planned for 'other public open space', and well below the standard for towns of 5.6 acres rising to 5.9 acres at the end of the period. These figures were distorted by the definition of 'other public open space' where large areas of open space influenced the total sample.

The problems of interpreting the plans were even more difficult with the enlarged conurbations, than with the towns, due to the lack of comparable data. Town maps submitted before 1955 seldom contained open space data in a standard form and the large conurbations like Merseyside, South-East Lancashire and the West Midlands could not provide comparable data for Liverpool, Manchester and Birmingham. As a consequence, the conurbation standards excluded the urban core, and therefore, the results of the 1973 DOE Study have to be treated with caution, and are not relevant to the open space problems in inner areas.

Despite the data difficulties, one can see that the supply of open space in the conurbations is well below the mean for the

total sample of the country. The major deficiencies of open space reside in the conurbations.

The Search for New Standards and Approaches in Britain

From this discussion of standards there appears a need for new approaches to the provision of urban open space and for new standards of urban space classification, but there have been only a few attempts at reviewing the new nature and function of open space in recent years.

So far there is not an official British recreational resource classification in use and any attempts for a wider based classification have been met at the macro-scale. The Countryside Commission has published a recreation glossary which identifies individual terms,[43] as has The Greater London Council.[44] The best of the more recent British approaches include The Greater London Council and the Edinburgh Studies.[45]

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43. Countryside Commission, Countryside Recreation Glossary, (Countryside Recreation Research Advisory Group, 1970)

44. Greater London Council, Surveys of the Use of Open Spaces, (London 1968)

45. Edinburgh Town Planning Department, Open Space Plan for Edinburgh (Edinburgh Corporation, 1969)

A. Recreational Resource Classification

The Clyde Recreation Resource Classification modified the ORRRC classification and defined more clearly one or two points, but their concern was with the macro-regional and not with urban open space.[46]

Six broad classes include all types of outdoor recreation resources and, since they cover the entire spectrum, they range from areas suitable for high density use to sparsely used extensive primitive areas. In most cases, the administrative unit, such as the park or the national forest, include recreation areas of two or more classes, and the classification itself is based on physical features, economic and social considerations. There are omissions such as roads and parkways which do not fall within the classification.

The classes are not detailed sufficiently to be relevant to inner urban areas except for Class I and Class VI.[47]

Class I - High Density Recreation Areas

1. "High density recreation areas suited to day and week-end use, that is exclusively for recreation generally close to cities such as Blackpool seafront, Woburn or

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46. Travis, A.S. and Associates, Recreation Planning for the Clyde, Firth of Clyde Study/Phase 2 (Scottish Tourist Board, 1970)

47. Travis, op. cit.

Battersea Funfair."

Class VI - Historic and Cultural Sites

6. "The historic and cultural sites - "heritage sites". Here the main object is to restore the sites where necessary, to protect them from over-use or deteriorating and to encourage public access to them."

"Heritage sites" are defined as places of major historic, cultural, archaelogical or architectural significance, and valued for a variety of reasons - for their people, for the periods, built forms, the religion, or for the site. These heritage sites occur regardless of their original context in different environments.

The concept of the heritage site at the micro-urban scale is a possible new source of urban open space, although the Firth of Clyde Study did not envisage such an urban use. More care needs to be taken to restore and convert into open space use, open areas around historic churches, disused buildings and public monuments.

B. National Playing Fields Association

No new approaches to urban open space are found in the recent publications of the National Playing Fields Association. Despite all the evidence to the contrary, the NPFA insists that the

overall demand for team games has not diminished and that "new developments may well lead to an increase in land requirements for play."[48] Unfortunately, because the NPFA consider that the number of people under 40 years of age will increase by 26 percent, they see "no basis for a departure from the recommended general target of 6 acres (2.40 ha.) of open playing space per thousand of the population served and within each reach of their homes."[49]

The Association insists that the overall demand for the conventional team and other games and sports has not diminished. As such the National Playing Fields Association open space standards are no longer sufficient. The NPFA standard is based on the land requirements of active recreation and, in particular, traditional national games, so that, the functional uses of open space are allowed for in the standards, but non-functional uses such as aesthetic or open space as an element of urban form are not considered.

The NPFA have improved their attitude to children's playgrounds by understanding the importance of adequate distribution. Their new recommendation is that the playgrounds should be within $\frac{1}{2}$ mile of the home. Their standard of $\frac{1}{2}$ acre (.20 ha.) per thousand population agrees closely with the Parker Morris Report, but they

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48. National Playing Fields Association, (1971) op. cit., p. 1

49. National Playing Fields Association, (1971) op. cit., p. 12

also have accepted the importance of play leadership.[50] For the rest of the requirements of urban open space the NPFA have not yet broadened their outlook.

C. Colchester Survey

The National Playing Fields Association and the National Recreation Association standards appeal to the recreational aspects, but it has been observed that the location, the deployment and the use of the open space as part of the urban spatial organisation and as part of the social and psychological aspects of each person's life, are as important or more important as the recreational aspects.

The Colchester survey is now quoted by many a hard-pressed local authority unable to create or find open spaces at the accepted standards, as giving valid reasons for supposedly lowering their standards.[51] It was the first survey to show for a local area that overall flat national standards were not relevant.

The Colchester Survey in 1965 examined the validity of the National Playing Fields Association standard of 7 acres per thousand people. It was found that in Colchester there had been a change of emphasis in the types and localities of recreation. While organised games were declining, individual activities, like

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50. NPFA, op. cit., p. 3 & p. 8

51. Winterbottom, D.M. 'How much Urban Open Space Do We Need?', Journal of the Town Planning Institute, Vol.53.4, April, 1967, pp. 144-7

swimming and golf, were increasing.

Furthermore, there was a growing desire for open space to set the structure of the town and separate the new road works. There were no instances where the playing fields facilities were over-used. The only event to change this under use of playing fields would be a radical change in the demographic structure of Colchester or a radical change in leisure habits. The conclusion was that $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres of public fields was an adequate provision.

The Colchester Study suggested that open space for amenity use at half an acre per thousand population and an additional half acre per thousand population for children's play area should be added to the insufficient $2\frac{1}{2}$ acre standard to give a total standard provision of $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres overall, which contrasts markedly with the minimum provision suggested by the National Playing Fields Association of 1 acre per thousand population.

D. Greater London Council: Hierarchy of Open Space

The Greater London Council have produced as much new work on open space provision as any organisation in Britain, and in 1968, conducted extensive surveys.[52]

The authors concluded that the close relationship between

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52. Greater London Council, Surveys of the Use of Open Spaces, (London 1968), p. 6

park size, facilities, location and function suggested a hierarchical system of different types of parks. The ideal park system performs a variety of functions which can be supplied at different distances and at different sizes of park. The goal for open space planning would be to give each individual the opportunity of access to a range of open spaces arranged so that both major and minor specialised demands are adequately met in terms of size, facilities, and accessibility.

The Greater London Council Survey authors therefore deduced a hierarchy of scales, from the large-scale metropolitan or regional space to the small intimate space, from the great public park to the family garden, from the great regional parkway through to the major arteries, boulevards and parkways to the residential streets. The G.L.C. Survey authors concluded that the use of open space could be divided into three broad categories:[53]

1. A short distance/short duration/high frequency local use.
2. A more selective longer distance/lower frequency/family and week-end use.
3. A more selective/low frequency/special occasion use,

and they broadly related these three kinds of use to small and

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53. G.L.C., op. cit., p. 6.

large parks, as follows: (see Tables 6-7 and 6-8)

1. Local Park

   a. A local zone of up to one quarter mile (0.2 to 0.4 km.) from each home where the primary need is for a very small space designed to cater for old people and small children and for the week-end requirements of all other age groups. For both sets of needs, they suggested a space of 5 - 10 acres (minimum of 2 ha.) per 1,000 population.

The G.L.C. survey suggested that the 5 acre park could "be used to supersede the need for separate specialized spaces",[54] although previous demand surveys have shown a need for varied small specialised spaces.

   b. The small local park is a variation of the local park, where pedestrian users only, old people, children and lunch-hour workers use a space under 5 acres at less than $\frac{1}{4}$ mile intervals.

The G.L.C. Survey decided, without much evidence, that parks of less than 2 acres were relatively ineffective at even the shortest distances. This is contrary to other current experience where

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54. G.L.C., op. cit., p. 6

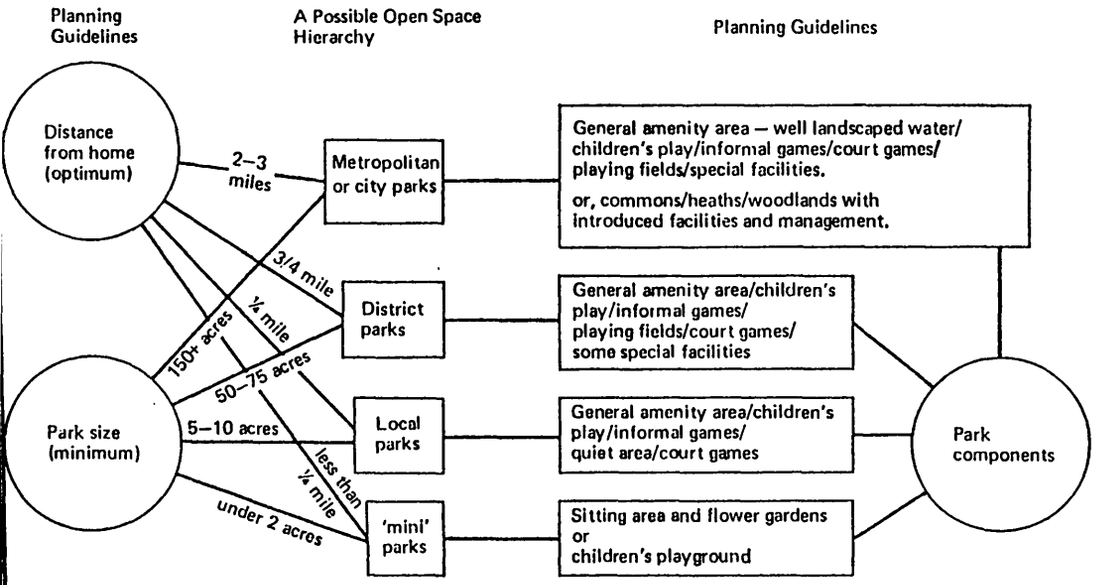
TABLE 6-7

TYPES AND ACCESSIBILITY OF PUBLIC OPEN SPACE

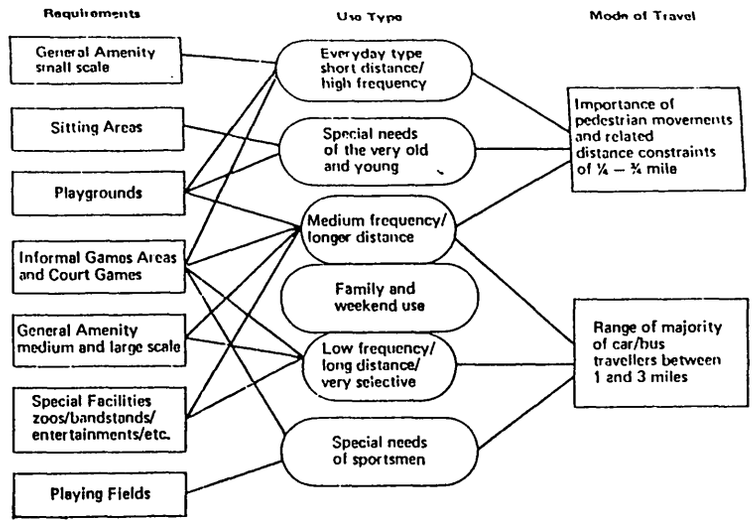
Type	Main Function	Approximate Size	Distance from Home	Characteristics
(a) Metropolitan Park	Weekend and occasional visits by car or public transport	150 acres	2 miles, or more where the park is appreciably larger	Either (i) natural heathland, downland, commons, woodlands, etc., or (ii) formal parks providing for both active and passive recreation, e.g.boating, entertainments, etc. May contain playing fields,but at least 100 acres for other pursuits. Adequate car parking essential.
(b) District Park	Weekend and occasional visits on foot	50 acres	¾ mile	Containing playing fields, but at least 30 acres for other pursuits (as in local parks) and some car parking
(c) Local Park	For pedestrian visitors including nearby workers	5 acres	¼ mile	Providing for court games, children's play, sitting-out areas, landscaped environment; and playing fields if the parks are large enough.
(d) Small Local Park	Pedestrian visits especially by old people, children and workers at mid-day; particularly valuable in high-density areas	Under 5 acres	¼ mile or less	Gardens, sitting-out areas and/or children's play-grounds

Greater London Council, Greater London Development Plan, GLC, 1969.

GLC Open Space Policy



Open Space Policy Formulation—Elements of Demand



Open Space Policy Formulation—Planning Guidlines and Possible Hierarchy

Park Type	Function	Minimum Size (acres)	Maximum Distance From Home (miles)	Components
Metropolitan	Weekend type (bus and car travellers)	150	2 – 5	General recreation areas/ playing fields/ special facilities
District	Weekend type (mainly pedestrian travel)	50	¾	
Local	Everyday type (short visits / workers)	5	¼	General recreation areas/court games/ children's play areas
Small local	Old people/ young children/ workers	Under 5		Gardens/ sitting area/ children's play areas

TABLE 6-8

Criteria for Determining Nature and Distribution of Parks and Open Space

Source: Roberts, M., 'An Introduction to Town Planning Techniques', The Built Environment, (Hutchinson, 1974).

it is found that parks of less than one acre have been in demand.

2. District Park

A district park is suggested to satisfy needs of a more general nature which are more related to family and weekend use, but are limited by the distances that people will travel. The Survey Report suggests parks within three quarters of a mile to one mile from home (1.2 - 1.6 km.), for it was found that the demand for spaces from 2 to 49 acres were broadly similar at distances up to three quarters of a mile. The need on this scale could be served by multi-purpose parks of 50 acres (20 ha.), or by parks without playing fields at a minimum size of 30 acres (12 ha.).[55]

3. Metropolitan Park

The large regional park requires either public transport or a car for which people are prepared to travel from two to five miles. This regional park size satisfies the specialised demand at 150 acres (60 ha.) in size and up to

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55. G.L.C., op. cit., p.6

> 8 km. in distance). If the accessible distance is beyond three quarters of a mile, only open spaces over 150 acres are effective in attracting reasonable levels of usage, in the opinion of the G.L.C. Survey authors.[56]

In summary, the spatial hierarchy consists of (a) the metropolitan park of 150 acres (60 ha.), (b) the district park of 50 acres (20 ha.), (c) the local park of 2 - 10 acres (2 ha.) a quarter of a mile away from the home and the small local park. This open space hierarchy became the proposal set forth in their 1971 study, and incorporated into the Greater London Development Plan.[57]

It is worth while examining the detailed concepts of an ideal local park. The G.L.C. concluded from their survey that local parks of 2 - 5 acres are needed at short distances from home or work containing primarily an amenity component and specialised components which serve the needs of minority groups such as very young people and old people whose time and opportunity for open space visiting is restricted, with specialised areas for children, and attractive quiet areas where old people can sit in a pleasant environment of grass, flowers and trees. The G.L.C. hinted that the needs of young children and very old people may require a

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56. G.L.C., op. cit., p. 7

57. Greater London Council, Greater London Development Plan Statement, (Greater London Council, 1969)

network of small local parks, specially designed small spaces within one-eighth to one quarter of a mile of every home. It was suggested, though, that the minimum level of park provision should be parks of 2 - 9 acres which satisfy the more general local need. To contain the basic components local parks need to be a minimum of 5 acres in size. Thus, the G.L.C. shortsightedly rationalises out of existence the smaller local park of less than 2 acres in favour of the larger local park of 5 - 9 acres.

The G.L.C. attitude represents a gross standard approach to open space planning for urban areas. In their view open space policy must restructure the existing stock of open spaces to fit the optimum size and distance criteria. An area would be regarded as deficient if it was not within the appropriate distance from each element in the hierarchy. There is no emphasis on local indigenous answers to urban parks nor on providing a flexible variety of open spaces.

E. Edinburgh Open Space Study

The Edinburgh Open Space Study is one of the few British studies to look at urban open space from a qualitative point of view. As part of the quinquennial Review of the Development Plan for Edinburgh, Edinburgh Corporation were asked to make detailed studies of public open space and recreation with a view to the preparation of an open space plan for the city.[58]

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58. Edinburgh Town Planning Department, Open Space Plan for Edinburgh, (Edinburgh Corporation, 1969)

In the Edinburgh Study, three headings summarise the role that open space plays within the urban area:[59]

1. The Active use of open space.
2. The Aesthetic role of open space.
3. Open Space as an element in urban form.

I. ACTIVE USE OF OPEN SPACE

The definition of the Active use of open space is divided into three groups:

A. Active recreation

Physical activity and all active pursuits such as children's play, organised and casual games, exercising pets, riding and fishing are defined as active recreation, the Victorian definition of open space. Included in the definition are not only the participants but also the spectators.

B. Passive recreation

Quiet pursuits like people sitting, walking, sunbathing, reading, picnicking, discussing, painting, and feeding the animals and birds - all extremely popular with many age groups.

The Edinburgh Study found for passive recreation that the differences between age groups were far less than those for active

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59. Edinburgh Town Planning Department, op. cit., pp. 2-3

recreation, and for their passive recreation people liked to have popular open spaces close to their residential areas or working areas.

C. Circulation activity

Circulation space is open space, confined to people walking through an open space on their way to a particular destination. Various areas are used throughout a variety of weather conditions. The Edinburgh Study points out that people walking to work would rather walk through parks than take a route that runs directly between their origin and destination, indicating there is a certain appeal in attractively laid out and maintained open space for the pedestrian.

Shoppers, children and senior citizens use the parks for mid-morning circulation, but could use a footpath system, or 'a greenway/walkway system'.

II. THE AESTHETIC ROLE OF OPEN SPACE

The aesthetic role of open space is divided into two groups:- firstly, open space associated with buildings, and secondly, natural areas. The design of buildings has always been complementary to a pleasing landscape character and, in a city such as Edinburgh, there has been a conscious attempt to maintain the harmony between the landscape features and buildings, so that there are pockets of tree-belts, or individual mature trees,

viewpoints, ridges and streams which are important to buildings which create an aesthetic setting as part of the open space contribution.

Secondly, open spaces exist as amenity in contrast to developed areas, and as psychological relief, both small and large open spaces provide contrast. The majority of people take pleasure in observing wildlife whether in groups or individually.

The Edinburgh Study places great value on aesthetic appeal possibly because Edinburgh is still handsomely endowed with beautiful open spaces.

III. OPEN SPACE AS URBAN FORM

Edinburgh's third category is open space as an element of urban form, which takes on two functions; firstly, defining neighbourhoods by open space and secondly, acting as a unifier of land use.

City districts and neighbourhoods can be defined by open space. Open space can perform either a cohesive action by separating one area from another or by being the centre of neighbourhood affairs, such as fairs, markets, cattle sales, which has long been historically true. The identity of a district in containing a particular open space is very often strengthened by the particular open space because the building and the land uses surrounding the open space may change, but the open space

remains relatively static. In some cases, as in Edinburgh, the permanency of the open space is so traditional that public opinion is solidly against most proposals to change. The use of open space to identify town areas is the basis of the green belt principle and part of the neighbourhood principle. Most of the New Towns, both old and more recent, use open space to control, limit or define neighbourhood and urban form.

The second function of urban open space as an urban form maker is the unification of land use. Occasionally, open space actually permits the grouping of land use activities which would not otherwise be grouped together and many European towns show a diverse range of activities which do face on to a park, such as houses, cafes, restaurants, shops, hotels, churches and schools, all sharing a part of the open space each from its own point of view. The three functions of open space, active, aesthetic and urban form-making, can and do overlap to make a successful urban open space.

The Edinburgh Study suggested that the elements most important in creating a successful open space, are, in order of importance:[60]

1. Accessibility to complementary land uses.
2. Accessibility to housing areas, and in particular

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60. Edinburgh Town Planning Department, op. cit.

developments of high density.

3. Accessibility to well used pedestrian routes or being part of the pedestrian routes themselves.
4. Attractive landscaping and maintenance.
5. Multiple use, a wide range of facilities well spaced to permit several activities simultaneously.
6. The incorporation of landscape features to create define character, hilltops, streams or valleys.

The roles of open space are shown in Table 6-9. The definitions of the Edinburgh Open Space Study are more extensive than most study definitions. If one were to add to these a variety of required ecological spaces, one could have a more complete spectrum of the kind of open spaces which are needed.

The Development of Open Space Standards in the United States

Open space standards in the United States evolved in a similar manner to the British standards through the leadership of enlightened private organisations and particularly the American Public Health Association and the National Recreation and Park Association.

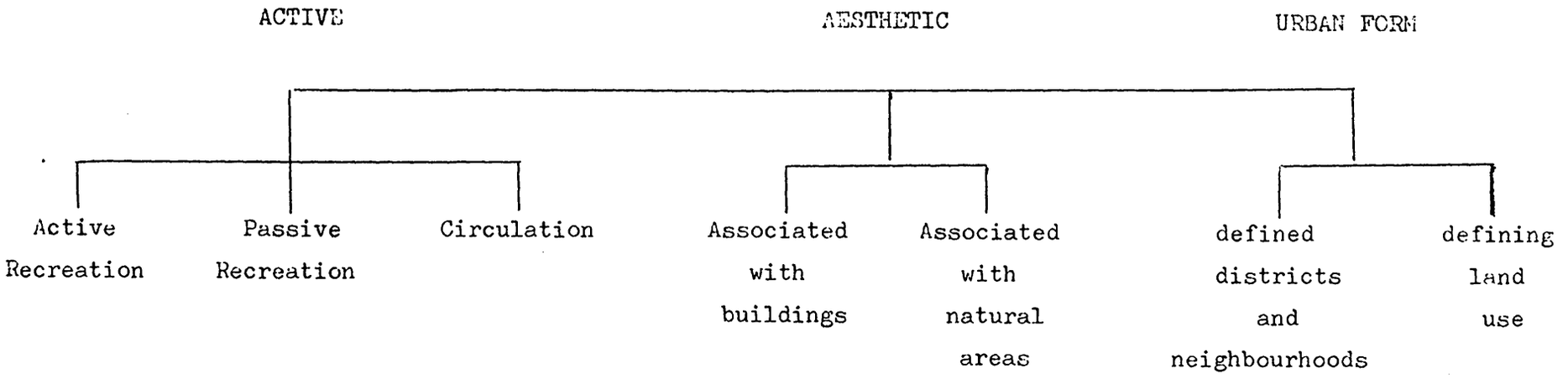
A. The American Public Health Association

The American Public Health Association's standards are

TABLE 6-9

EDINBURGH OPEN SPACE STUDY

ROLES OF OPEN SPACE



Source: Edinburgh Town Planning Department, Open Space for Edinburgh, (1969)

similar to those proposed by the National Playing Fields Association and the Abercrombie plans. Their Committee on the Hygiene of Housing produced its well-known report on neighbourhood facilities in 1948 which outlined standards for recreation facilities.[61]

Outdoor recreation facilities were considered in two categories:

The active - 1. Neighbourhood playgrounds
2. district playing fields
3. regional or city sports centres

The passive - 1. neighbourhood parks
2. large urban parks
3. regional parks
4. special types of city parks

Standards for the size and facilities of the active recreation areas had been well established and accepted, but standards for the space and facilities for passive recreation areas had not yet been developed. There was a tendency even then to develop large outlying parks, and ignore the need for local parks in high density neighbourhoods.

The Committee on Hygiene recommended a standard of 10 acres

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61. American Public Health Association Committee on the Hygiene of Housing, Planning the Neighborhood, (Public Administration Service Chicago, 1948), p.47

per thousand persons for both active and passive recreation space, and space standards for each of the park facilities.[62] The local park requirements were to be a minimum of one half to two acres for any neighbourhood park regardless of the neighbourhood's population.[63] (see Table 6-10).

The American Public Health Association distinguished between developments where families had private outdoor space and those where families did not have private outdoor space because the standards were meant to increase in areas of high density. Their Committee on Hygiene pressed for the multiple use of outdoor facilities combining the playground with the elementary school or combining the playground and the park using the park area as a buffer strip between residences and shopping centre and other non residential uses.

Like the National Playing Fields Association, the American Public Health Association pamphlet, Planning the Neighborhood, remained the handbook of design standards for facilities, for many years. **(see Table 6-11)**

B. New York Regional Plan Association's Standards

The New York Regional Plan Association recommended a standard

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62. American Public Health Association, op. cit., p. 47

63. American Public Health Association, op. cit., p. 48

TABLE 6-10

PLANNING THE NEIGHBORHOOD

NEIGHBORHOOD PLAYGROUND SIZE
Recommended Total Area, by Population of Neighborhood *

Playground Area	Neighborhood Population				
	1000 persons 275 families	2000 persons 550 families	3000 persons 825 families	4000 persons 1100 families	5000 persons 1375 families
Acres: Total	2.75	3.25	4.00	5,00	6.00
Acres per 1000 persons.	2.75	1.63	1.33	1.25	1.20
Square feet per family	435	258	208	198	190

* Playground area per family as recommended by the National Recreation Association, Standards: Playgrounds, Playfields, Recreation Buildings, Indoor Recreation Facilities.

American Public Health Association Committee on the Hygiene of Housing - Planning the Neighborhood, p.48.

TABLE 6-11

PROVISION OF NEIGHBORHOOD COMMUNITY FACILITIES

NEIGHBORHOOD PARK SIZE
Recommended Total Area, by Type of Development and Population of Neighborhood[a]

Type of Development	Neighborhood Population				
	1000 persons 275 families	2000 persons 550 families	3000 persons 825 families	4000 persons 1100 families	5000 persons 1375 families
ONE- or TWO-FAMILY DEVELOPMENT[b]					
With private lot area per family of:					
¼ acre or more					
-Park: no neighborhood requirement	-	-	-	-	-
Less than ¼ acre[c]					
Park:total acres	1.50	2.00	2.50	3.00	3.50
Park:acres/1000 persons	1.50	1.00	.83	.75	.70
Park:square feet/family	238	158	132	119	111
MULTI-FAMILY DEVELOPMENT[b]					
Or other predominantly without private yards					
Park:total acres	2.00	3.00	4.00	5.00	6.00
Park:acres/1000 persons	2.00	1.50	1.33	1.25	1.20
Park:square feet/family	318	238	208	198	190

[a] Park areas as recommended by Committee on the Hygiene of Housing, APHA.
[b] Provision for mixed developments is made in neighborhood density calculations of Chapter VI. See Section 35 and Table 16.

[c] Assumed: at least 600 feet of outdoor living space private to each family. Below this figure, use multi-family values.

American Public Health Association Committee on the Hygiene of Housing - Planning the Neighborhood, p.49.

of 800 square feet for local recreational use in a local community for the New York area. The 800 square feet per household for each neighbourhood park falls between the 5 to 7.5 acres per thousand population which is recommended for low density development by the Regional Plan's Park Recreation Open Space Project and the actual amount of 3.4 to 4.6 acres which is found in areas of low density today.[64]

The Regional Plan Association of New York proposed for the extremely high density area of Manhattan a standard of 1.8 acres per thousand total population.[65]

C. The United States National Recreation and Park Association

The National Recreation and Park Association also adopted the general rule of thumb of 10 acres per thousand population, including at least 1 acre of close-in parkland for every 100 inhabitants.[66] In 1960 the U.S. national average for close-in parkland worked out to half an acre for every 100 inhabitants.[67]

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64. Regional Plan Association, Spread City, Bulletin 100 (New York, 1962)

65. Clawson, M. and Knetsch, J.L. Economics of Outdoor Recreation (John Hopkins, Baltimore, 1969), p. 148

66. National Recreation Association, Outdoor Recreation Space Standards (New York, 1970)

67. Gordon, Mitchell, Sick Cities (New York, Macmillan Co., 1963) p. 115

The National Recreation and Park Association also suggested that for every acre provided in city parks, there should be another 10 acres of metropolitan regional parks, creating a total standard of 20 acres per thousand population.

Very few cities came anywhere near either of these standards. Even Los Angeles was not able to provide a one acre park for every 100 persons.[68a]

D. U.S. Standards in the Seventies

The commitment to more generous standards remains. The National Recreation and Park Association have produced new standards and recommended that a minimum of 25% of new towns and new residential developments be devoted to park, recreation land and open space. Such a recommendation does not aid the inner areas of the major cities but it helps to raise the general standards which are as follows:[68b] (see Table 6-12)

68a. Gordon, op. cit.

68b. National Recreation and Park Association, National Park Recreation and Open Space Standards, (Washington D.C. 1971)

TABLE 6-12

BY CLASSIFICATION AND POPULATION RATIO

Classification	Acres/ 1000 people	Size Range	Population Served	Service Area
Playlots	*	2,500 sq. ft. to 1 acre	500 - 2,500	Sub-neighbourhood
Vest pocket parks	*	2,500 sq. ft. to 1 acre	500 - 2,500	Sub-neighbourhood
Neighbourhood parks	2.5	Min. 5 acres up to 20 acres	2,000 - 10,000	$\frac{1}{4}$ - $\frac{1}{2}$ mile
District parks	2.5	20 - 100 acres	10,000 - 50,000	$\frac{1}{2}$ - 3 miles
Large urban parks	5.0	100+ acres	One for ea. 50,000	Within $\frac{1}{2}$ hr. driving time
Regional parks	20.0	250+ acres	Serves entire population in smaller communities; should be distributed throughout larger metro areas	Within 1 hr. driving time
Special Areas & Facilities	*	Includes parkways, beaches, plazas, historical sites, flood plains, downtown malls, and small parks, tree lawns, etc. No standard is applicable.		

* Not applicable

By Percentage of Area

The National Recreation and Park Association recommends that a minimum of 25% of new towns, planned unit developments, and large subdivisions be devoted to park and recreation lands and open space.

Source: National Recreation and Park Association, National Park Recreation and Open Space Standards (1971)

TABLE 6-13a.

National Recreation and Park Association Standards

Open Space	Acres/thousand people	Size of area
Play lots	-	2,500 sq.ft. - 1 acre
Pocket parks	-	2,500 sq.ft. - 1 acre
Neighbourhood parks	2.5 acres	5 - 20 acres
District parks	2.5 acres	20 - 100 acres
Large urban parks	5.0 acres	100+ acres
Regional parks	20.0 acres	250+ acres

A recent generous example for the 1970's are these selected standards applicable to La Salle County, Illinois:[68c] Table 6.13b

Tot Lot	2,400 - 5,000 sq. ft.	chair swings, sandbox, regular swings, slide, climbing apparatus, wading or spray pool, playhouse, turf area, paved area for wheeled toys, benches
Neighbourhood Playground	$2\frac{1}{2}$ to 10 acres	play apparatus, turf area, paved court, playfield, story-telling ring, shelter, wading or spray pool, table game area, picnic centre

68c. Rutledge, A.J., Anatomy of a Park. The Essentials of Recreation Area Planning and Design (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1971).

Neighbourhood Park	2 to 5 acres	open lawn, trees, shrubbery, walks, benches, focal point of pools or fountains, sandbox, play apparatus, table games area
Community Playfield	15 to 25 acres	
City Park	100 to 200 acres	
County Park	200+ acres	
Natural Environment Area	5 acre minimum 6 acres 6 acres	picnic area (8 acres) tent camping area trailer camping area hiking trails, boat access, boat marina, sight-seeing facilities, parking areas
Nature Trail	1-2 miles long each	50 people per mile of trail/day
Urban Hiking Trail		90 people per mile of trail/day
Family picnic area within Communities		16 units/acre - each unit consisting of table and cooking facilities. 1 off street car parking space per unit

Other standards include Chapin's estimate of 4.75 acres (1.9 ha.) per thousand population for local recreation areas,[68d] compared to the Greater London standards of 4 acres per thousand population and the Inner London standards of 2 acres per thousand

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68d. Chapin, F.S., Urban Land Use Planning, (University of Illinois Press, 1965).

population.

On the whole the existing U.S. standards are generous and beyond the reach of most of the major cities in Britain, although not as generous as the standards applied to the British New Towns, where standards can reach 13 acres per thousand population.

NEW AMERICAN URBAN SPACE CLASSIFICATIONS

In the United States a general acceptance of the need for new comprehensive classifications have prompted attempts to re-classify the nature and functions of open space in urban terms. Those attempts include those of Tunnard, Clawson, and McHarg.

A. Tunnard's Four Functions

Christopher Tunnard set out four Functions of Open Space as follows:-[69]

1. Productive
2. Protective

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69. Tankel, S. 'The Importance of Open Space in the Urban Pattern' in Wingo, ed., Cities and Space (Hopkins Press, 1963), pp. 58-59

3. Ornamental

4. Recreational

Tunnard's Recreational definition of active and passive recreation is one definition, probably recognised by all, but the other definitions are less clear.

Open space takes on an Ornamental fashion when it is viewed from the home, the road, the shop and all points in the town. The ornamental definition overlaps with the Edinburgh Study's aesthetic definition and with Tunnard's own Productive definition.

With high land costs in urban areas, it is no longer reasonable to consider purely ornamental open space in urban areas. The affluent periods which allowed the purely ornamental space have gone. It is more likely that open space will be productive and ornamental, or protective and ornamental, but not ornamental on its own.

The idea of urban open space as Protective space which creates and protects urban form has long been understood in Britain especially at the macro-scale where the Green Belt concept and legislation is the prime example. There is no comparable U.S. legislation, funds or administration to accept the concept of protective space at either the macro or the micro-level in urban areas except in the New Towns, and only a few American plans have accepted the concept of open spaces as urban form in principle.

Tunnard's Open Space can be Productive in that it helps shape the development pattern as space between buildings or communities, or as space which channels development as a land reserve for the future. For the definition 'productive', the Edinburgh Study substitutes the definition of the aesthetic role of open space.

Tunnard argues that open space does urban work, i.e. it protects the water supply and prevents flooding by soaking up run-off, it can act as a safety zone in the path of aircraft take-offs and landings and it can act as a sound barrier. Tunnard's protective and productive definitions reveal the new function of protective space, protecting the ecological basis of the surrounding area.

B. The New York Regional Planning Association

Stanley Tankell of the New York Regional Planning Association listed in his classification of urban open space, the 'component of street', which has not normally been an acceptable open space component.[70] The street as an urban open space is a designed feature either as 'rights of way' streets, a piazza, plazas or playgrounds for pre-school children up to five or six years of age, and is common to temperate and tropical zones.

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70. Tankel, op. cit., pp. 58-59

Liverpool, for instance, have discontinued the practice of street uses, as have other urban areas. At best it is a stop-gap measure.

The rest of the Tankel classification concerning the town county and regional levels of open space correspond to the Greater London Council's definition, but are limited and do not permit a multi-functional approach.

C. Baltimore Metropolitan Area Studies

Marion Clawson attempted to stretch the National Recreation Association National Playing Fields Association standard of ten acres per thousand population to more detailed standards. Based on studies of the Baltimore Metropolitan Area, Clawson recommended that there should be a total of 78 acres of open space of all kinds and purposes for every thousand persons.[71] Furthermore, Clawson suggested that more than half of this amount, 42 acres per thousand population should be open space that would serve the entire region such as a State or Federal Park.

The remainder, 36 acres per thousand, should serve the local population, provided and managed by local government. This overall 36 acre standard is further divided into three

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71. Little, C., Challenge of the Land, (New York: Open Space Action Institute, 1968) pp. 19-20

categories:[72]

public parks and recreation	14 acres/1000 population
private recreation (including golf courses)	5 acres/1000 population
green space	17 acres/1000 population

This is a more lavish formula, and for many of the major cities, an impossibility to achieve. But it supports further the emphasis on green space, amenity space and that this should be increased.

Complementary to the above apprcach, Marion Clawson is emphatic that we must not consider open space in the abstract, i.e. just in terms of acres per thousand people. Clawson rightly suggests that open space is a collective term covering an infinite variety of land use requirements and therefore one should think of the whole host of problems - recreational land use, conservation, agriculture and urban sprawl. The Clawson classification was an attempt to put aside the traditicnal planning concepts based upon the distance travelled from home and the number of acres per thousand persons and to plan according to function and need.

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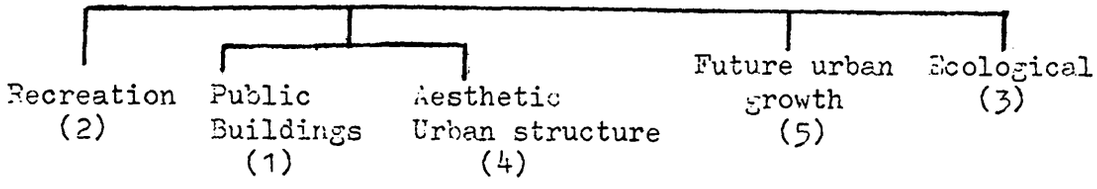
72. Zisman, S.B. - 'Open Spaces in Urban Growth'. Taming Megalopolis edited by Eldredge, H. Wentworth (Anchor, 1967) pp. 288-9

Marion Clawson catalogues major open space uses as:[73]

1. Open space surrounding public buildings.
2. Open space for recreation.
3. Open space for ecological protection or for the preservation of certain desirable natural characteristics.
4. Open space for urban structural and aesthetic purposes.
5. Space provision for future urban growth.

TABLE 6-14

CLAWSON CLASSIFICATION



Seen in diagram form, the five major open space definitions are similar to the Edinburgh Open Space Study definition with the addition of ecological space and space for future urban growth. Open space, for ecological protection, for the preservation of desirable natural characteristics is a new

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73. Zisman, op. cit., p. 289

factor which Clawson was one of the first to enunciate. Until the sixties, ecological space was not considered a major reason for open space.

The productivity and efficiency of the physical resources should be critical factors in determining the open space programme. By protecting and preserving resources, flood damage can be reduced, water supplies can be protected, the air cleansed, the soils nourished, wildlife preserved and, on a larger scale, farming, lumbering and other economic activities can be assisted. The lack of protecting open space resources has resulted in polluted water, smogged air, costly flooding, decreased animal and fish production and millions of tons of lost soil through erosion.

The ecological protection factor is the major recent American contribution to the classification of local and metropolitan open space.

The Trend Towards the Ecological Approach

The American acceptance of the need for an ecological approach to urban space began at the macro-scale when the major cities ran low on water supplies.

Open space conservation goals are difficult to put across to the public and it is only when catastrophes occur, that the public is aware of the real danger of depleted water resources,

increased flood hazards or the loss of unique locations of aesthetic quality. Then the public realises that the indiscriminate use of land and water resources requires open space protection and conservation.

McHarg's Ecological Determinism

The ecological movement towards the planning of open space was led by Professor Ian McHarg at the University of Pennsylvania, who, in the 1960's, was asked by the U.S. Urban Renewal Administration to develop standards for choosing open space in metropolitan Philadelphia.[74]

McHarg, having dispensed "with the hierarchy of priorities, the network of parks and green belts for city planners and the ten acre per thousand for recreation experts", instead based his ideas on ecological determinism.[75]

Ecological determinism is based on the water processes. Water is the primary indicator and if the water processes are operating according to the natural lie of the land, the environment is normally healthy. In his scheme, the open spaces which get highest priority are those which are needed to protect the quantity and drainage of water.

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74. McHarg, Ian, Design with Nature, (Natural History Press, Garden City, New York, 1969)

75. McHarg, Ian, "The Place of Nature in the City of Man", in Dansereau ed. Challenge for Survival. (Columbia University Press, 1970

Standards of open space preservation and development of vacant land were set out on the basis of these water processes criteria.[76] Open space is now preserved on these standards, and Philadelphia City Council has passed city ordinances requiring development to comply with the open space standards.

These ecological standards require:

a) The use of all surface waters, plus their shoreline back for a distance of 200 feet, must be regulated to keep the water level constant and help reduce pollution. This has the effect of preserving all small brooks and streams.

b) No draining, filling or developing of marshes, as these are essential as flood storage areas and, in addition, provide wild life habitats and fish spawning grounds.

c) No development on flood plains up to the 50 year level although recreation and farming uses are allowed.

d) That all land be graded as to its permeability, or imperviousness; and that development is permitted accordingly.

e) That some areas where the water surface percolates into

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76. Philadelphia City Council, and Regional Science Research Institute Environmental Study of the Wissahickon Watershed (Philadelphia, June, 1973)

the ground most easily are high priority permanent open space and no development should be permitted.

f) That the mature woodlands and forests are saved primarily because of their central function as watersheds because, without them , urban areas would soon run out of water.

No building or even farming should be allowed on ridges or slopes of 12° of more. The consequent soil erosion will upset the water equilibrium, causing silting and other damage down stream. Steep slopes should be kept in permanent forests.

As a consequence of these ordinances more open space has been preserved and development has been controlled. However, the ordinance has had relatively little effect on local open space below 4 acres. The only immediate impact on local open space has been the choice of surface materials used and whether they are sufficiently permeable.

The importance of open space conservation will differ from one metropolitan area to another. Conservation has a demonstrable value to the public welfare and when the significance of conservation becomes more understood, it will become a part of open space planning and will in time help to achieve basic goals for the public which open space recreational planning may not do so well.

The Clawson and ORRRC classifications were the two important classifications in the sixties, while Burton in Britain stressed

the inter-relationship of supply and demand, land characteristics, user expectation, and the need for regional planning.[77] Now we need guides for co-operation as well as standards for recreation areas and facilities, because the awareness of recreation trends and recreation desires shows the inter-relationships with the other land uses.

The Definition of Open Space for Standards

The definition of open space for standards is variable, as the term 'open space' is used loosely. It can refer to all land which is used for planned purposes which do not require building. It can be left substantially in its natural state or be treated so that it has visually pleasant categories. A narrower definition of open space includes only parks, playing fields, cemeteries, allotments, children's play spaces and small parks. The NPFA's point of view is that open spaces only include parks, playing fields and undeveloped land larger than the incidental open spaces within a residential layout. However, these incidental open spaces can amount to a large amount of land.

Indeed, nowadays, no such confined definition of open space can be acceptable. Open spaces are all unbuilt areas for they each have a potential use for some form of recreation and/or

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77. Burton, T.L. The Classification of Recreation Demand and Supply (University of Birmingham Centre for Urban and Regional Studies, 1967)

conservation. This includes land uses like market gardens, allotments, nurseries, and golf courses, all the incidental spaces adjoining roads acting as noise buffer zones and spaces under the great motorways.

There is some correlation between the amount of open space and the desirable image of the place, but this is not always true as the amount of undeveloped areas bears little relationship to recreational facilities. There are a lot of commons, private houses, and estate and extensive beaches which are included in the open space in a town which does not necessarily give a satisfactory range of facilities to the town's people.

Table 6-15 lists the traditional types of open spaces and how they have been treated according to the National Playing Fields Association and how they are treated by other organisations during the sixties. The general trend has been to accept more and varied types of open space.

Summary - The Development of Open Space Standards in Britain and America

The British National Playing Fields Association standard of 10 acres (4.0 ha.) per thousand people, which includes 6 acres (2.40 ha.) for recreation, 1 acre (0.40 ha.) for ornamental public open space and 3 acres (1.20 ha.) for school playing fields has remained the standard for open space provision.

Classification comparison with NPFA standards

TABLE 6-15

Classification	Public Open Space according to NPFA standards	Public Open Space according to newer standards
Recreation playing fields	acceptable for organised games but not school games	
School playing fields	acceptable but separate category for school organised games	potential dual-use
Ornamental open spaces/gardens	acceptable	acceptable
Amenity open spaces	excluded	informal designed less than 1/3 acre per thousand in size for informal recreation (Abercrombie)
Local park		now acceptable as local park
Large amenity parks	similar in concept to ornamental open space	acceptable
Woodlands	excluded	land covered with trees, a wood; and ground for informal recreation/ecological enhancement
Commons	excluded	undivided land held in joint occupation by a community
Golf Course	excluded	acceptable
Small play centres) for children) playgrounds	excluded	acceptable
Footpath	excluded	acceptable
Small park (pocket park)	excluded	becoming more acceptable

Abercrombie's County of London Plan and the Greater London Plan accepted the NPFA standard as the ideal. In practice, Abercrombie was only able to promote the standard of 4 acres/ thousand people in the County of London plan and 7 acres per thousand people in the Greater London Plan 1944.

Since World War II British Governments accepted the NPFA standard, and instructed local authorities to reach these standards. Even by 1960, London County had only been able to achieve the pitifully inadequate objective of $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres per thousand persons while at least sixteen boroughs remained well below the minimum standard. Other cities like Liverpool showed virtually no open space in the inner areas and attempted to attain a general standard of 3 acres per thousand persons.

In British towns over all, the Department of Environment's study showed a misleading figure for total open spaces for all towns to be 8.5 acres per thousand while in the conurbations it was only 5.4 acres per thousand, and 'other public space' was only available in lots of 2.9 acres per thousand. The major deficiencies of open space reside in the conurbations.

The search for new standards and approaches produced the Colchester Report which concluded that towns need for amenity open space was far greater than its need for playing space, where standards should be reduced.

Early open space standards in the United States followed the British example. The American Public Health Association

accepted the standard of 10 acres per thousand persons for open space, as did the National Recreation and Park Association.

The Development of the Understanding of Urban Open Space Functions

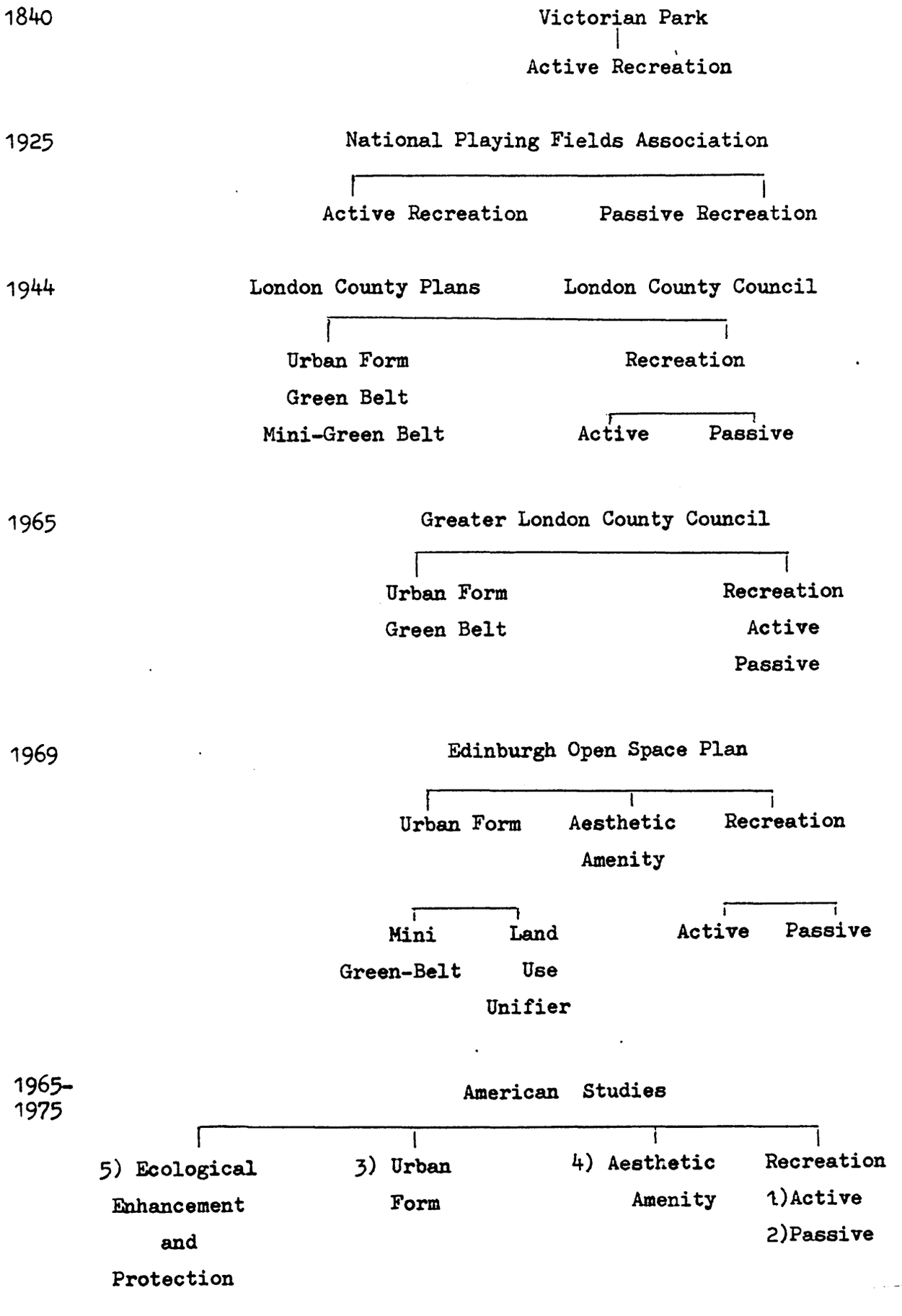
The development of the understanding of the functions of urban open space has broadened (see Table 6-16). The Victorians showed a concern for active recreation, when people started to play ball and organised games, and the most passive recreation was watching the active games. Almost one hundred years later the National Playing Fields Association produced its standards, which provide mainly for active recreation, but recognised the importance of some acreages for passive recreations such as knitting, sunbathing or enjoying the view.

Abercrombie and the London County Council's plans expanded the understanding of urban open spaces from that of active and passive recreation to that of controlling urban form. The green belt principle was accepted and produced for the whole of London. Green-belts were suggested, but not accepted, in the form of mini-green belts separating neighbourhoods and communities. Nevertheless, the London plans present a clear statement of the principle of open space as a producer of urban form.

The Greater London Council in the seventies expanded the definitions of active and passive recreation, and concerns itself with metropolitan, district, local and small local parks; a

TABLE 6-16

THE DEVELOPMENT OF URBAN OPEN SPACE FUNCTIONS



four-tier hierarchy. But it has not expanded the understanding of the other functions of urban open space. It is left to the local Boroughs to press for urban open space as urban form, and few of the London Boroughs consider this aspect. The green belt is accepted in principle but not always in practice and there is little leadership or direction given to the Boroughs concerning mini-green belts, greenways or other elements of urban form at the local scale.

Other associations have expanded the detailed classification of urban open space. The National Playing Fields Association as well as the National Recreation Association of the United States, concern themselves with neighbourhood standards and standards for the municipality. The National Recreation and Parks Association standards have become increasingly generous, suggesting as much as twenty acres per thousand persons for metropolitan parks. The NRPA also concerns itself with a six-tier hierarchy which includes play lots and vest pocket parks as well as local open space. The Regional Plan Association's classification of urban open space expanded to include at the small scale, not only the small local open space, but also the street, in recognition of the realistic problems of providing open space in the inner area. At the regional level, the Regional Plan Association included two classifications on a scale much larger than the metropolitan scale of the 150 acre park of the Greater London Council.

Probably inspired by the special open space environment of

Edinburgh, the Edinburgh Study presented four functions of open space - active and passive recreation, and urban form, but in addition, the purely aesthetic amenity role of urban open space, as a fourth function.

The American studies have pushed forward further understanding by adding the role of the fifth function - that of ecological enhancement and protection. Tunnard's, Clawson's and McHarg's work all urge ecological protection as a major function of open space. American City Planning Commissions have been quicker to accept this fifth function than accept responsibility for urban form or aesthetic amenity. American planners traditionally relied on a recreation ideology with an aesthetic approach but were drawn into the bio-ecological approach in partnership with the concerns of the conservationists who were so powerful from the mix-sixties onwards.

We know now that open space has to be defined in detail to make any sense. It has taken the philosophical change and the political climate of the mid 1960's to produce a whole new approach to the definition of open space standards, a new look at the use of existing supply of open spaces and a close look at the factors affecting new standards and new approaches.

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PART TWO : THE PROBLEM

CHAPTER VII

OPEN SPACE POLICIES

IN URBAN AREAS IN THE SEVENTIES

OPEN SPACE POLICIES IN URBAN AREAS IN THE SEVENTIES

Gradually over the past twenty years people have expressed their functional and psychological needs for more recreational activities as a part of the consequence of increased leisure time. We have seen that the demand is there for more active sports facilities and more informal recreational activities close to the home. We have also seen that the supply of such facilities, both active and passive, has been limited. Standards have been set and local authorities have failed to meet them.

Open Space Policies in Urban Areas in the Seventies in Britain

A. The Sports Councils

In 1960, the British Government received the report of the Wolfenden Committee on Sports, published by the Central Council of Physical Recreation.[1] The Wolfenden Report stressed the importance of sport as a recreation involving physical effort and noted the main benefits to be gained from participation in sport. These benefits included reduction in the development of criminal habits by young people; satisfaction of the desire to play; good health, and the development of the character building qualities like self-reliance, determination, self-discipline and endurance. Indeed, the Wolfenden Report sparked off a great interest in sports facilities.

Although the Wolfenden Report did not suggest any standards, it noted the changes in demand and emphasised the need for buildings as well as playing fields, particularly where land was short and high density use was necessary.

To achieve the goals of the Wolfenden Report and co-ordination between all the agencies dealing with sport, the Sports Council was established in 1965 with a network of Regional

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1. Central Council of Physical Recreation, "Sport and the Community", Wolfenden Committee: 1960.

Sports Councils throughout Britain. There was no similar answer for informal passive recreation, which most ages require and desire.

These Councils consist of representatives of both local authorities and sports organisations and provide a framework for the planning of sport. Their main functions have been:[2]

a. To make an assessment of the needs of sport and recreation within a region.

b. To encourage the economic use of existing resources.

c. To advise, sponsor and co-ordinate a rational distribution of new facilities for sport.

d. To consider plans for large scale projects of a regional or national status.

The Sports Councils have concentrated on the fourth objective and have built large scale regional sports grounds, swimming halls and other indoor facilities.

Although the regional Sports Councils have conducted surveys, pursuing their first objective, these surveys of facilities have not been oriented towards producing any kind of overall picture of recreational needs, or open space needs, but oriented towards producing answers for sports facilities, such as swimming

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2. Bedfordshire County Council, Cowley, Geoffrey, Recreation Aspect Report, (December, 1972)

pools, stadia and golf courses. These reports do note that 'Sports grounds are only one element in the total open space provisions'.[3] Their limited viewpoint has become a major omission, especially when considered in the light of previous national surveys.

Both the Government Social Survey and the Pilot National Recreation Survey showed that, except for the young, between 16 and 24 years, active participation in sports and games seldom occupies more than a small proportion of people's leisure time.[4]

Politically, the development of international standard athletics, in all sports, is seen to give national prestige to Britain, and as the world-wide competition becomes fiercer, so facilities have to be expanded and improved. It is also widely accepted that active sports participation effectively reduces the crime rate and therefore is important politically on a local scale.

Thus for various noteworthy reasons the resources of the Sports Council, both in money and people, are committed to a small percentage of the population, namely single people, but mostly male, between the ages of 14 and 23 and for a small proportion of the married population of both sexes from age 23 onwards. Unfortunately the Sports Council does not consider

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3. Central Council of Physical Recreation, Planning for Sport, (The Sports Council, 1968), p. 33.

4. See Chapter IV

informal recreation or open space provision as part of its job. It is left to a few enlightened authorities, like the Greater London Council to pursue the open space problem.

B. The Layfield Inquiry

The Layfield Report on the Greater London Development Plan Inquiry was critical of the GLDP proposals with regard to open space.[5] Dealing with private open spaces, the panel noted that the Structure Plan presented insufficient evidence to judge whether or not the priorities for housing required any open land to be released for this or other uses, and if so, where and how much. In the absence of such information the Layfield Report thought it wrong to insert any guidance into the Greater London Development Plan to the London Borough Councils. In the amendment to the written statement the GLC is directed to look to local plans to decide all questions on private open space, to be settled on a local basis.

The Layfield Report stated:

> "the central strategic problem about public open space was to find some method of establishing how much of it there should be. Rather than misleading London Borough Councils

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5. Greater London Development Plan: Report of the Panel of Inquiry (Layfield Report), Vol. 1 (December, 1972)
See Chapter VI for GLDP hierarchy of open space

> by issuing guidance based on faulty analysis, the GLC preferred not to lay down any requirements for public open space provisions."[6]

The Layfield Panel's criticism was not constructive because, although they were harshly critical of the existing public open space standards, they did not recommend any alternative means of quantifying provisions. The modified GLC statement expects London Boroughs to make the detailed decisions in their local plans for further public open space. The one advantage is that it allows freedom for indigenous solutions.

The Layfield report concluded:

> "The Council will expect London Borough Councils to make provisions in their local plans for further open space. These plans should state expressly the amount and location of such open space and the timetable for its achievement. They should take into account local requirements and have regard to neighbouring areas. Meanwhile, London Borough Councils should do all they can to ensure that some of the activities normally carried out on public open space can be carried out elsewhere, by, for example, the use of intensive indoor sports facilities, the dual use of educational facilities.

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6. Layfield Report, op. cit., para. 9.5
See also: Croydon, London Borough of, Local Development Plan, Interim Report on Recreation and Leisure (4th October, 1973)

> Furthermore, they should study whether more concentrated use could not be made of existing public open space, e.g. by the use of "all weather" surfaces for games pitches."[7]

Most of the London Boroughs cannot ignore the GLDP hierarchy and like Croydon, believe that it can be applied sensibly to demonstrate major deficiencies. Although the GLC are attempting a more realistic appreciation of open space and leisure needs based on population, age structure and accessibility, in the meantime, it is up to the Boroughs to innovate, experiment and formulate new approaches based on the distribution and quality of open space, rather than wait for leadership from the Greater London Council.

C. Open Space Policies in the London Boroughs

Open space policy for the London Boroughs varies greatly from Borough to Borough. Approximately half of the 33 Boroughs have an open space policy of some sort, while a number of London Boroughs frankly admit that no policies on open space have been established by their authority. These Boroughs lack initiative and follow the Greater London Development Plan proposed hierarchy of open spaces, from the metropolitan park down to the local park.

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7. Layfield Report, op. cit.

Other London Boroughs state either they have no funds for open spaces, or no staff are available to work on the subject, and consequently there are no policy reports.[8] They also suffer the consequence of a lack of direction from the Layfield Inquiry Report. Those Boroughs who do report present a mixed picture.

The average provision of public open space for the Outer London Boroughs is 6.7 acres per thousand population, whilst that for the whole of Greater London is 5.1 acres per thousand population. (see Table 7-1). Bexley, for example, has a gross over supply of open space of approximately 6 acres per thousand people.[9] When applying the hierarchy, Bexley is well served by Metropolitan Parks but has distributional deficiencies at the local level. Barnet is well endowed with open space of all kinds. There are 6 acres of public open space and public playing fields and 1.4 acres of private playing fields per thousand people which gives a total of 7.4 acres, well above the Greater London Development Plan standard.[10] Likewise, Enfield Borough, in 1971, had a public open space ratio of approximately

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8. Barking, Bromley, Greenwich, Hackney, Harrow, Kingston-upon-Thames, Wandsworth, Redbridge Boroughs expect to publish their Recreation and Leisure Studies late in 1976.

9. Bexley, London Borough: D.T. Hurlstone, Research Note, 1975.

10. Barnet, London Borough: Parry, T.E., Open Space Research Note, (March and April, 1969)

TABLE 7-1

Summary of total acreage of parks and open spaces mainly within Greater London at 31 December 1968

Acres

Area	Administered by GLC (1)	London Boroughs (2)	Ministry of Works (3)	Total a (4)	Acres per 1,000 population a (5)
City of London	–	7,189	–	7,189	b
Barking	118	591	–	709	4.2
Barnet	121	1,656	–	1,777	5.6
Bexley	215	1,230	–	1,445	6.7
Brent	–	935	–	935 (965)	3.3 (3.4)
Bromley	288	1,279	–	1,567 (1,643)	5.2 (5.4)
Camden	711	55	134	900	3.9
Croydon	–	2,899	–	2,899 (3,317)	8.8 (10.1)
Ealing	10	1,578	–	1,588	5.3
Enfield	–	1,629	–	1,629	6.1
Greenwich	1,039	205	196	1,440	6.3
Hackney	697	19	–	716	2.9
Hammersmith	303	82	–	385	1.9
Harringey	338	713	–	1,051 (1,121)	4.3 (4.6)
Harrow	–	999	–	999	4.8
Havering	72	1,211	–	1,283	5 1
Hillingdon	–	3,077	–	3,077	13.0
Hounslow	–	1,353	–	1,353	6.6
Islington	44	88	–	132	0.5
Kensington and Chelsea	65	79	20	164	0.8
Kingston upon Thames	–	393	116	509	3.5
Lambeth	512	32	–	544	1.7
Lewisham	625	157	–	782	2.8
Merton	–	1,638	–	1,638	8.9
Newham	10	296	–	306 (293)	1.2 (1.5)
Redbridge	548	546	–	1,094	4.4
Richmond upon Thames	66	1,033	3,912	5,011	28.3
Southwark	340	139	–	479	1.6
Sutton	–	977	–	977	5.9
Tower Hamlets	287	37	–	324	1.7
Waltham Forest	–	558	–	558	2.4
Wandsworth	682	95	233	1,010	3.1
Westminster, City of	13	73	1,074	1,160	4.8
Essex	488	–	–	488	. . .
Greater London	**7,593**	**32,841**	**5,685**	**46,119**	**5.0 c**
1967	*7,546*	*32,541*	*5,685*	*45,772*	*4.9*
1966	*7,291*	*32,474*	*5,685*	*45,450*	*4.9*

Sources: Administering Authorities

a Figures in brackets include acreage of City of London parks and open spaces within the borough; for details see footnote a of table 10.06.

b Rate not calculated because none of the parks/open space is within the City of London.

c Excluding open spaces outside Greater London (approximately 7,000 acres).

Source: Whitaker, Ben and Browne, Kenneth, Parks for People (Seeley Service & Co., London 1971).

5.5 acres per thousand persons.[11] There are only 11 London Boroughs with a ratio better than Enfield. The greater provision in the Outer London Boroughs contrasts to the 7 Inner London Boroughs which have considerably less than 2 acres of open space per thousand population. Their deficiencies cannot be made good within their boundaries, and reflects the major drawback of planning standards which do not specifically take account of distributional aspects.

Those Boroughs which fall in between are, sitting marginally between inner and outer London, like Haringey, with a standard of 4 acres per thousand persons[12] or like Ealing with 4.03 acres in 1971.[13]

D. The Inner London Boroughs

All London Boroughs suffer from inadequate local open space, even those with generous gross overall standards, but it is the Inner London Boroughs which suffer the most (see Table 7-1).

On overall gross standards, the City of Westminster appears to have adequate acreage on a basis of 4 acres per

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11. Enfield, London Borough: Stonard, N.A., The Provision of Public Open Space, August 1971

12. Haringey, London Borough: Planning Department Open Space Survey and Analysis, 1970

13. Ealing, London Borough: Recreation in Ealing Survey 1971. The provision of open space and recreational facilities, 1966-1971

thousand population, but most of this acreage represents the royal parks, Hyde Park, Green Park, St. James' Park, Regents' Park - which account for more than a thousand acres of Westminster's public open space, a major proportion of their public open space.[14] In fact, the bulk of Paddington suffers from a local open space deficiency with only 1.12 acres per thousand people. (See Fig. 7.1 + 7.2)

As an inner London Borough, Islington is one of the worst off for open space.[15] The existing open spaces are unevenly distributed, small and have a limited range of facilities. Islington is characterised by a high density of people and activities and a substantial proportion of the housing stock is either in flats without private gardens or in multiple occupation.

The Greater London Council proposed for the Inner London Boroughs, like Islington, an interim standard of $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres per thousand population and proposed 4 acres per thousand population in the long term. To achieve even the $2\frac{1}{2}$ acre ratio would require two - one hundred acre district parks and fifteen acre local parks, which is an almost impossible proposal. The practibility of achieving parks of this size in Islington is

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14. City of Westminster, City of Westminster Development Plan Summary Paper S4, Leisure in Westminster, December, 1974

15. Islington Borough Council, Recreational Open Space, 1973

PRIORITY AREAS FOR THE PROVISION OF SMALL SCALE OPEN SPACES - Fig.7.1

Westminster City Council, Department of Architecture and Planning, Problems Issues and Priorities, City of Westminster Development Plan, Report on Stage One, October 1974. P.33

SCALE

1 0 1 Miles

1 0 1 Kilometres

- Conventional Playground
- Hard Ball Games Area
- Adventure Type Playground
- Private Playground
- Major Barriers to Movement

Includes existing and programmed play areas.

Westminster City Council, Department of Architecture and Planning, Problems Issues and Priorities, City of Westminster Development Plan, Report on Stage One, October 1974. P.14

very doubtful. Islington Borough Council have reported that they cannot, and are not bound, to achieve GLDP standards and must aim for local standards based on local policy.[16] They consider the maximum that can be provided in the Borough in the near future is a ratio of 1.21 acres per thousand population.

Kensington has only .65 acres for public open space within the Borough and Islington is the only other of the London Boroughs with fewer acres of public open space per thousand population.[17] In contrast to Islington, Kensington is well endowed with private open space and squares, totalling 141 acres. The London Squares Preservation Act applies to 73 of these garden squares.[18] If one includes Hyde Park and all private open space, the Borough satisfies the standard of 2½ acres per thousand population.

Southwark is poorly off for local parks.[19] (see Table 7-2).

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16. Islington, London Borough: Blythe, K.G., Islington Borough Community Plan - Recreational Open Space. Topic Paper Review, The objectives and policies adopted by the Council, Feb. 1974

17. Kensington and Chelsea, Royal London Borough, Leisure and Recreation, Context Paper 2, 1975

18. The London Squares Preservation Act, 1931

19. Southwark, London Borough: Department of Architecture and Planning, Recreation in Southwark, Open Space Study. An analysis of proposed strategy and programme for provision of Public Open Space, (January, 1971)

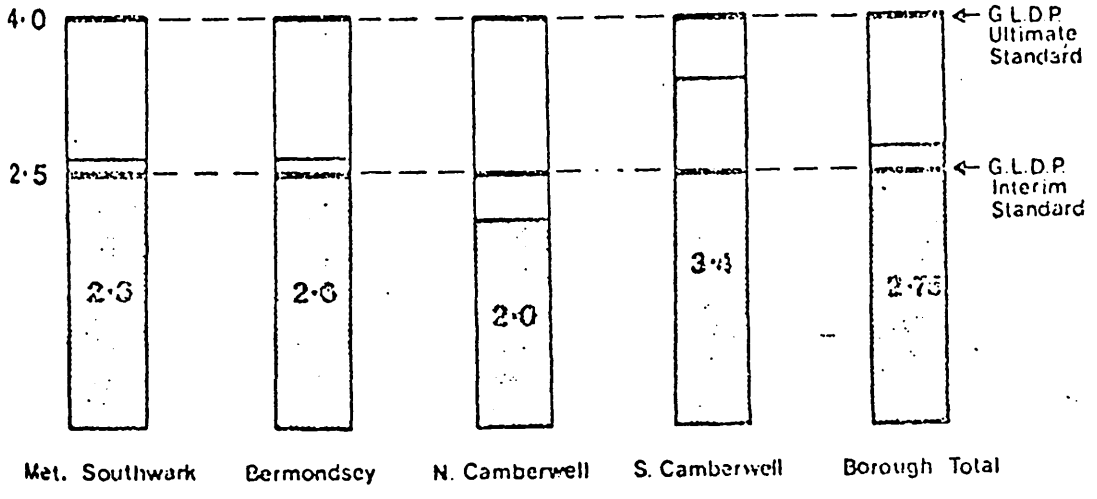
TABLE 7-2

Proposed Ultimate Distribution of Public Open Space.

	Proposed Acreage			1986 Population**	Acres per 1000
	Metropolitan & District	Local	Total		
Metropolitan Southwark	94*	64	158*	62	2.6
Bermondsey	74	45	119	45	2.6
North Camberwell	69*	50	119*	58	2.0
South Camberwell	253	41	294	85	3.4
	490	200	690	250	2.75

* Assuming that North Camberwell Open Space is attributed equally to North Camberwell and Southwark.

** Assuming that all the proposals were implemented by 1986.



ACRES PER THOUSAND PEOPLE ON COMPLETION OF PROPOSED PLAN

Source: Southwark London Borough, Department of Architecture and Planning, Recreation in Southwark, Open Space Study. (updated January 1971)

Only one area in Southwark has the interim standard of $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres per thousand population. Most areas have great deficiencies resulting in a standard of 1.9 acres. The worst deficiency areas are those areas where housing and social pressures are greatest and where the environmental qualities are lowest. Southwark developed small local parks in the past, but found it necessary to man each of these small local parks at a considerable management cost and inconvenience, due to their vulnerability to vandalism.

All the London Boroughs, whether well off or deprived, complain of maldistribution of gross open space. Enfield, for instance, is very much lacking in local open space.[20] The majority of Enfield Borough falls outside the catchment areas of local and small local parks. Even if a considerable amount of money was spent on new small open parks, large sectors of the population would still be living in areas devoid of open space.

E. Public Participation

Various London Boroughs democratically asked their constituents what they wanted. Very often the public has particular ideas or aims based on clear knowledge and local facts, which change from case to case. Their ideosyncratic approach

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20. Enfield, op. cit.

is normally of great benefit and is a resource which local authorities should tap.

In a public questionnaire, Haringey Borough Council, for instance, suggested knocking down houses to make a park in one area and then replacing the same number of houses in under-used open space elsewhere.[21] This was publicly acceptable, and Haringey had land to offer.

Islington Borough contains so little spare land, that all park land has to be paid for at high costs. On questioning the public as to their first choice of priority, 38 per cent of Islington chose local parks, 30 per cent local community spaces and 32 per cent chose district parks.[22] If both first and second choice were taken together, 73 per cent of the population surveyed would choose local spaces which have particular impact on existing housing areas. Contrary to the public opinion expressed, Islington Borough Council insists that small open spaces can only provide limited opportunities for housing, but it would seem that the public think otherwise.

Since the local community spaces are smaller spaces than the local parks, it is noteworthy that in Islington the people want the community spaces more.

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21. Haringey, London Borough: Recreation and Leisure Haringey Borough Plan, Policy Option Papers, (February, 1974)

22. Islington, op. cit.

Islington Borough Council, on the other hand, decided that the capital expenditure on open space programmes should concentrate on building up their 50 acre district parks and that once they built up the district parks they could give priority to providing the local parks in deficient areas.

The most valuable section of the Southwark report is their actual leisure survey.[23] It gave proof that what people really wanted was local open space close to the home and with a variety of environment and activities, rather than parks far away with specialised provision.

The particular problem of immigrant groups is relevant to a few London Boroughs and to some of the Metropolitan Districts, as ethnic origins affect recreation desires.[24]

For example, immigrants from India and Pakistan are not as inclined to take part in British leisure activities as other groups. Mostly relating to their cultural background, they have traditional informal games which do not require special leisure facilities. The higher Indian social classes favour hockey and cricket as being an indication of status. The second and later generations may adopt similar interests to British people, but in the meantime there is not a demand for British type leisure facilities.

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23. Southwark, op. cit.

24. Haringey, London Borough: Planning Department, Open Space Survey and Analysis, 1970

F. Current Open Space Policies in the Major Cities

Although many of the big cities made their own open space studies of varying depth and quality prior to the re-organisation of local government, these studies are now out of date,[25] and their implementation slow because of the low financial priority given to the provision of open space.[26]

Extracting figures pertaining to the major conurbations gives the following:-[27]

Open Space in Major Cities

TABLE 7-3

City	Population	Public Open Space per 1000 population	Density Persons per acre
Leeds	508,790	9.00	
Greater London	8,186,000	7.71	42.7
Sheffield	490,930	7.00	12.5
Edinburgh	473,270	6.57	14.1
Glasgow	1,014,582	5.01	27.3
Birmingham	1,106,040	4.44	21.6
Manchester	644,500	3.79	24.3
Liverpool	729,140	3.13	16.8

25. For example, Liverpool, Nottingham, Coventry, etc.

26. Coventry City Council, Coventry 1966 Review of the Development Plan, (Coventry City Council, 1967), p.100

27. Edinburgh Town Planning Department, Open Space Plan for Edinburgh, 1969 - reprinted in 1971, p. 8.

Even accepting the up-grading of the gross standards by taking city regions so that London, for instance, appears to have achieved the NPFA standard of seven acres per thousand, four of the conurbations, Glasgow, Birmingham, Manchester and Liverpool, were well under the standard and clearly deficient in open space.

The re-organisation of local government in 1973 in England and Wales, and in 1974 in Scotland, further delayed any fresh approach to the supply of open space in the conurbations.

Work on open space in the conurbations only revived in the mid-seventies with new policy decisions formed in the new Structure and District Plans. The London Boroughs are the exception, having benefitted from early re-organisation in 1963.

G. English Cities

The English cities, most deprived of open space, are Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham and Sheffield. With the exception of Manchester, all of these cities have prepared specific open space policies beyond the routine proposals in their Structure plans.

1. Birmingham

Birmingham Authority, changing its concept of urban renewal, shifted from comprehensive redevelopment towards the rehabilitation and improvement of areas. The new policies suggested an increased scale of urban renewal consisting of 68 General Improvement Areas including the

rehabilitation of 460,000 houses and 25 Renewal Areas comprising about 16,000 houses.[28] This programme entailed a fairly big commitment of staff time and public funds which has not been fulfilled.

The open space plan for Birmingham is based on the principle of providing large open spaces to define and link together separate residential areas, the open spaces combining to form a parkway which will eventually encircle the city centre.[29] Local parks are not a high priority.

2. Liverpool

Liverpool Corporation conducted a further survey in 1972 which showed that they had not been able to accomplish their goals in the last ten years.[30] The approach of this second open space survey was strongly influenced by the methods and approach of the Greater London Council Open Space Surveys and the findings supported many of the GLC survey report conclusions.[31]

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28. Birmingham City Council: Borg, Neville, Structure Plan for Birmingham, Written Statement, December, 1973

29. Birmingham, op. cit.

30. Balmer, K., Use of Open Space in Liverpool, Planning Department and Recreation and Open Spaces Department, Liverpool Corporation, (Liverpool 1973)

31. See Greater London Council, Surveys of the Use of Open Spaces, London 1968

The Liverpool survey considered the demand for park use in the same two categories as the GLC survey; on the one hand, "the short distance/short duration/high frequency local use" and, on the other hand, "the more selective larger distance/lower frequency/family and week-end use".[32]

Similar results to earlier demand studies were found. The greatest demand came from users in the lower socio-economic groups, retired persons and school children. 87 per cent of the pedestrians' trips covered distances less than $\frac{1}{2}$ mile. It was rightly concluded that the emphasis should be placed on provision of local parks containing facilities for all demand groups, and that landscaping was the most important factor ensuring the success and impact of any park.

As Liverpool Corporation are unable to provide the capital revenue for park developments outside a few particular sites, and their General Improvements Areas are not expected to produce many opportunities for open space, Liverpool proposed to concentrate their few reserves on children's playing facilities. Their policy play areas stressed playgrounds, and particularly adventure playgrounds, within the standard catchment area of one

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32. GLC., op. cit., p. 6 and Balmer, op. cit., p.4

half mile.[33] (see fig. 3 - Open Space Proposals). Because of the casualties, play streets are not promoted, and it is now Corporation policy to stop new play street designation orders. No new play streets have been made since 1967 and many play street orders have been revoked.[34]

Summer play schemes, recreation and play centres are run on a temporary basis and automatically point to a gap in the present provision. The report makes limited proposals, district by district, due to lack of funds, but the lack of funds in turn could prompt new approaches. For instance, local people can significantly contribute to the organisation and management of play areas on a permanent basis. Furthermore, a "No economic growth" situation should force local authorities like Liverpool to accept the shared use of existing facilities contained within schools and community facilities.

3. Newcastle

Newcastle's 1973 Planning Progress and Policy Report admitted that the existing pattern of open space in Newcastle was unbalanced.[35] The Town Moor is a magnificent space

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33. Liverpool City Council: Evans, E.S.P., Play in the Inner Areas of Liverpool, (Liverpool City Council, June 1975)

34. Liverpool City Council, op. cit., p. 10

35. Newcastle Upon Tyne Corporation: Galley, Kenneth A., Planning Progress and Policy, (Newcastle Upon Tyne Corporation, 1973)

and there are some wooded valleys, but otherwise many parts of Newcastle are poorly provided with trees and open spaces owing to the ruthless development of nineteenth century residential areas. The lack of vegetation contributes, in its turn, to the adverse micro-climate making it hard for trees and shrubs to survive.

The Policy Report suggested a landscape policy, (1) to improve the Town Moor, (2) to develop the landscape potential of the Tyne's banks with planting, reclamation and small open spaces,[36] (3) to plant new trees on a large scale and (4) create a more balanced pattern of minor open spaces.

Following the Policy Report, the Tyne landscape Report detailed policy aims of improving the conditions of the river. However, the water pollution is so extensive that no improvement is expected in the condition of the river before the late 1970's.[37]

Newcastle Corporation decided the greatest need was for children's playgrounds. Since 1963 twenty four playgrounds have been created within the existing parks, and fifteen new ones in residential neighbourhoods. The objective before the re-organisation of local government was to increase the number of playgrounds until no household was more than a quarter of a mile away from a playground

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36. Newcastle, Tyne Landscape Report, (Newcastle 1974).
37. Newcastle Upon Tyne City Council, Eight Years of Improvement on the Tyne, Final Report of the Joint Committee as to the Improvement of Banks of River Tyne, January, 1974, p. 2

The Council attempted greater quality in the location of playgrounds, and a greater awareness of the conflicting needs of different age groups.

4. Sheffield

Sheffield City Council accepted one of the most detailed and commendable proposals for local open space and children's play areas in 1976.[38] Although it was thought the proposals were too generous to be achieved in Sheffield's inner areas, particularly as land appears to be difficult to obtain, the recommended standards are an achievement over standards set by other cities including London.

Local parks are classified as passive public open spaces, although they can be grouped in association with multi-functional "active" open space. Thus a local park can be either (a) a larger park combining both active and passive open space or (b) it can be a small quiet park next to a playing field. The multi-functional use of local parks, combining active uses, such as allotments, allows for expansion or contraction as the demand changes. Multi-purpose use also provides a potential benefit to easing security arrangements.

Sheffield's proposed standards show their clear understanding of the need to shift from the emphasis on active open space to passive open space. Their standards are as follows:

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38. Sheffield, Metropolitan District, City of, Local Open Space and Children's Play Areas, Children's Play and Advisory Committee. (Sheffield, January, 1976)

TABLE 7-4

Sheffield Overall Space Standards[39]

Type	Minimum Local Provision	Minimum Non-Local Provision	Minimum Total Provision
Active Public Open Space	0.8 hectares (2 acres)	1.6 hectares (4 acres)	2.4 hectares (6 acres
Passive Public Open Space	0.4 hectares (1 acre)	1.2 hectares (3 acres)	1.6 hectares (4 acres

Although the standards keep to the NPFA's recommended provisions of 6 acres/1000 population, this need not be found within the local area. Further Sheffield has increased the passive open space standard from 1 acre/1000 population to a commendable total of 4 acres in recognition of current demands for passive open space.

Sheffield City Council also recommend the dual use of all playing field facilities. Their other standards are shown on Table 7-6.

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39. Sheffield, op. cit., p. 2

TABLE 7-5

Sheffield Standards for Children's Play

PLAY SPACES	FACILITIES	LOCATIONAL CRITERIA	SIZE
Users a) major The 3-6 year olds b) minor The 6-10 year olds Mothers accompanying children. The 10-15 year olds	a) shelter, enclosure, sunny area slides, climbs, rocks, benches/seats, tables, hard surface. b) seats for mothers	Within 200m walking distance of each house. On a major pedestrian route - or other busy area allowing informal supervision. More than 20m from the nearest house. Wherever the distance criterion allows the space should be located on the edge of housing estates rather than amongst the houses. Wherever there are more than 11 houses on a construction site.	Minimum size will be 100 m^2
PLAY AREAS		Children will travel 200m to an un-equipped play area and 400m to an equipped one.	
1 per 1000 population Users a) major The 5-11 year olds b) minor The 11-15 year olds Mothers accompanying children	a) slides, swings, climbs, sheltered corners for sitting, rocks, logs. Informal; usually a hard bituminous surface in small areas: integrated into the surroundings with landscaping. b) Sitting areas for mothers	Within 200-500m distance of each house. On a major pedestrian route allowing for informal supervision and visual interest: located so that children do not need to cross roads. More than 20 m from the nearest dwelling.	Play area 300 m^2 approximately (3200 sq.ft.) (higher provision of smaller spaces may be more appropriate in some cases.

Sheffield, Metropolitan District, City of, Local Open Space and Children's Play Areas, (Sheffield, January, 1976).

TABLE 7-5

Sheffield Standards for Children's Play

KICKABOUT AREAS	FACILITIES	LOCATIONAL CRITERIA	SIZE
1 per 1250 population	Ideally hard porous (e.g. Dri-Pla) with irrigation facilities laid on. In these circumstances a knock up wall of approximately 8m width and 2m high should also be provided. Sometimes grass will be used as either a permanent or temporary surface.	Within 200-500m of all family dwellings. Located in association with play areas.	Approximately 30m x 21m (100 ft. x 70 ft.).
PLAY CENTRES			
1 per residential neighbourhood. Users: a) major The 10-15 year olds b) minor The 6-10 year olds Mothers accompanying children. Adults using ball games area.		Within 800m of each house. More than 30m from nearest dwelling and well screened from houses. On major pedestrian route preferably adjacent to primary school grounds.	0.3 to 0.4 hectares (0.75-1.0 acres).
ADVENTURE PLAY PROVISION	A hut is necessary, comprising an indoor play area, minimum size 1000 ft.^{2} and also an office, toilets, kitchen, storage space for heavy and light equipment and a quiet room area. This will allow activities to continue throughout the year in all weathers. Durable fencing by screening will alleviate such problems as noise, unsightly structures, dumping, control of materials and equipment and give children a sense of security.		An area of $\frac{3}{4}$ to 1 acre is desirable.

H. English District Councils

The record for District Councils is no better than that of Metropolitan District Councils. Little work or attention is being paid to local open spaces.

Leeds has had no particular open space policy since the re-organisation of local government, and no particular emphasis on either District parks or local parks. Its outstanding contribution to an improved environment has been its extensive pedestrianisation programme in the inner city.

Leeds central area pedestrian precinct is now the largest of its kind in Britain and is perhaps one of the best. Leeds was fortunate in its historical legacy of a compact central shopping area, where pedestrianisation has been carried out since 1970.[40] There has been careful treatment of ground surfaces, wall-to-wall paving, and thoughtful attention to street furniture.

Otherwise, Leeds has been unable to make any useful contribution to local open space provisions and, due to the poor economic climate no new public open space projects began in 1974, 1975 or 1976.

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40. Leeds City Council, Leeds Pedestrian Streets, Planning and Property Department, (Leeds, July 1972)
See also Greater London Council, Pedestrianised Streets, GLC Study of Tour of Europe and America, Department of Planning and Transport, (London 1973)

Wolverhampton recognises a shortage of open space provision but according to their own recent survey the demand is not there for open space.[41] Reclamation of derelict land is the popular first choice of action.

Leicester's favourable park system is largely due to opportunism in the past, and yet no District Plan has been prepared for its Inner Area.[42] Apart from the excellent rehabilitation of the New Walk, there is no policy for providing small open spaces, although a recent survey noted that "the neighbourhood park is most frequently used as a 'short-cut', and recognised the deficiency of open space in the centre city.[43] Although the study rightly showed that future policy should be based on accessibility of open spaces, rather than standards, district parks were emphasized as well as neighbourhood parks, although the demand was for local parks.

Some historic towns, like Chichester, are well endowed with local open space and their task has been to integrate the open space into a linked pathway-greenway open space system without harming the landscape.[44]

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41. Wolverhampton, City Borough: Structure Plan. Background material and written statement, (Wolverhampton 1973)

42. Leicester City Council, and the Leicestershire County Council, Draft Structure Plan for Leicester and Leicestershire, Written Statement, (County and City Planning Departments, June 1973)

43. Leicester City Council, Drs. Bowler and Strachan, Parks and Gardens in Leicester, (Recreational and Cultural Services Department, June 1976)

44. Ministry of Housing and Local Government, Chichester: A Study in Conservation, (H.M.S.O. 1968)

Burton-Upon-Trent Council is one of the few district councils to be concerned with the location and the quality of public open space.[45] Their assessment of the quality of public open space on the basis of factors likely to attract individuals to such an area included:- such assets as the availability of seating, children's play facilities, shelter, landscaping, grass, gardens and facilities for sports, refreshments, public lavatories, etc.

I. Scottish District Councils

Open space policy in Scotland is best portrayed by Edinburgh's excellent Open Space Study[46] and work by Glasgow District Council. Little open space is being developed in Aberdeen or Dundee. Aberdeen's one great success has been the renovation of St. Nicholas Churchyard, converted to a public open space as well as a burial ground.[47] It is a good example of the use that graveyards can have in the centre of the city.

1. Glasgow

Glasgow's work is valuable for its innovations in providing open space. For example, a policy of providing Nature Centres

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45. East Staffordshire District Council, Wain, J.P., Recreation and Leisure, Burton-upon-Trent Urban Structure Plan Survey Report 10, (July 1973)

46. Edinburgh City Council, op. cit.

47. Aberdeen Corporation, Parks and Recreation Department, St. Nicholas Churchyard, (February 1974)

and Trails was adopted in 1965, by the Parks Committee.[48] The ultimate aim is to provide a Nature Centre and Trail within reach of every citizen in Glasgow.

In May 1967 Glasgow Corporation approved the development of a system of Parkland Trunk Routes throughout the City which would provide pedestrian walks linking up the major open spaces in the City and leading outwards to long distance pedestrian routes to the adjacent countryside.[49]

In design, the walkways retain as much of the natural character as possible. Eventually, the walkways will serve as a link between the nature trail and the recreation playgrounds going from one green space to another.

Under the leadership of Sydney Oldham, Glasgow's former Director of Parks, treeplanting throughout the city rose from 5,000 to 20,000 trees annually. Perhaps Oldham's most original creation for the uncertain climate of Glasgow was the conversion of vacant disused sheds and warehouses into 'Play-Barns'. These serve as covered local parks, providing indoor activities, mostly for teenagers.[50]

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48. Glasgow Corporation, The Nature Trail at Springburn Park, (Parks Department, 20 Trongate, Glasgow)

49. Glasgow Corporation, Parkland Trunk Routes, Glasgow, 1970)

50. Glasgow District Council and Strathclyde Regional Council, Department of Leisure and Recreation: Discussions with the Director, Mr. Sydney Oldham

Public Open Space Priorities in Urban Areas

A summary of the current open space activity of British City Councils, both of Metropolitan Counties and of District Councils, shows little work is being accomplished (see Table 7-6). Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds, Wolverhampton and Newcastle have no particular policy on open space, while Leicester also had no particular policy until their recent study.[51] Thus the majority of English cities are clearly lacking, not only in absolute open space provisions, but also in any open space policies for the future.

Liverpool, Sheffield and Glasgow, which are deficient in numerical provisions, have at least attempted pragmatic answers to their deficiencies and advocated future open space policies on a priority basis. Lack of funds is cited by Liverpool, Sheffield and Glasgow Councils as the reason for the pragmatic answer. Both Liverpool and Sheffield have chosen to use their limited resources on children's playgrounds and local parks, thus responding to desires quoted in the demand studies. Glasgow has accepted a general policy on open space of providing both large parks for which there are funds and creating special local open spaces which require minimal funds.

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51. Leicester City Council, Bowler and Strachan, Parks and Gardens in Leicester, (Recreational and Cultural Services Department, June 1976)

TABLE 7 - 6

ALLOCATION OF PUBLIC OPEN SPACE PRIORITIES

Metropolitan Districts	Public Open Space High Priority	Public Open Space Low Priority
Birmingham	District Parks	Local Parks
Liverpool	Local parks - and particularly children's playing facilities, and adventure playgrounds	All other Public Open Spaces
Manchester	No particular policy	No particular policy
Newcastle	Restoration of Town Moor, Reclamation of derelict land.	Balanced pattern of small open spaces
Districts		
Aberdeen	No particular policy	
Dundee	No particular policy	
Edinburgh	Balanced pattern of open spaces	
Glasgow	Large parks, some small open spaces	
Leeds	No particular policy	No particular policy
Leicester	No particular policy (until 1976)	No particular policy (until 1976)
Sheffield	Local Parks and children's play grounds	Large parks
Wolverhampton	Reclamation of derelict land	'No demand' for open space provision

Greater London has achieved apparently substantial improvement in open space provision but for the Inner London Boroughs, where most have less than 2 acres per thousand population, there has hardly been any change since Abercrombie's plans. Although lack of funds and the high cost of land are presented as the main reason for the grave lack of improvement, there are other less obvious reasons. Southwark Council, for example, have been mostly interested in political priorities which have not included open space. Islington Council, as another example, chose to ignore the first political evidence it had from its population, wishing small local parks and amenity spaces, and chose to emphasize the large fifty acre District parks. As long as open space provision is ignored as a political priority, no improvement will be made.

Open Space Policies in the Seventies in the United States

Under President Johnson's Open Space Land Programme of the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) central cities were encouraged to acquire and develop parks and recreation areas to be easily accessible to the local residents. Since the applications for open space far outstretched the funds available, the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) concentrated on open space that provided visual and recreational relief in areas of great population density and in low income areas. Between 1969 and 1970 the percentage of HUD Open Space Funds allocated to

the purchase of parks in low income neighbourhoods increased from 6 to 33 per cent.[52]

Some of the impetus for urban renewal, open space and beautification of urban areas declined after President Johnson's term. The environmental movement for the inner city was still in its infancy in 1971, and received a severe setback during President Nixon's Watergate crisis, although President Nixon had presented a 'Legacy of Parks' programme, to assist cities in purchasing open space and developing parks in or near urban areas.

HUD's Model Cities Programme was set up as part of the revenue-sharing proposals between the Federal Government and the cities, and supported low income housing construction, rehabilitation, recreation and clean-up projects. Thirty-one small local parks were acquired and developed in St. Louis, for example.

With the 1974 Housing and Community Development Act, cities were free, within a Community Block Grant programme to establish their own priorities, and the Federal Government had less control. Communities decided whether to spend funds on local parks, markets, streets or malls, and indeed increasingly communities turned to housing rehabilitation as against redevelopment.

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52. Council on Environmental Quality, The Second Annual Report of the Council on Environmental Quality (U.S. Government Printing Office 1971), p. 201

In 1974, as attention was focused on each presidential candidate's attitude to open space, HUD carried out a major study of the problems of open space in the inner areas.[53] HUD's report on Open Space and Recreation Opportunity in America's Inner Cities focuses attention on many of the problems already noted by the London Boroughs.

For instance, no single set of U.S. national space standards can be adequate for all cities. Many urban parks and playgrounds are empty through inadequate maintenance, lack of leadership and too much summer heat on hot macadam. Again, inadequate design of play lots and playgrounds prevents them from being environmental amenities.

The report's recommendations are several:[54]

1. expand recreation resources - and look within existing resources;

2. establish an organisation to encourage the co-ordination and planning of open space and recreation for each city on a local basis;

3. provide educational programmes;

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53. Office of Community Planning and Development, U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Open Space and Recreation Opportunity in America's Inner Cities. 1974.

54. Office of Community Planning and Development, op. cit.

4. increase per capita expenditure;

5. provide innovative efforts to provide desirable services.

Summary - Open Space Policies in Urban Areas in the Seventies

Standards have been set and local authorities have failed to meet them. The British government supported recreation through the Sports Councils for a small segment of the population, but informal recreation or open space provision was not included.

The Greater London Council's policy for open space was found inadequate by the Layfield Enquiry. Only the Outer London Boroughs provide open space to the minimum standard, whilst the Inner London Boroughs are grossly deficient thirty-five years after Abercrombie's plan.

All the other major cities also suffer open space deficiencies. Liverpool and Sheffield have decided to concentrate their few resources on children's play areas, and Sheffield particularly has grasped the importance of local parks and emphasized their position.

Glasgow has attempted new solutions while supporting both large parks and local open spaces.

In the United States in the late Nixon era and the post-Nixon era, funds for urban areas and for open space in urban areas have been drastically curtailed. HUD's Report on Open Space and Recreation Opportunity in America's Inner Cities outlined many of the same problems found in British cities. Lack of funds, lack of leadership, inadequate maintenance and the need for innovative

programmes on a localised city basis were all cited as problems.

No recent attempt at national standards has been made in the United States and solutions have been found in ideosyncratic localised decisions which are useful for their particular city.

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26. Coventry City Council, Coventry 1966 Review of the Development Plan, (Coventry City Council, 1967), p. 100.

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PART III : CHAPTER VIII

POSSIBILITIES FOR LOCAL URBAN OPEN SPACES AND THEIR DESIGN

INTRODUCTION: POSSIBILITIES FOR LOCAL URBAN OPEN SPACES AND THEIR DESIGN

Local authorities for urban areas, and particularly for the inner areas of our cities, have tried for thirty years to resolve the conflict between the desire for open space versus the lack of funds and political support for local open space. The desire is there but the achievements have been woefully inadequate. Neither the Councils of the London Boroughs, which are amongst the wealthiest, nor the Metropolitan District Councils for English cities, like Liverpool, Birmingham and Newcastle, or the District Councils for Scottish cities can provide sufficient public open space at the neighbourhood level.

It is conceivable that if we were more ingenious in our search for open space, and developed new kinds of open space, that the potential supply could double or treble, the effective frequency of use could double or treble, and accessibility could

be increased several fold. With new methods and attitudes we might effect even a partial cure.

It is worthwhile, in searching for new concepts, to examine all the many possible forms of local open space, and their relative costs, in the hope of finding a few relatively less expensive forms of local open space. With these new lower cost forms of open space in hand, local authorities could then proceed with a new method of providing open space and hopefully more local open space might be found.

Chapter VIII thus examines some of the unlimited number of types of small open spaces, while Chapter IX examines financial and administrative difficulties and Chapter X suggests a method for accomplishing the task.

Types of Local and Urban Open Space

If we are to be more ingenious in our search for new kinds of urban open space, the quality of defined local open space becomes more important than the quantity of undefined local open space. As Udall wrote in "The Quiet Crisis", 'well-placed malls, plazas and promenades, and gardens can become oases inviting delight and giving a sense of order to living'.[1]

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1. Udall, S., The Quiet Crisis, (Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York 1963), p. 170.

There is no need to continue producing only traditional open spaces as there is such a variety of small urban open spaces which people accept and enjoy. In this chapter we will examine the main types of small urban open spaces which could satisfy local need.

Local urban open spaces divide into three categories; the soft material landscape varieties of small urban parks; the hard material landscapes of urban pedestrian spaces and a third category of special characteristic and ecological spaces. In normal British usage the term local open space refers to soft material landscape while urban open space refers to hard material landscape. In American usage urban open space refers to both soft and hard material landscape.

At the local scale, the great variety of form, uses and functions include the following types of open space:[2]

Local and Urban Open Space

1. Local Open Spaces (soft material landscape)

   A. Definitions of Local Open Spaces

   B. The Local Park

      1. Local Parks and their Design
      2. Squares
      3. Super-Block Interiors
      4. Commons and Greens

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2. All terms are defined in the Glossary.

C. Churchyards, Burial Grounds

D. The Small Local Park

1. Definitions of Small Local Parks
2. Pocket Park
   (a) Case Study: Pocket Parks in New York City
   (b) Case Study: The Philadelphia Pocket Park
   (c) Case Study: Neighbourhood Commons, Washington, D.C.
3. The Design of the Small Park/The Pocket Park

E. Children's Facilities

1. Playgrounds and their Design
2. Adventure Playgrounds and their Design
3. Play Parks
4. Play Streets

F. Teenage Facilities

1. Playing fields, Recreation Areas, Recreation Ground
2. Play Centres and Play Barns

II. Urban Open Spaces (hard material landscape)

A. Public Spaces and Building Plazas

B. Pedestrian Spaces

C. Pedestrian Street

1. Pedestrian street systems
2. Malls
3. Crosswalks
4. Pedestrian Way/Strollway systems
5. Decks, skyways, upper-level enclosed walkways
6. Roof Gardens and Play Decks
7. Walkways, Greenways, Green Streets
8. Pedestrian Precincts

III. Special Characteristic Spaces

A. 1. Ecological Spaces
   2. Trees

B. 1. Historical Trails and Heritage Sites
   2. Nature Centres and Nature Trails

C. Waterways

D. Allotments

E. Evening and Uncertain Weather Use

F. Mobile Recreation

It is not necessary nor is it economically viable for an open space to satisfy a particular purpose, rather spaces should serve many purposes, where several uses can intermingle with each other, for both week-day and week-end use.

It is not the size of the open space but the quality of the urban space which now has become the essential ingredient and a necessity for the success of the local urban space. Local open space has to provide a great many more of the human satisfactions than was previously required if for no other reason than the cost of creating district and metropolitan parks is prohibitive, and land may not be available. Because of the variety and complexity of present-day functions, the character of the small urban park will necessarily be individual, indigenous and intensively used.

The Design of Local Open Spaces

A. Definitions of Local Open Spaces

So many definitions of open space are loosely used. Normally in Britain, local open space includes local parks, commons, squares, and amenity spaces, and is normally of a soft

landscape, green grass and brown earth, in contrast to urban open space which is mostly hard. Local open space is a form of public open space, to which people have full access for the purpose of recreation. The term, "local open space", is not generally used in the United States, where preference is given to the word, "park", for a green open space.[3]

The term "urban open space" in Britain more specifically refers to a public space of a hard material landscape, whereas in the United States it is a general term, and although it is the most international of all the terms, it does not describe any particular space to a U.S. official.[4]

Thus the British term "Local Park" is equivalent to the American term "small park". A local park, per the Greater London Council definition,is limited to 5 acres or under in size.

B. The Local Park

1. Local Parks and Their Design

The greatest assets of the local park are its accessibility to the home and its flexibility. The majority of people in their everyday lives would like a local park where children can

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3. See Glossary.

4. Cooper-Hewitt Museum, Urban Open Spaces, by Liza Taylor, Editor (Smithsonian Institution, Cooper-Hewitt Museum, 2 East 91st Street, New York).

play, make noise, where younger children can be taken in prams and older people and families can walk, pass the time of day, laze about, and use as a communal garden near their home. The local park should be within either 400 yards, or at the most, not more than a quarter of a mile away from the home or office. This desire has been shown in the Pilot National Recreation Survey, the Government Social Survey, the Greater London Council Surveys, Building Research Station Survey, Liverpool's Open Space Review, the Baltimore Studies and others.[5]

The local park serves both the residential dweller, and the lunch-hour worker, whose needs can be catered for by open space which gives them a chance to sit, to have visual amenity as well as recreational function.

The design of the local park should accomplish the following:

(a) Provide and multiply the number of trees and green spaces

Although ecologically the tree is all important for ventilation, shade, and as an absorber of noise and dust, there is nothing to equal the tree in terms of amenity. Trees can soften the effect of hard building lines or harsh horizontal lines and accentuate vertical planes. Trees give scale and proportion to devoid features and can conceal or modify an otherwise ugly landscape.

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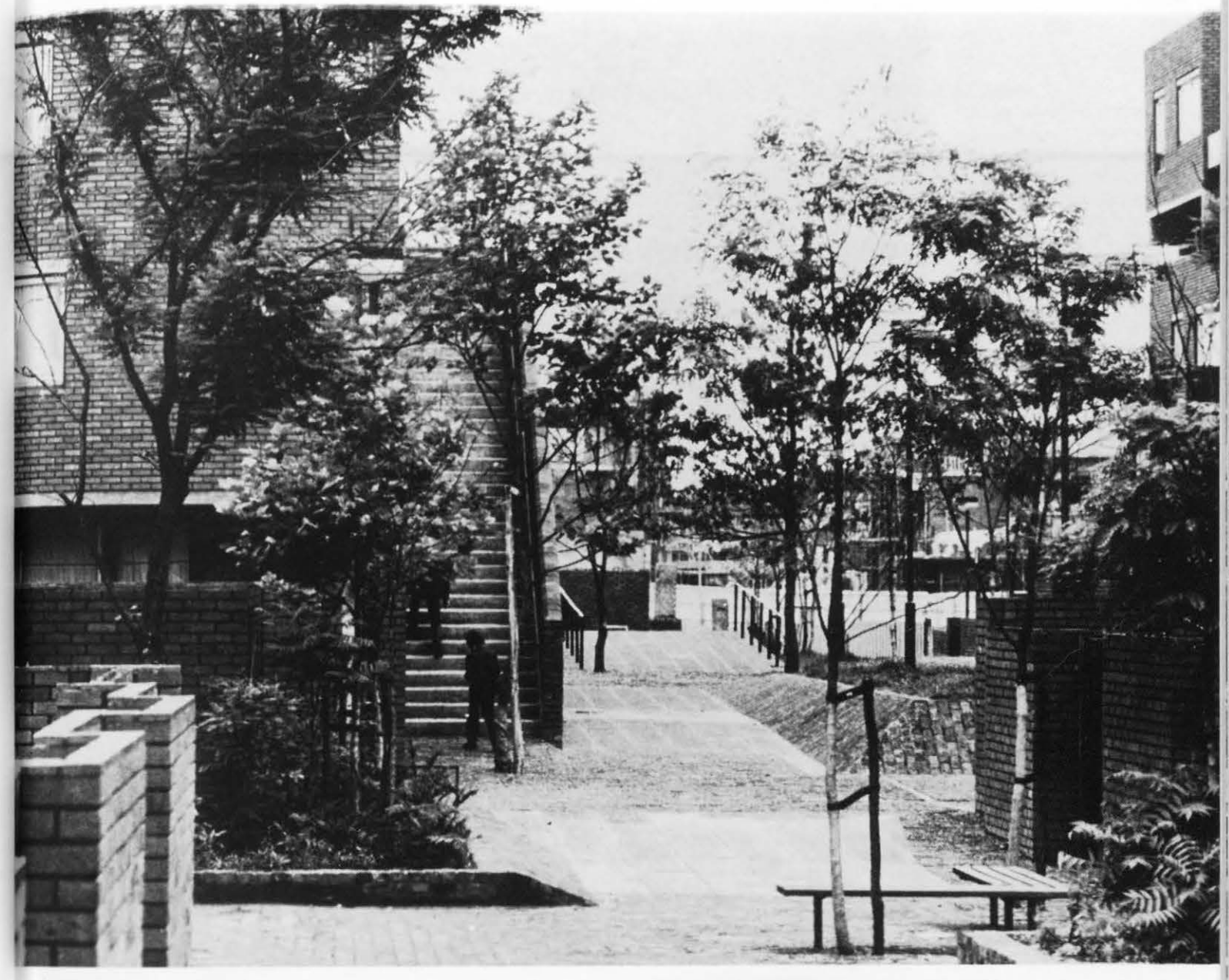
5. See Chapters IV and V.

8.1 Mozart Street Housing
Westminster, London
(Landscape Design,
August, 1974).



(b) Provide grassed areas for:

(1) active recreation. If there is a single grassed area it does not need to be central, but should provide for flexible space and design integration.

(2) passive recreation. This is usually grassed, but it can be paved or pebbled. Trees are very much preferred for passive areas with benches, which should be naturally separated into groups.

(c) Design upon the existing values of the neighbourhood and the indigenous characteristics of the local area.

Neighbourhood associations can decide the policies of the local park. For instance, the perennial argument of old ladies wanting to use the local park for their dogs and their droppings versus the young families who want the park without dog droppings for their small children, is a joint neighbourhood decision. Rules should not be imposed by the local authority with big 'keep off the grass' signs so that neither dogs nor children benefit. If organised by a legally constituted association with permanent rights, the neighbourhood can contribute on a long term basis to the design of their own park.

(d) Promote walkability

As the ORRRC and Pilot National Surveys have shown, walking is the single greatest pleasure for all ages, and should be

encouraged throughout the local park.

(e) Provide for varied play experiences for children and adults

These can include:

(1) playgrounds for pre-school children. (Known as tot-lot areas in the United States). The form and design should be based on neighbourhood needs. The advisability of installing wading pools or spray equipment depends on the neighbourhood, historical precedent and the amount of supervision provided.

(2) Play areas for the five to twelve year olds. These can be in the form of adventure playgrounds, or normal play areas, according to neighbourhood demand. Play areas should not be asphalted automatically, particularly under swings and climbing frames. Other materials, like rubberized paving, outdoor carpeting and synthetic grass can reduce the number of bleeding knees and present a more agreeable appearance.[7]

(3) An active area for the teenagers. There may or may not be room to provide this in the local park.

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7. Manchester, City of, Report on The Special Environmental Assistance Scheme - April 1972/September 1973.

(4) Area for adult games, like shuffleboard, bowls, and tennis. Needs should be based on neighbourhood desires.

(5) Hard surface pavement for walking the dog, for hopscotch, tricycles and bicycles for the under ten-year olds, rollerskating and ball bouncing games.

There have been many new excellent designs of local parks, particularly those by Lawrence Halprin, Richard Dattner and others.[8]

2. Squares

The domestic squares of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are some of the best local parks that exist and, as Abercrombie noted, are a "peculiarly British invention, well suited to the (British) temperament and way of living", found within the inner urban areas of British cities and a few American cities.[9] The squares in London, Bath, Edinburgh, and Bristol are some of the best features of these cities, and should be maintained and treated on their own particular design merits.

Important features of a square are normally the dense foliage around the edge, which give seclusion; the segregated pathway systems for dogs, children and adults; the lawns, and

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8. Halprin, Lawrence, Cities (Reinhold, New York, 1963) (see Fig.8-1)
   Dattner, Richard, Design for Play (Van Nostrand - Reinhold Company, New York, 1969)
9. Abercrombie and Forshaw, County of London Plan 1973, pp.44-5

Halprin's doodled fairyland . . .

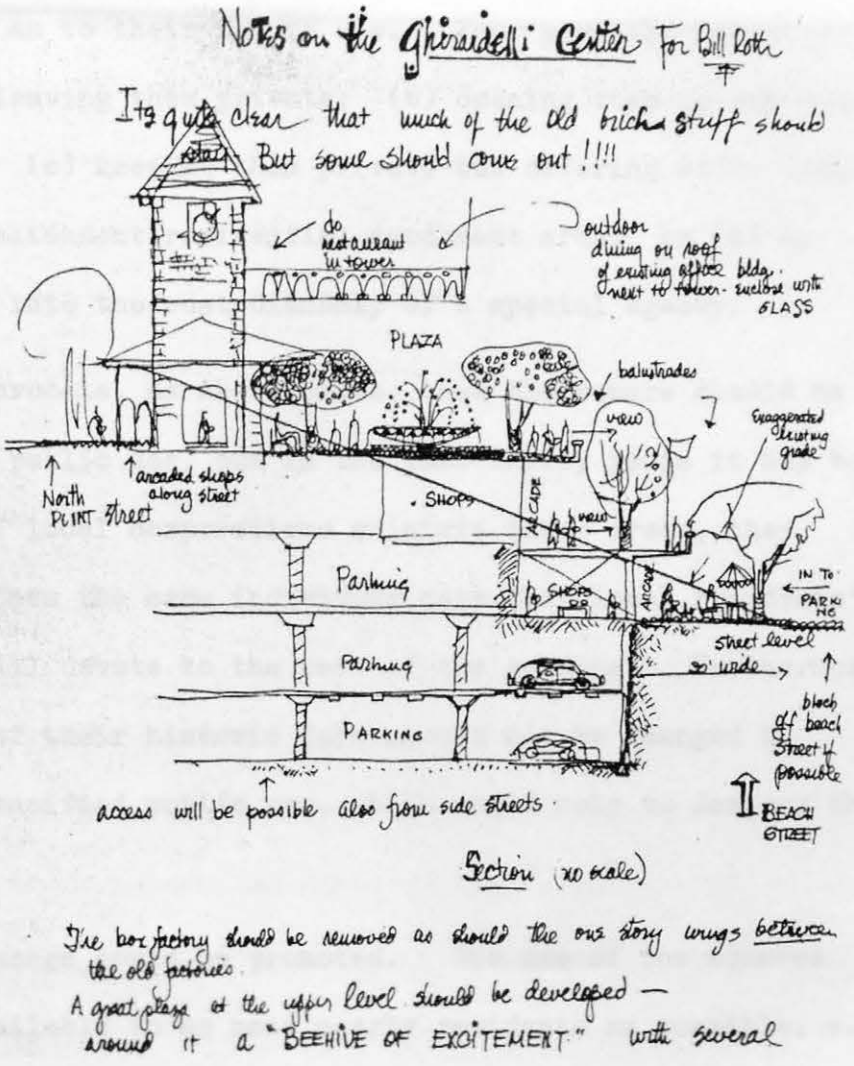


Fig. 8-1 LOCAL PARK BY LAWRENCE HALPRIN.

Source: Von Eckardt, Wolf, A Place to Live (New York: Delacorte Press, 1967).

specific areas for children's play, adults, and for kicking a ball. A square is easily accessible and generally located within a 400 yard radius of the residents it serves.

Private residential squares have attracted some comment in recent years as to their future use. Four possible policies include (a) leaving them private; (b) opening them up and making them public; (c) keeping them private but offering wider usage by a larger catchment residential catchment area; or (d) by putting them into the custodianship of a special agency.

Many advocate, as Abercrombie, that the square should be open to full public use, but in the last thirty years it has been shown that if local corporations maintain these areas, they cannot give them the same individual care that local residents' committees will devote to the care of the gardens. Furthermore the amenity of their historic form should not be changed by allowing intensified public use, which would help to destroy their use.

Wider usage could be promoted. The use of the squares should be available to as many nearby residents as possible; e.g. all residents within a half mile, without becoming public open spaces. It is far more satisfactory to lower the cost of the resident key money to make the squares available to more residents and yet maintain the individual local interest in the garden.

An alternative solution would be to treat the historic squares as a National Trust garden, open to the public only on certain days for certain times, i.e. four days a week, 2 - 5 pm.

This would limit the intensity of use and thus prevent destruction. On the other hand, they would then be open to the public, who, on the payment of a nominal fee per visit, could enjoy them, and the additional revenue would keep up the same standards.

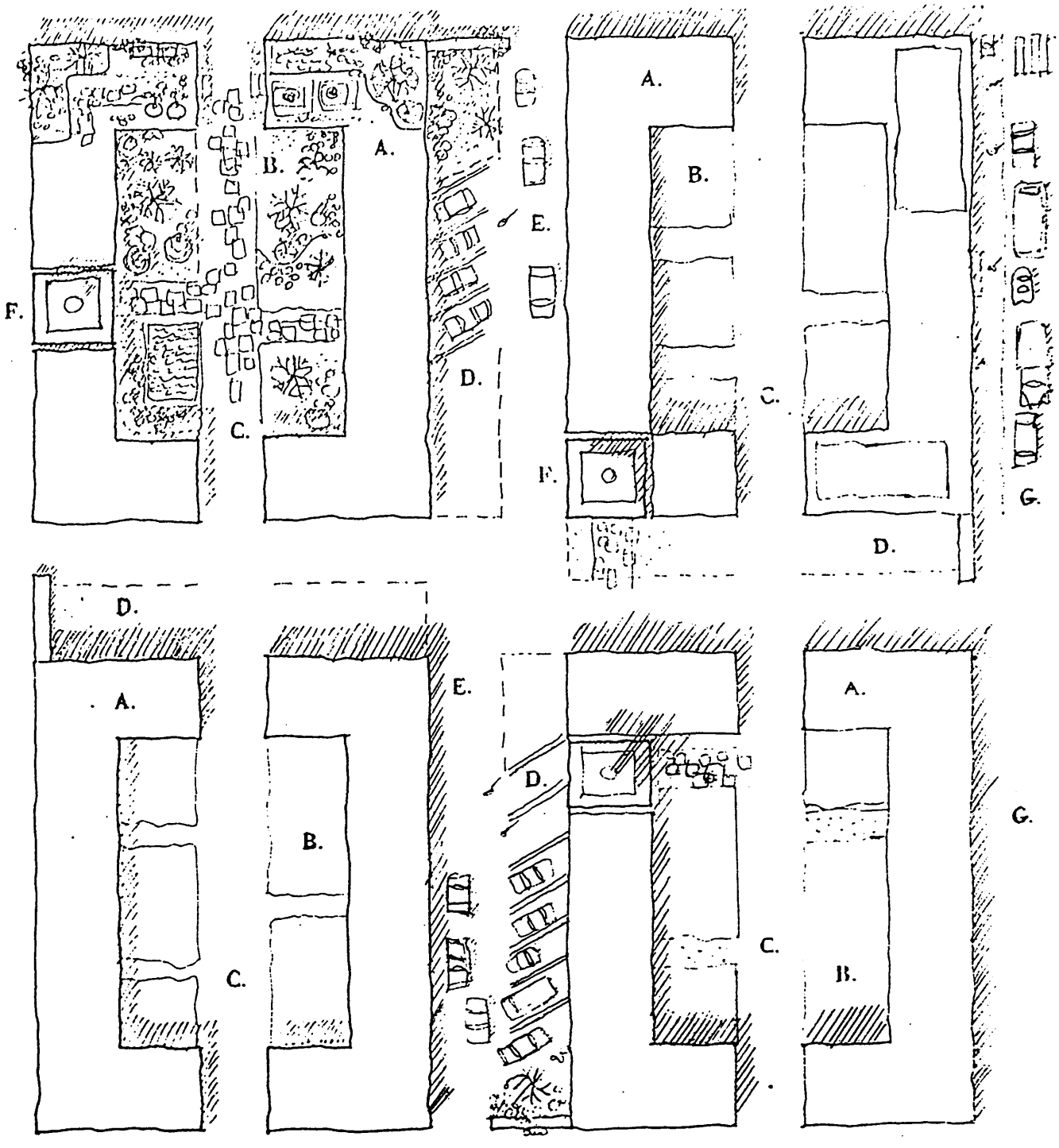
Such a scheme lessens any conflict between the public and private interest; accepts the public, yet preserves the design. Private householders could continue to buy their keys as before and use the gardens on a daily basis as their local open space. It is a sad feature that, with the high cost of urban open space, few new private neighbourhood squares have been created.

3. Super-Block Interiors

A new approach has been to amalgamate the disused or derelict portions of the interior of street blocks and turn them into communal open spaces rather than parking garages or open wasteland. The back walls between each of the gardens is removed, and the area created into new open space.

The interiors of the American super-block in the inner city suit this treatment. The interior streets of these blocks can be closed off to through traffic and only one way traffic allowed, so that the space that is saved can be converted into parks or commons, planted with grass and trees, flower and vegetable gardens, or a central square with playgrounds, pools and limited park areas and footways. (See Fig. 8 - 2). By consolidating the street one could still retain the same amount of space for traffic and the same space for parking. If necessary, parking

Urban Gardens Super-block Plan



A. Rehabilitated housing; roof gardens.

B. Yards become parks.

C. Alleys become walks.

D. Street divided and one-half walled; garden and limited parking.

E. One-half street for service and emergencies.

F. Limited demolition provides replacement housing, community facilities. and open space.

G. Double traffic capacity on surrounding streets. by prohibiting curbside parking. Parking goes underground or overhead.

Fig. 8-2. Source: Seymour, Whitney North (Ed. by), Small Urban Spaces: The Philosophy, Design, Sociology and Politics of Vest-Pocket Parks (New York University Press, 1969.

8.2 Society Hill Super Block Interior, Philadelphia (Wurman, Man-made Philadelphia, 1972)

can be forced underground if the population density is high enough to warrant the extra cost. The quality of the life of residents within these particular blocks would improve and the small areas of park space would help revitalise the neighbourhood.

Halprin's Plan suggested revitalising the super-block interiors of Washington, D.C., by converting the traditional extensive alleyways into local parks and playgrounds.[10] Service access was to be kept by the application of easements, and portions of the private space were proposed as community spaces with shade trees and even swimming pools. Unfortunately the Halprin Plan came to nought.

There are some successful examples in a few tenement areas in Glasgow where voluntary or paid neighbourhood work programmes, with city aid and maintenance, have created special open space areas within the interior of street blocks.[11]

4. Commons and Greens

Commons and greens have a traditional statutory position, and should be preserved as important historic legacies, and left as close to their original design status as possible. It is

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10. Smith, S., Captive Capital (Indiana University Press, Bloomington/London, 1974) p. 87-88

11. New Glasgow Society, Glasgow in the 70's (Vista, 22 Royal Crescent, Glasgow).

normally difficult to add new local space uses as adventure playgrounds or play centres as their specialized uses tend to destroy the original historical context of the space. Commons and greens are best left alone.

C. Churchyards and Burial Grounds

In Britain, disused burial grounds and churchyards have been available for public use since the 1909 Open Spaces Act, having been cleared of their tombstones and turned into children's play spaces or urban open spaces for the public. Previously there would be a long effort to trace the descendants' grave-holders. Partially because the churches themselves are often deserted by their congregations having moved to the suburbs, a recent Act of Parliament provides a simpler procedure, with the consequence that more churchyards are being converted for public open spaces, rest areas, lunch-time areas and amenity areas.[12]

The potential local open space which cemeteries represent is contained within the 25,000 acres of land in Great Britain occupied by cemeteries, increased by 500 acres each year. It is said that Liverpool, Manchester and other older cities have a larger population occupying cemeteries than their living population.[13]

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12. Aberdeen City Corporation, Parks and Recreation Committee, St. Nicholas Churchyard (February 1974)

13. Whitaker and Browne, Parks for People, (Seeley Service & Co., London, 1971) Chap. 10, pp. 108-109

8.3 Calvary Cemetery,
Queens New York
(Open Spaces in the
Inner City Exhibition).

Likewise in the United States half a million acres, increasing by several thousand a year, is covered by cemeteries, in and around urban areas. In the Queen's area of New York city, cemeteries form the bulk of the open space.

Cemeteries, and small burial grounds represent a relatively untapped resource for local open space.

D. The Small Local Park

1. Definitions of the Small Local Park

The little version of the Local Park has been called by the Greater London Council, the 'small Local Park' and is equivalent to the American small urban space, in size, being approximately 2 acres.[14] In character the small local park is similar to Abercrombie's concept of the small amenity open space, being mostly green, heavily treed and emphasizing passive activities.[15]

The pocket park is the American term for the easily accessible small urban park or small open space and is a shortened version of the original American term, 'vest pocket park', mostly used in the 1960's. The pocket park is normally less than 2 acres and very ofter

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14. See Glossary

15. Abercrombie, County of London Plan 1943, op. cit., p. 38

8.4 Small Local Park
Wiltshire Boulevard
(Landscape Architecture
July 1976).

less than one-quarter acre in size.

2. The Pocket Park

The pocket park uses vacant lots for recreation in heavily urbanised areas where urban open spaces are scarce. Sometimes it is a do-it-yourself park where the local residents are widely involved in the construction as well as the maintenance of the park. In other cases it is entirely a municipal creation or part of a housing estate. But since it is one of the most important trends in park design, this chapter will explain the pocket park more fully.

The pocket park can be considered as the adult counterpart of the child's adventure playground, whose concept is one of flexibility and adaptability suited to the local environment. In the same way pocket parks should express accessibility, adaptability and entirely local attitudes.

Because they are so much a part of the community, one of the adventages of the pocket park is that formal supervision by paid employees of the social services department is less necessary. Likewise, maintenance is reduced because they are small in size and on the normal route of the sanitary departments. They can be included in the normal maintenance of the residential neighbourhood.

Pocket parks can be attached to existing nursery schools,

kindergartens, and churches, providing dual use and a valuable asset to the community. In these instances, the supervision and maintenance are done by non-bureaucratic organisations such as the local school, church or community organisation. The problems of public liability, insurance and maintenance become simpler because the de facto owner and the persons who are responsible or semi-responsible are there and available, unlike the people responsible in the social services department, who can be remote and over-worked.

(a) Case Study: Pocket Parks in New York City

The Commissioners of the Park Association of New York City pioneered the idea of pocket parks in 1963 in an exhibit 'New Parks for New York', which presented imaginative ways to create parks on three vacant parking lots on 40th Street, 51st Street and 56th Street in the centre of Manhattan.[16] The exhibit stressed that the pocket park in the middle of the urban area could provide "a pool of space removed from the flow of traffic - even pedestrian traffic, an outdoor room, human in scale, enclosed, protected and sheltered from noise", and urged that one such pocket park be constructed in each square block in the middle of

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16. Cuncliffe, Mitzi, "Townscape; Pocket Parks", Journal of the Royal Town Planning Institute, Vol. 57, September 1971, pp. 351-355

New York City.[17]

In 1965, the Park Association of New York City completed the first three pocket parks on 128th Street, in the heart of Harlem, on sites occupied by a single building lot, 20 x 100 feet.[18] One pocket park was designed for use by teenagers, another for small children and the third by adults.

Then the New York City Housing Authority experimented with creating small parks and malls within housing estate areas, such as the East Harlem Plaza designed by Albert Mayer, with a social centre, bandstand and fountains.[19]

As finance became difficult, the New York City Housing Authority experimented with smaller spaces, such as in the Stephen Wise Towers project, a state aided development for 400 families. Here the architect, Richard Stein, and the sculptor, Constantino Nivola, designed an award-winning small park with a central mall running from 90th to 91st Streets between Columbus and Amsterdam Avenue.[20]

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17. Seymour, Whitney North, Jr. (Ed. by) Small Urban Spaces; The Philosophy, Design, Sociology and Politics of Vest-Pocket Parks (New York, New York University Press, 1969), p. 2.

18. Seymour, op. cit., p. 3.

19. Seymour, op. cit., pp. 30-31

20. Seymour, op. cit., p. 32.

Other experiments at 120th West 94th Street, utilised back yard space, normally the domain of ground floor tenants only, by making a pocket park for all the tenants in the building and the neighbours alike.

These experiments for pocket parks incorporated attractive children's play areas in their design. Where more imaginative projects were required for children's play parks, the Park Association of New York City Housing Authority, produced some experimental playgrounds, which more closely approach the concept of the adventure playground, with a forest of concrete slabs providing a labyrinth, fortresses, small bridges, and unfenced sculptural areas.

The Central Brooklyn Co-ordinating Council, a group of 34 community groups, organised a demonstration project showing how vacant lots in residential areas could be converted into sitting areas or tot-lot pocket parks. In the Bedford-Stuyvesant Area in New York City, 378 vacant lots were found. Many of them were city owned, filled with decaying refuse and junk that was a hazard to the health and safety of the children. In the same area there were also 346 abandoned buildings and 60 burnt out tenements, all of which were extremely dangerous but tempting to children, who used them as indoor playgrounds for lack of other recreation space.[21] The New York City Housing Authority leased three

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21. Cuncliffe, op. cit., pp. 351-355

back-to-back lots connecting Quincy Street and Lexington Avenue and, with the help of the City Planning Department at the Pratt Institute, worked out the design of three pocket parks, receiving $10,000 each from three private foundations. The work itself was done voluntarily by the neighbourhood residents, who cleared the land, built the equipment, and then the neighbourhood children carried off the junk, and painted abstract murals.

One of the best examples of the pocket park is Paley Pocket Park in New York City which was once a temporarily vacant lot in mid-town Manhattan. Here they planted 24 honey locust trees, provided tables and chairs but not benches, an unusual water wall and back drop on a 43 feet by 100 feet lot.[22] It has been a great success and is well appreciated by both the mid-Manhattan lunch hour residents and night time residents.

The pocket park idea was adopted by New York's then mayor, John D. Lindsay, and his Park Commissioner, Thomas Hoving, when they asked the New York State legislature to develop ninety-five million dollars worth of pocket parks and recreation areas in all the hard-pressed and congested parts of New York City, but the Republican State Legislature refused to help a democratic New

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22. Whyte, William H., "How to put Nature and Life in the Streets" - a Ten Point Program, House and Garden, Vol. 143, No. 5 (May 1973) pp. 124-125 and pp. 218-219.

See also: Cuncliffe, op. cit., pp. 351-355
Seymour, op. cit., pp.

8.5 Paley Park, New York (Newton, Design on the Land, 1971).

8.6 McGraw Hill Pedestrian Park, New York (Ferrabee, Design and Environment Project, 1976).

York City Council.[23]

(b) Case Study; The Philadelphia Pocket Park

Philadelphia has had a pocket park programme which is tailored to its own particular kinds of need, concentrating on the low income residential areas rather than on the city's central area.

In Philadelphia a large slum area to the north of the centre city had long been plagued with the problem of abandoned buildings and littered vacant lots. Until recently, if any of these properties came up in the sheriff sale, they were available only to private individuals who acquired them at a minimum bid of £100 and then would hold them vacant for long periods of time, during which time taxes would be unpaid and maintenance would be neglected, increasing thereby the number of littered vacant lots.

In 1961 the Land Utilization Section of the city's Department of Licences and Inspection received legal authority to bid at Sheriff sales to assemble parcels of land for use by various public agencies.[24] Operating as a mini-land bank, the Department was able to reduce acquisition costs because unwanted land was acquired cheaply, and because the land as a whole had no market value. The legally unprecedented feature of the land

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23. Seymour, op. cit.

24. Asner, Eve and Lathe, Roger "Bright, Clean and Fun - Philadelphia's Vest Pocket Parks", WFLN Philadelphia Guide, February 1968.

8.7 Small Local Park, Philadelphia

(Lady Allen, Planning for Play, 1974).

bank was a provision which allowed individuals and groups to lease the open land at no cost provided they had an open space use which was judged to be in the public interest. Individuals and organisations could lease at no cost and create do-it-yourself parks and playgrounds.

It is a curious fact that because of the mini-land bank, the pocket park programme developed in the Department of Licences and Inspection rather than in the Recreation Department itself, although the Recreation Department now administers the programme. Originally the Recreation Department thought that the demand for assistance in developing the vacant sites into pocket parks would be low. But self-help became impossible in the low income areas where people might have good intentions, but still lacked money and resources. The Recreation Department now provides staff, finance and resources to set up the small pocket parks.

In 1965 a private foundation expanded the pocket park programme and in 1966 a Federal Urban Beautification Grant of $100,000 from the Department of Housing and Urban Development provided for the construction of 60 pocket parks.[25]

At its best the pocket park should be a neighbourhood centre for community activity and a place to meet. Hence pocket parks have been developed in Philadelphia at the request of the

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25. Asner, op. cit.

8.9 Small Local Park, Philadelphia (WFLN, Philadelphia Guide, 1968).

neighbourhood. The residents participated in planning and construction and assumed total responsibility. A staff social worker met the residents and monitored the project, while the community provided volunteer helpers. The Philadelphia examples stressed the self-help aspect as an important part of the pocket park programme. The site selected by the neighbourhood group has to meet certain criteria of the park programme. For instance, if the block had too much vacant land, the Park Department could reject those sites where there would not be enough residents actually to carry out the maintenance and supervision of the park.

In the early days of the programme, parks were built with little money and considerable imagination, using waste timber and marble doorsteps. But it soon became evident that a certain amount of new materials were necessary to prevent the pocket parks becoming "junk" pocket parks, which would contribute one more shabby aspect to an already deteriorating neighbourhood. The Land Utilisation Department now generally builds masonry walls, supplies tubs for plants, play equipment and new material. The new material does provide solidarity and permanence which more than helps the rehabilitation aspect of the housing in the whole block.

The size of the pocket parks ranges from a single lot, 15 feet by 16 feet, to three or four lots together, to one which is even ten continuous lots. However, the typical pocket park is 2 - 4 lots in size, and is as creatively designed as possible to pack maximum usefulness into a very small space. They mostly serve the very young and the very old, but they also provide play space

8.8 Corner Park, North Philadelphia

(City of Philadelphia, 1974).

for older children, basketball courts, neighbourhood commons and occasionally some are partitioned off with areas for allotment gardens.

Pocket parks in the slum areas start with a ground base full of rubble, and have to cope with drought and polluted air. Consequently, there has been a rather high mortality rate of trees in the low income areas and plants and trees have not been successful.

In the use of colour in the pocket parks, the Land Utilisation Department has advocated a contrasting aesthetic to the environment. In those deteriorated areas of the inner city where the prevailing colour is dull grey, asphalt and weathered wood, the pocket parks use bright, new, clean colours. They have painted gable ends of buildings such as has been done in Glasgow, aided by the Scottish Arts Council.[26]

In the Philadelphia experience, fences are occasionally built, but the Land Utilisation Department have found that the only real defence against misuse and vandalism of the pocket parks is the involvement and the sense of proprietorship among the neighbours themselves, which acts as a policing force, as Jane Jacobs predicted.[27]

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26. Scottish Arts Council, Annual Reports 1976, 1977

27. Jacobs, Jane, The Death and Life of Great American Cities, (Random House, Inc. and Jonathan Cape Ltd., (London), 1961)

The Philadelphia programme has not provided pocket parks for the middle income areas. Because of its curious beginning, the pocket parks have come from abandoned lots which do not exist in middle income areas. Available land would be restricted because of the higher land acquisition costs in middle-income areas.[28] Yet the need for small local parks in middle income areas will become just as pressing if the densities increase and open space diminishes. The participation of residents for programming and upkeep will be important, not only to cut maintenance costs, but also for the social benefits.

(c) Case Study: Neighbourhood Commons, Washington, D.C.

A programme similar to the Philadelphia small parks, pocket park programme was that of the Neighbourhood Commons Association in Washington, D.C. from 1963 to 1967.[29] It was a four-fold collaboration between volunteer neighbourhood help, volunteer designers, local authority and private funds from private foundations. From the local authority, the District Commissioners, permission was obtained to use suitable public properties on a revocable permit basis, in a system similar to the British temporary licence procedure.

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28. Asner and Lathe, op. cit.

29. Stockard, James G., Designing Neighbourhood Commons (Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies 1726 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W. Washington 6 D.C.) 1964.

The purpose of the Neighbourhood Commons Association was "the building of enobling places of meeting, where young and old may gather to engage in the spontaneous celebration of public life", the definition of small parks of the leader, Professor Karl Linn.[30]

The procedure included:[31]

a) establishing a land bank of 30 vacant or possible public sites (after discussion with the District Commissioners).

b) establishing a list of possible supervising agencies, who were responsible for the recruiting of the volunteers and their direct supervision. The Neighbourhood Commons Association acted in the role of professional advising planning, organising and directing. The formal association between the parent Neighbourhood Commons Association and the Volunteer Agency was set out in an Agreement for Joint Venture.

c) establishment of a list of young volunteer design professionals, which included architects, landscape architects, town planners, engineers and others who worked on the individual projects.

d) establishment of a Design Review Committee which co-ordinated all the design work for the Commons and were necessarily

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30. Stockard, op. cit., p. 8

31. Stockard, op. cit., p. 9

Neighbourhood Commons
Washington D.C.

Fig. 8.5

Stockard, Designing Neighborhood Commons, (Washington Center, Wash. D.C.)

people who understood the philosophy of the Neighbourhood Common as well as being highly experienced in their professions.

e) then under the Manpower Development and Training Act (1962) sixty youths between the ages of 19 and 21 were trained as landscape technicians. Part of this training was a three month period training on the job by being employed on the small parks. Later contracts were signed between the Neithbourhood Commons Association and the U.S. Department of Labour providing for a fourteen month, $116,000 training programme as part of the President's Poverty Programme.

f) paid staff included an executive director, a professional director, a landscape architect for both the small parks and the training programme, and a director and one assistant for the small parks programme.

Four or five small parks were well done. (see **Fig. 8-3**), but eventually the Neighbourhood Commons Association became dormant for lack of funds to pay the executive staff and a consequent lack of orderly management. The main success of the case study lay with the four pronged collaboration between the local authority, the local volunteer help, the professional designers and the manpower training programme.

3. The Design of the Small Park / The Pocket Park

The design of the small local park contains components and

features similar to the local park, only on a smaller scale.[32] However, the design of a pocket park consists of particular features, many of which are detailed below:[33]

Factors to be considered in planning small parks / pocket parks

1. The walls are those of neighbouring buildings, which enclose and protect the pocket park, and can be covered with vines, or any kind of self-maintaining vegetation.

2. The floor of the pocket park has to be hard for walking, and to withstand the pressure of inner core residents. It does not need to be expensive, and can be common material like gravel, but it needs to have variety to create interest.

3. The ceiling of the pocket park in the hotter latitudes of American cities can be a canopy of trees, creating cool shade which is needed in the inner urban areas of the cities of the United States, although it is not such a necessary requirement in Britain.

4. The furniture of the pocket park should include certain basic elements. The American examples use individual seating to replace the traditional bench. This partially helps prevent people from sleeping on the site and cuts down the number of loiterers, but it is also more adaptable for older people. A minimum number of seats should be

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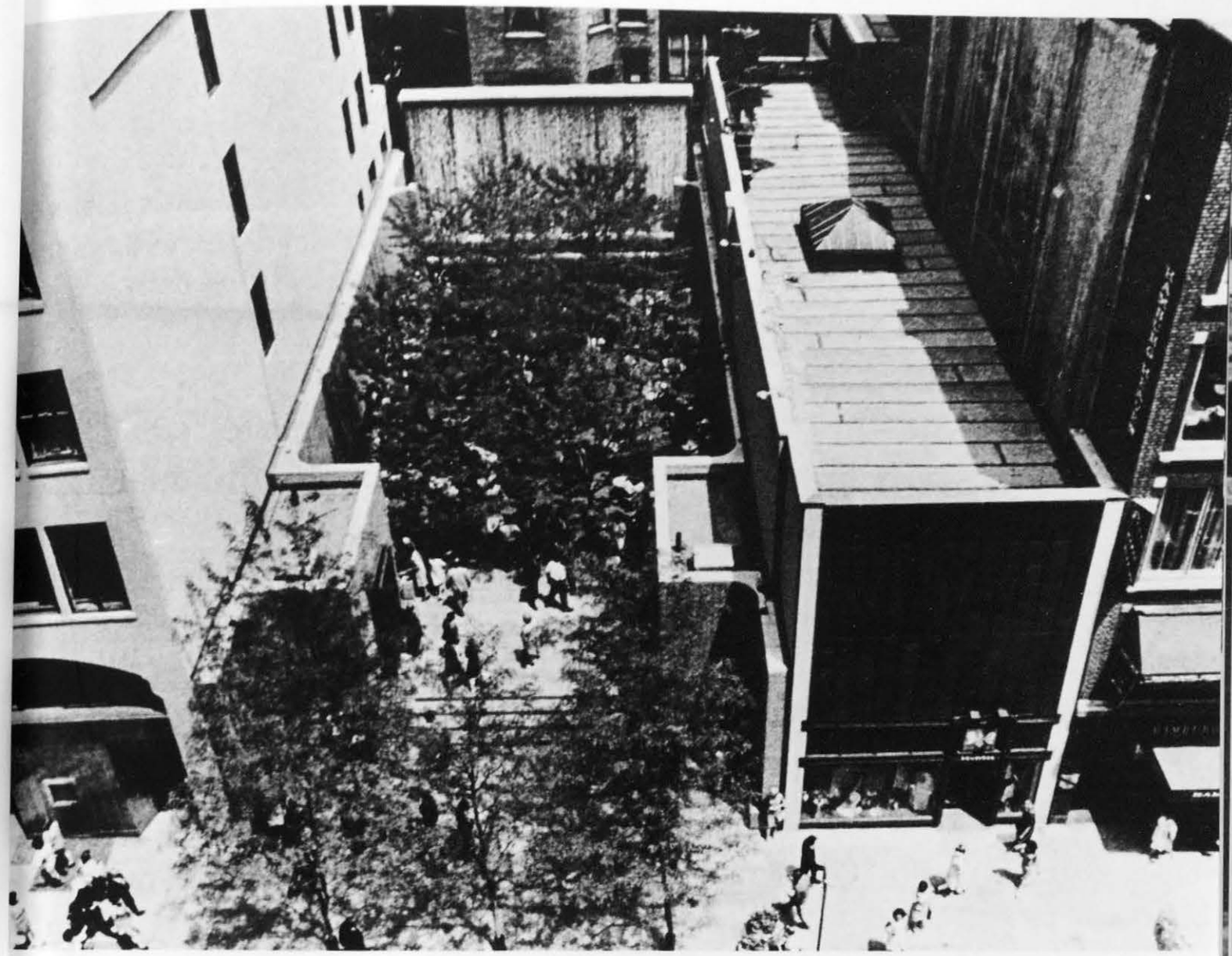
32. See pages 8-7 to 8-10

33. Cuncliffe, op. cit., p. 355
See also - A check list for Pocket Parks (Greenpark Foundation)

8.10 Paley Park, New York (Newton, Design on the Land, 1976).



8.11 St. Paul's, Clapham, London.
(Bourne, Parks for People, 1971).

existing trees continued out into square
cars removed and paved square formed

accommodated against the wall.

5. Water in the hotter American cities is an important source of relief. Although water is not required for environmental relief in Britain, a waterfall or a fountain are particularly good as focal points, since falling water attracts attention and drowns city noise.

6. Plants should be provided, such as trees for amenity, occasional tubs of bright flowers, non-maintenance ground covers and materials which withstand hard pressure.

7. The American experiences point out that the pocket park should have some enclosure so that it is set off from the street as a separate area. Indeed it helps if the park is on a different elevation from the street. If there needs to be some control of the park then it can be closed after dark if necessary. In some cases a turnstile is used and operated with tokens as for the underground, or with nominal coins which would help to defray the neighbourhood expenses of the pocket park and also, more importantly, keep out loiterers at night.

8. Kiosks have sometimes been included, including vending machines. Whether these work or not depends on the attitudes and habits of the different neighbourhoods themselves, as they sometimes create trouble. Facilities for quiet games such as horse-shoe pitching, darts, chess and so forth, can also be provided.

8.12 Citicorp Center, New York
(Ferrabee, Design + Environment Projects, 1976).

9. The help of a good local gardener and the advice of a good landscape architect are both essential.

E. Children's Facilities

1. Playgrounds and Their Design

That playgrounds are one of the most important local open space required in central areas has been shown conclusively in all the studies.[34]

The greatest recommendation that one can offer for the inner core is to provide facilities for children's play.

There has been a steady improvement in the standards recommended for playgrounds. Now the Department of the Environment recommends 1 acre per thousand population as a minimum standard for playgrounds (see **Table** 8-1)[35]. The DOE standards require orthodox equipment for areas for children under seven years; a more imaginative play area for the 7 - 14 year olds and a kick-about area for teenagers.

The London Boroughs agree that all council housing schemes should adopt the DOE minimum standards for playgrounds and provide areas for free play and specialised play and specialised play events

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34. See Greater London Council Surveys, Liverpool, etc.

35. Department of the Environment, Circular 79/72, Children's Playspace, 8 August 1972.

TABLE 8-1

Size of scheme	10-19 child bedspaces	20-49 child bedspaces	50-99 child bedspaces	100 or more child bedspaces
SPACE	At least 1 play area of 30 sq. metres minimum.	At least 1 play area of 50 sq. metres minimum	At least 1 play area of 100 sq. metres minimum	At least 1 play area of 150 sq. metres minimum
EQUIPMENT	At least 1 piece of equipment from the list in paragraph 5 of this Appendix	1. At least 1 piece of equipment from the list in paragraph 5 of this Appendix for every complete 50 sq. metres of provision. 2. Each separate play area must have at least 1 piece of equipment from the list.	1. At least 2 pieces of equipment from the list in paragraph 5 of this Appendix on the area of 100 sq. metres and in addition a minimum of 1 piece of equipment from the list for next complete 50 sq. metres and every following complete 100 sq. metres of provision. 2. Each separate play area must have at least 1 piece of equipment from the list.	1. At least 3 pieces of equipment from the list in paragraph 5 of this Appendix on the area of 150 sq. metres and in addition a minimum of 1 piece of equipment for next complete 50 sq. metres and every following complete 100 sq. metres of provision. 2. Each separate play area must have at least 1 piece of equipment from the list unless 1 area is a rectangular ball games area with surfacing and goal posts in a high enclosure. 1 piece of equipment may be deducted from the required number for the first 50 sq. metres and every following 100 sq. metres of ball games area.

Source: Department of the Environment, Circular 79/72, Children's Playspace, 8 August 1972.

and that all areas should have a play organiser. Most of the London Boroughs emphasise that provision for play is far too important to be tacked on as an afterthought to already completed designs. Indeed, in Southwark, where the playground facilities are deficient, it is only on the very recent estates that the play provision on housing estates has been anywhere near DOE standard.[36]

Most Boroughs suffer from maldistribution of play areas and playgrounds, and exhibit four main difficulties.[37]

1. Many of the play areas are too formal.

2. The restrictions of use to children of only certain housing estates seems unnecessary.

3. The siting of playgrounds has sometimes caused disturbance to other users.

4. There are insufficient play areas provided, particularly in view of the lack of gardens in many of the areas.

The deficiencies of play space can be noticed at three levels:-

1. In the local and district parks where play facilities are

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36. Southwark London Borough, Department of Architecture and Planning, Recreation in Southwark, Open Space Study (Southwark Council, January 1971).

37. Brent London Borough: Community Facilities Working Party, Playgrounds in Brent - Interim Report.

8.13

Playgrounds,

Britain.

either totally lacking or substandard.

2. In residential areas which are inaccessible to existing play provision. Accessibility to the residential area is more important than facilities or size. Children should be within 400 m. of a playground, and located only on minor streets. Small tot-lots need to be located even closer to housing areas.

3. In the under-provision of adventure playgrounds.

Some of the worst features of existing playgrounds are the failure to separate different age groups into different geographical areas, lack of imaginative features, lack of places to sit. Playgrounds need to be part of a local open space which has other functions.

Standards of playgrounds in the United States are shown in the following table:[38]

Playground Standards in the United States

Table 8-2

Classification	Size Range	Population Served
Playlot (equivalent to playground)	2,500 sq.ft. to 1 acre	500 - 2,500 people in a sub-neighbourhood
Pocket Parks (equivalent to small local park)	2,500 sq. ft. to 1 acre	500 - 2,500 people in a sub-neighbourhood

38. National Recreation and Park Association, National Park Recreation and Open Space Standards, (Washington D.C. 1971)

8.14 Buchanan Street Park
Playground
San Francisco
(Landscape Architecture,
March 1976).

American standards suggest an average provision of 1.25 acres per thousand population. However, ordinary playgrounds do not seem to satisfy children. Children want an environment that is stimulating and alive. Jane Jacobs' message was that a fully alive neighbourhood with a fully alive playground is self-policing.[39] In the United States normal playgrounds do not correct the increase in vandalism.[40]

E.2. Adventure Playgrounds and Their Design

The most exciting new attempt to answer the playground problem was the creation of the adventure playground. The first adventure playground was opened in Denmark in 1943 during the German occupation by Professor G. D. Sorenson who had been impressed that children preferred messing in junkyards and the bombed-out building sites, developing their brand of play with the waste objects they found there, rather than playing in the playground.[41] Lady Allen of Hurtwood brought the adventure playground programme to Britain.

The spirit of the adventure playground is to let children get on with those things which they want to do. In any

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39. Jacobs, Jane, op. cit.

40. Ward, Colin, Vandalism (Architectural Press 1973)

41. Allen of Hurtwood, Lady, New Playgrounds (Housing Centre Trust, London, 1964), p. 9

8.15 Adventure Playground, North London. (Lady Allen, Planning for Play, 1974).

adventure playground children can build houses, have bonfires in the open, dig holes in the garden or just muck about with earth and water, sand and clay. The area and materials are left for children to fashion as their imaginations lead them.

The adventure playground needs a hut which ideally should have lavatories, storage space, be well lighted and heated. The playground can vary in size, but less than a quarter of an acre is too small and anything more than an acre and a half is too difficult for supervision and maintenance. The Danish Adventure Playground Association recommends a 4,000 to 6,000 square metres adventure playground for every one thousand residential units;[42] the Department of the Environment suggests 4,000 square metres per thousand residential units.[43]

The successful adventure playgrounds have an understanding leader, mature and apparently exerting minimum authority, and yet acting as a leader.[44]

Sometimes adventure playgrounds have been started and run by groups of parents and others who are drawn from the neighbourhood. Nevertheless, it is thought that even if the adventure playground can be looked after by volunteer mothers, the presence

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42. Bengtsson, Arvid, Adventure Playgrounds, (Crosby Lockwood 1972)

43. Bengtsson, op. cit.

44. Allen, op. cit., p. 10.

of an employed play leader is essential. Most London Boroughs now recommend that each adventure playground be staffed and run by at least two full-time paid staff with the help of local residents and children.[45]

The London County Council adopted adventure playgrounds in 1959 for children aged 5 - 16.[46] Birmingham Council has successfully created adventure playgrounds, as has Liverpool Council.[47] Hammersmith, London has been more imaginative in the design of children's adventure playgrounds.[48] For instance, they provided a children's workshop in a converted electricity sub station. Camden Square has two container vans side by side for indoor activities, and another adventure playground is based in a derelict warehouse.

In the United States, McCalls Magazine promoted the first adventure playground in Minneapolis as its contribution to the mid-century White House Conference on Children.[49]

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45. Brent, op. cit.

46. Allen, op. cit., p. 38

47. Liverpool, op. cit.

48. Hammersmith, London Borough: Working Party, Children's Play Facilities, 1973.

49. Bengtsson, op. cit.

The adventure playground fits the pocket-park concept which uses vacant lots for recreation when open spaces are scarce. Many London Boroughs have decided adventure playgrounds should take priority in play provision, mainly because they are extremely flexible and can cater for the needs of different children from outdoor to quieter indoor activities.[50] Their first priority is to provide for adventure playgrounds and temporary playgrounds before providing for permanent playground schemes.

The major argument against the adventure playground has been their untidiness, but it is possible to hide this from the rest of the neighbourhood. There is also a fear of accidents because the climbing erections made by the children even though they are tested by the leader, can appear to be rickety and dangerous. However, it was claimed by Lady Allen that in the first ten years of experiment in Britain there was nothing more serious than cuts and bruises and no parent claimed against a local authority.[51] In contrast, many fatal accidents have occurred in playgrounds.

The majority of adventure playgrounds in Britain are on waste land awaiting development and have been held on short leases varying from five to ten years. Some have not been successful and have not lasted until the end of the lease.

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50. Brent London Borough: Play in Brent, ed. Anne Sharp

51. Allen, Lady, of Hurtwood, Planning for Play (Thames and Hudson, 1968), p.23

Adventure playgrounds are excellent for two reasons as they require a comparatively small area of land and are an inexpensive way for a District Council to make provisions for the play needs of a large number of children. Secondly, because the adventure playgrounds include permanent staffing they meet some of the social needs of the more deprived youngsters in the inner urban areas.

E.3. Play Parks

A slight variation on the adventure playground is the play park, for children aged 5 to 15 years. About two acres in extent, and divided into different compartments with low wooden fences, the play parks are very often placed as near as possible to existing playgrounds with fixed equipment, paddling pools and public lavatories. Within the play park there is one area for drawing, modelling, table tennis, chess, drafts and a small adventure playground with areas for building huts, and developing elaborate swinging games and rough activities.[52] There can be other areas for team games or areas for smaller children where they can play without being hindered by the older children.

The play park more closely typifies the multi-purpose approach than either the playground or the adventure playground. Initiated by the London County Council in 1959 the play parks

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52. Allen, Lady, of Hurtwood, Planning for Play, op.cit., pp. 85-105.

8.16

Play Park
(Lady Allen, Planning for Play, 1974).

attract a large number of children that would otherwise have remained outside the parks. The children enjoy being able to pass from one kind of play to another; from organised games to free activities, from playing on fixed equipment to someone sitting under the trees with a book. It is perhaps the freedom of choice that is the most important contribution made by play parks.

Both the adventure playground and the play park get over the boredom created by the asphalt covered municipal playground containing mechanical equipment. Public playgrounds have always prevented the boisterous activities of team sports and most municipal open spaces are geared to ease the upkeep of the grounds, lessen the accidents and prevent noise. The antiseptic approach kills the concept of play, which the play park and the adventure playground overcome by allowing a more stimulating experience.

E.4. Play Streets

Variations on the playground and play park concept have developed in recent years as local authorities have searched for new methods of providing local open space for children. These new areas include play streets, play decks, play barns, play lots and play centres.[53]

Many British and U.S. local authorities have traditionally closed off streets for play at stated times so that the older

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53. See Glossary

children can have volleyball, basketball and general ball games. But more frequently local authorities have stopped authorising play streets on the basis of the danger to children and the noise. Liverpool City Council considers playstreets too dangerous,[54] while Westminster Council has indicated that play streets for older children are not always successful because of complaints of noise and disturbance from the residents.[55]

However, Westminster Council consider that play space for toddlers might be created at the ends of the street where there are windows opening onto the streets. This variation of the play street is also known as the "play-node".[56] In the United States play-nodes are created in the street by widening the pavements in front of fire hydrants providing a protected play area for hot weather street play (see **Fig.8-4/5**). Alternatively, by widening the pavement at intersections in the middle of a block where parking is prohibited, one can create small play areas which are safe and are not expensive. Mobile or pre-fabricated playgrounds could be transported to a play street or a play-node and set up very quickly.

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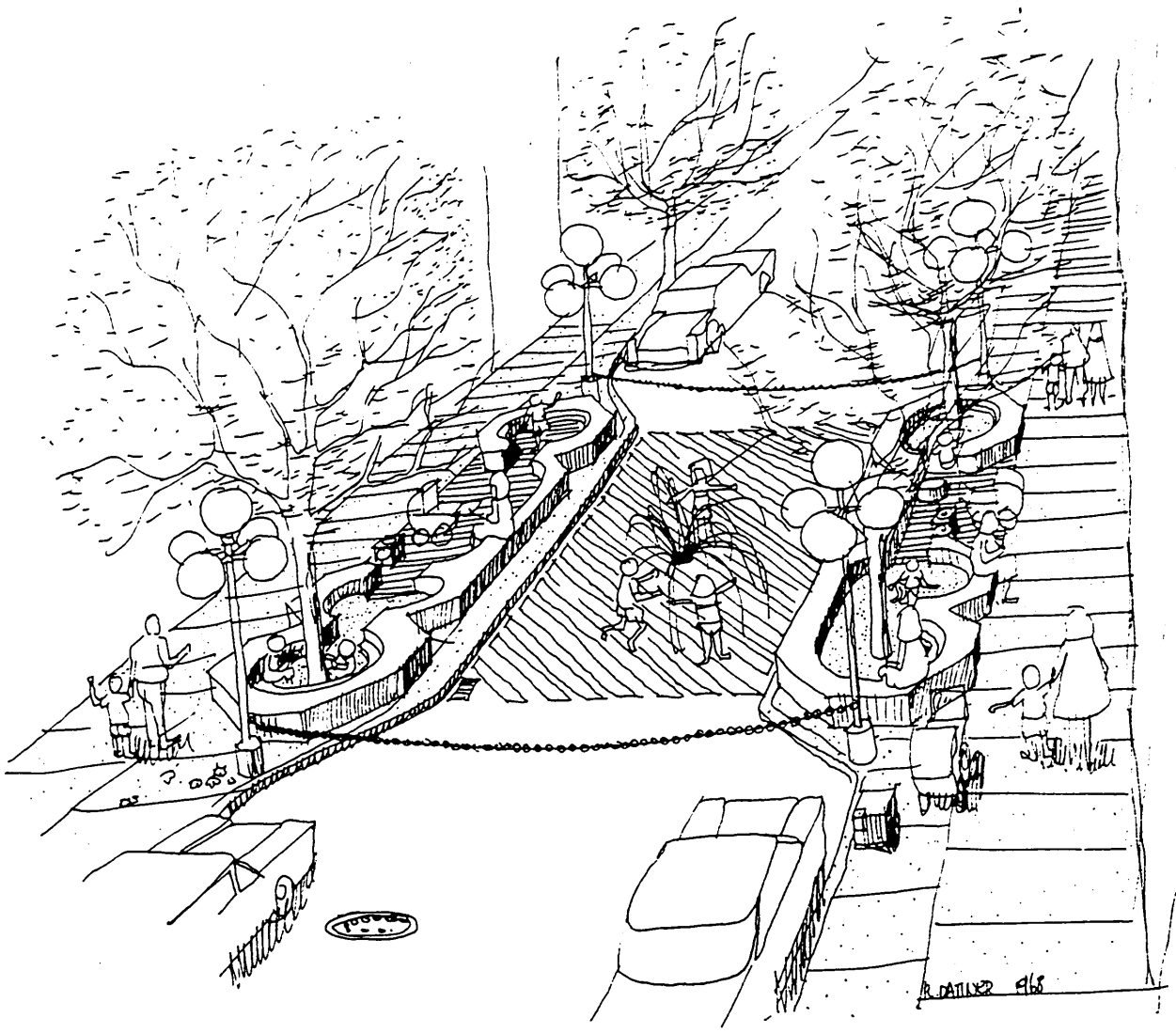
54. Liverpool City Council: Evans, E.S.P., Play in the Inner Areas of Liverpool. (Liverpool, 1975)

55. Westminster, City of, Leisure in Westminster, (1974)

56. Dattner, op. cit.



In warm weather, the area might be chained off and through traffic eliminated; vehicles could make U-turns in the space on either side of the play area. The water spray in the street (see sketch) is connected to the fire hydrants, which have been redesigned in a cube shape so that children can sit on them. The parking meters too are cube-shaped, thus providing the seating so lacking in American cities (but, unlike the standard park benches, not providing a place to sleep). New lighting fixtures also make the play nodes pleasant places for adults to sit on warm evenings.

Play-Node, New York City

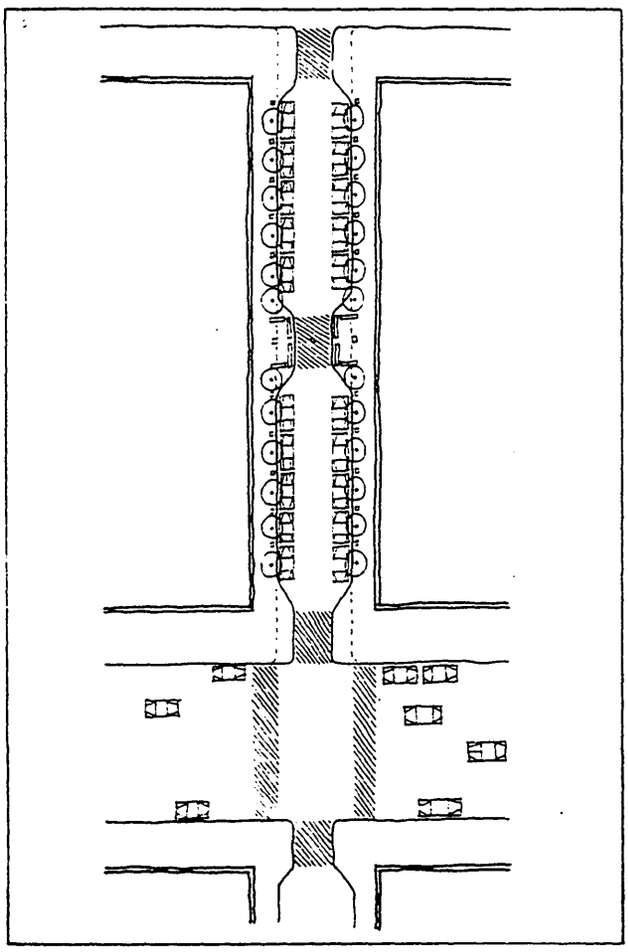
Fig. 8-4

Source: Dattner, Richard, Design for Play, (New York: Van Nostrand-Reinhold Company, 1969).

Play-Node Proposal: New York City
Richard Dattner, Architect

A proposal for utilizing sidewalk and street space that is usually wasted to create small "play nodes" in residential areas. The sidewalks are widened at intersections and at fire hydrants in the middle of the block, where parking is prohibited. The paving between the curbs is painted in bright stripes to alert motorists. This kind of play area serves a number of functions, does not require buying costly land, is indestructible and safe, and is inexpensive enough to be built on almost every block in a city.

Low concrete benches form a protected area, shaded by trees, where mothers can sit while the children play. (The benches should be high enough to prevent infants from climbing over.) Sand is used within the areas ringed by benches, brick in the space between them.



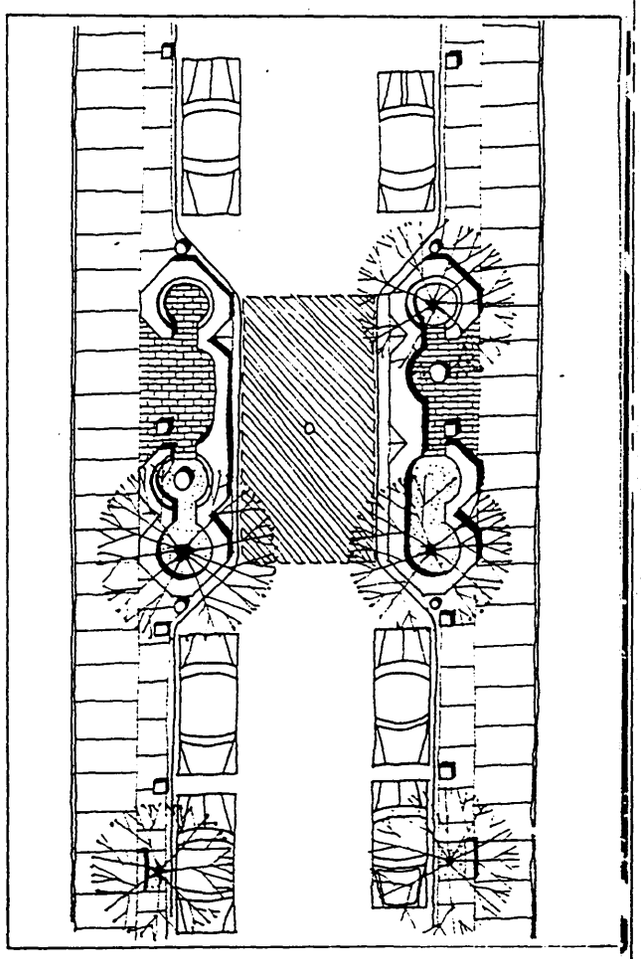


Fig. 8-5

Source: Dattner, Richard, Design for Play, (New York: Van Nostrand-Reinhold Company, 1969).

F. Teenage Facilities

1. Playing Fields, Recreation Areas, Recreation Grounds

All the traditional forms of sports ground will continue to be used and needed as local open space but the need to be innovative will force the dual use of playing fields and recreative grounds. Continually hard pressed Boroughs emphasize the dual use of equipment and dual use of educational space.

School sites are often unused or underused in the evening, week-ends and during the holidays and to many it seems unfortunate that children should have to play in the street during these times. There are problems of management and maintenance, but these could be overcome to provide open space for some age groups, although school sites cannot possibly cater to particular members of the population, such as the elderly.

Kensington Council suggests that Inner London education authority sites such as libraries, museums and schools, could be used more fully to serve recreation needs and that the existing facilities could be more publicised, that there should be a greater multiple use than before, and that existing organisations, such as the Arts Councils and the Sports Councils, should become interested in the field of recreation to interrelate and exploit the facilities already available in the borough.[57]

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57. Kensington and Chelsea, op. cit.

They also suggest greater indoor provision, such as halls, school rooms and community rooms, be planned for recreational activities, incorporating hobby rooms, playgroup facilities, badminton and squash courts.

2. Play Centres and Play Barns

A play centre is a small indoor recreation centre on a small scale providing sports and games facilities protected from the weather, supervised by trained attendants.[58] Westminster and Haringey Borough Councils consider that indoor recreation centres could be an efficient use of land and be adapted for a number of different uses.[59] Their indoor recreation centres are small neighbourhood sports halls which would be rather barn-like premisés of 120 feet by 60 feet by 30 feet, catering for most popular indoor sports, with two or three small meeting rooms for refreshment and changing accommodation. Buildings could provide for both active and passive recreation and several types of activities because fashion changes so quickly.

Glasgow Corporation initiated the concept of "play-barns", taking unused warehouses, or other barn-like

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58. Edinburgh Town Planning Department, Open Space Plan for Edinburgh, (Edinburgh 1969) Chap. 2 p. 43.

59. Westminster, City of Westminster Development Plan, Leisure in Westminster (December 1974)
Haringey, Recreational Services: 'Recreational Services' 1973

structures, and converting them into indoor play centres, with central heating and voluntary leadership. Inexpensive and utilizing vacant buildings, on much the same principle as pocket parks utilize vacant lots, the play-barn is a successful addition to the concepts of play space.[60]

Urban Open Spaces

If green parks and small open spaces are not obtainable for the inner core resident, then urban pedestrian open spaces can satisfy the demand for local open space. Since almost as many activities can occur in an urban pedestrian space as in an urban park or pocket park, it is important to consider their amenity and psychological value for the inner area dweller.

The 'urban open space' is a term applying to pedestrian open spaces in the inner city, generally of a hard landscape material. Urban pedestrian open spaces are an alternative to the green open space. For instance, in Manhattan, New York, to fulfil the National Recreation Standard of 10 acres per thousand population would require more land than there is in the whole borough. If a local authority cannot supply that acreage with urban parks,

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60. Glasgow Corporation and Strathclyde Regional Council, Department of Leisure and Recreation: Discussions with the Director, Mr. Sydney Oldham.

8.17 Heritage Square,
Wichita, Kansas
(Landscape Architecture,
July, 1979).

then urban pedestrian spaces can be an alternative solution.

Urban open spaces occur as a result of a process in which many interacting forces take place over a long period of time. Urban pedestrian spaces are very much the result of social, cultural and economic conditions.

Any treatment of urban open space has to collate the historical processes which have gone to create it. The urban designer builds upon these historical processes and on the way in which people interact within the space to achieve the formal and spatial quality of the space. The pedestrian open space cannot be created in a mental vacuum.

The growing number of types of urban pedestrian open spaces include public spaces, pedestrian spaces, pedestrian streets, malls, precincts and greenways. These generally describe different sizes and construction of spaces, but in every case pedestrianisation separates the foot traffic from the wheel traffic and the spaces themselves exhibit the social, functional, economic and cultural activities which occur around them.

A. Public Spaces and Building Plazas

In the County of London Plan 1943, Abercrombie suggested that when office buildings were built there should be pedestrianised space, either in the form of courtyards or open spaces around the buildings, not only giving the office workers more light and air, but also giving them some place to enjoy their lunch hours.

8.18 Sunken Plaza, General Motors Building, Fifth Avenue, New York City (Breines, The Pedestrian Revolution, 1974).

He suggested a standard of about one acre of pedestrianised space per 10,000 day-time population.[61]

In Britain no distinction is made between a public space as a public square and a building plaza, whereas in the United States a public space is equivalent to the public square but a building plaza is a pedestrian area on private property accessible to the public at all times and open to the sky within a building. Abercrombie's suggestion implied a building plaza.

New York provided some early examples of building plazas designed in the contemporary idiom, as, for example, the Seagram office building plaza. There, as a part of bonus zoning, the Seagram Company donated to public use what has become one of the best-known modern small urban pedestrian spaces. Not only do people continually come to the Seagram plaza for lunch, but the beauty of the design by Miss Van der Rohe, encourages most people to be conscientious about keeping the plaza clean.[62]

Elsewhere in New York are other building plazas, but, as William Whyte points out, they are not always designed for people.[63] Madison Avenue contains many office plazas, designed as wide open spaces, with fountains and shrubbery, but no seats. The lack of

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61. Abercrombie and Forshaw, County of London Plan 1943, p. 46.

62. Frausto, Robert, 'In Search of a Seat', Ekistics, Vol. 37, Feb. 1974, pp. 126-128.

63. Frausto, op. cit., pp. 126-128.

benches makes the plazas almost useless to the pedestrian, but Whyte suggests this attitude is purposeful as many building owners think city pedestrians are loiterers and not citizens.

A well-known building plaza in Chicago is that of the First National Bank, where each of the three levels of the plaza are designed for people.[64] On the street level are rows of trees and low walls where people relax and watch the activity below. On the lowest level is a fountain with water displays and sculpture and plenty of seating area for people to rest by the fountain.

Also in Chicago is the Pioneer Court of the Equitable Insurance Company building where paved landscaped space is provided with benches and greenery, and a fountain within which one can sit.

In Britain some office block owners were persuaded by planning authorities to create public spaces or courts in exchange for planning or building benefits, during the office boom in the fifties and sixties. Even so, not enough office developers created spaces, nor were they of a high enough standard.

For example, one of the best office complexes designed in the sixties was the Economist Building Group in London by Alison and Peter Smithson. But the public space is notable for its lack of landscape thought, benches, water, and street furniture. The Economist Building public space is not an outdoor area, but mostly

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64. Frausto, op. cit., pp. 126-128

8.19 First National Bank of Chicago Plaza, Chicago, Illinois
(Ferrabee, Design and Environment Projects, 1976).

an outdoor corridor. In this respect it is no different from many office public spaces in London.

It appears to be easier for British planning authorities to create a fully publicly owned pedestrian space surrounded by many buildings than to ask a single building owner to donate a building space for public use in return for planning benefits.

The building plaza, although one of the smallest of local open spaces, works well as a lunch-time amenity area. One of the pleasant aspects of living or working in the inner city is to get outside during the lunch hour in the warm months, so that one can walk, sit or laze about in the sun. There are far too few of these kinds of lunch hour amenity areas.

B. The Pedestrian Space

The traditional pedestrian space, - the piazzas of Rome, the places of Paris, the precincts of London and Bath, are small, often less than one half acre, even down to a tenth of one acre.[65] They are normally hard surfaces, and the surrounding sites have been there for generations.

The design of the traditional pedestrian space is the result of the inter-relationship of space, volume, lines, proportions, dimensions, subjective scale, texture, colour, movement and

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65. Zucker, Paul, Town and Square, (Columbia University Press, New York, 1959).

, 8.20 Abbey Square, Bath.
(RTPI, Streets Ahead,
1979).

rhythm. It reflects the social, cultural and economic conditions which led to its form. These conditions and their forms create the beauty and the special spatial qualities for which the spaces are known. The qualities are both explicable and inexplicable, perceived in the eye of the beholder.

An urban pedestrian open space is not pedestrian unless one can walk about it, around it and to it. The urbane character of urban pedestrian open spaces tends to mainly hard surfaces, bricks, cobbles and concrete, while small urban parks tend to mainly soft surfaces - grass, shrubs and dirt. Although both urban pedestrian open spaces and urban parks are only a couple of acres in size down to one half acre, it is their materials, as much as their functions, which distinguish them.

In the last twenty years pedestrian spaces have been mostly created under special circumstances for special groups of buildings. For example, Pater Noster Square at right angles to St. Paul's Cathedral was designed by Lord Holford over a long period of time for the special group of buildings, including St. Paul's Cathedral.[66] A more recent notable example is the excellent square created in front of Westminster Cathedral adjoining Victoria Street, London.[67]

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66. Gibberd, Frederick, Town Design, (Architectural Press, 1962)

67. Architectural Review, Vol. CLlll. Number 911, January 1973

8.21 Paternoster Square,
St. Paul's, London
(The Syntax of Cities,
1977).

C. The Pedestrian Street

1. Pedestrian Street Systems

In many cases the urban pedestrianised open space cannot be found. It is very often not possible in the heavily built up areas to finance a non-street space developed as a pedestrian open space. Therefore the street can offer itself as the one possible open space. Many cities and medium-sized towns have turned to this method of providing pedestrianised open space in the centre.[68] Far from being a poor answer, in many cases it can be a perfectly reasonable answer. It is urban, protected, and completely bound up with urban activities and buildings. The architect creates the buildings deliberately, but he will seldom give as much attention to the design of the street. The public have been unable to accept the street as a pedestrianised area for the rather out dated legal and economic concepts of a publicly owned street bordered by rows of individual buildings which ignore the shared uses that people like to enjoy with their neighbours and families.

Local open space at the scale of the streets is the most familiar form of open space. It has always been there where the city dweller lives and has always been a part of

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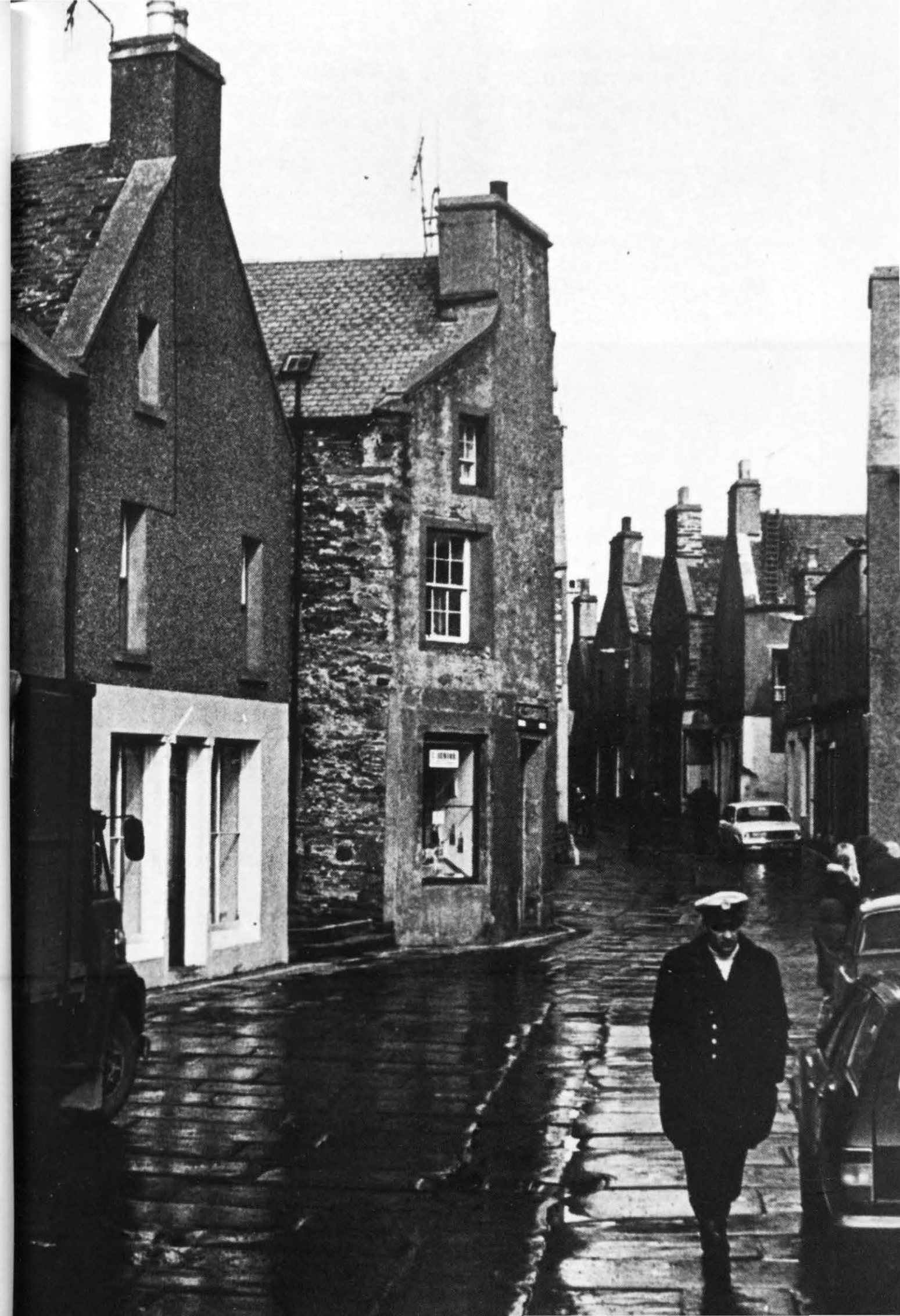
68. Greater London Council, Pedestrianised Streets, G.L.C. Study Tour of Europe and America, (Department of Planning and Transport (London 1973))

8.22 Pedestrian Street, Stromness, Orkney (Mackay, Letters from Hamnavoe, 1975).



city life. Local Street space is almost totally man-made, both in its quantity and its design. Therefore, the street, and particularly the residential street, should be designed from the beginning as the local open space primarily and as a traffic artery secondarily.[69]

In theory, public opinion is in favour of pedestrian streets. In practice, the people who live along the pedestrian streets, or, more importantly, the shop owners situated along the proposed pedestrian street, find reasons for not excluding traffic or for not compromising between some traffic and some pedestrians. For instance, the traders in Bond Street, London, thought they would suffer from loss of the 'carriage trade', although the quality shops along the Kalverstrat in Amsterdam have increased their custom with pedestrianisation.[70] It has been shown that shoppers making luxury purchases spend more time and money if they are not upset by car noise, pinned on to narrow pavements or prevented from wandering around from one side of the street to another.

London Street, Norwich, was one of the earliest pedestrian streets in Britain. Laid out by the Civic Trust in 1967, the first scheme in Norwich has been such a

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69. Tankel, S.B., "The Importance of Open Space in the Urban Pattern", Ed. Wingo, Cities and Space, (John Hopkins University Press, 1963)

70. G.L.C., op. cit.

8.23 London Street, Norwich, England
(Cherry, Urban Change and Planning, 1972).

OMEGA
Quality Shoes

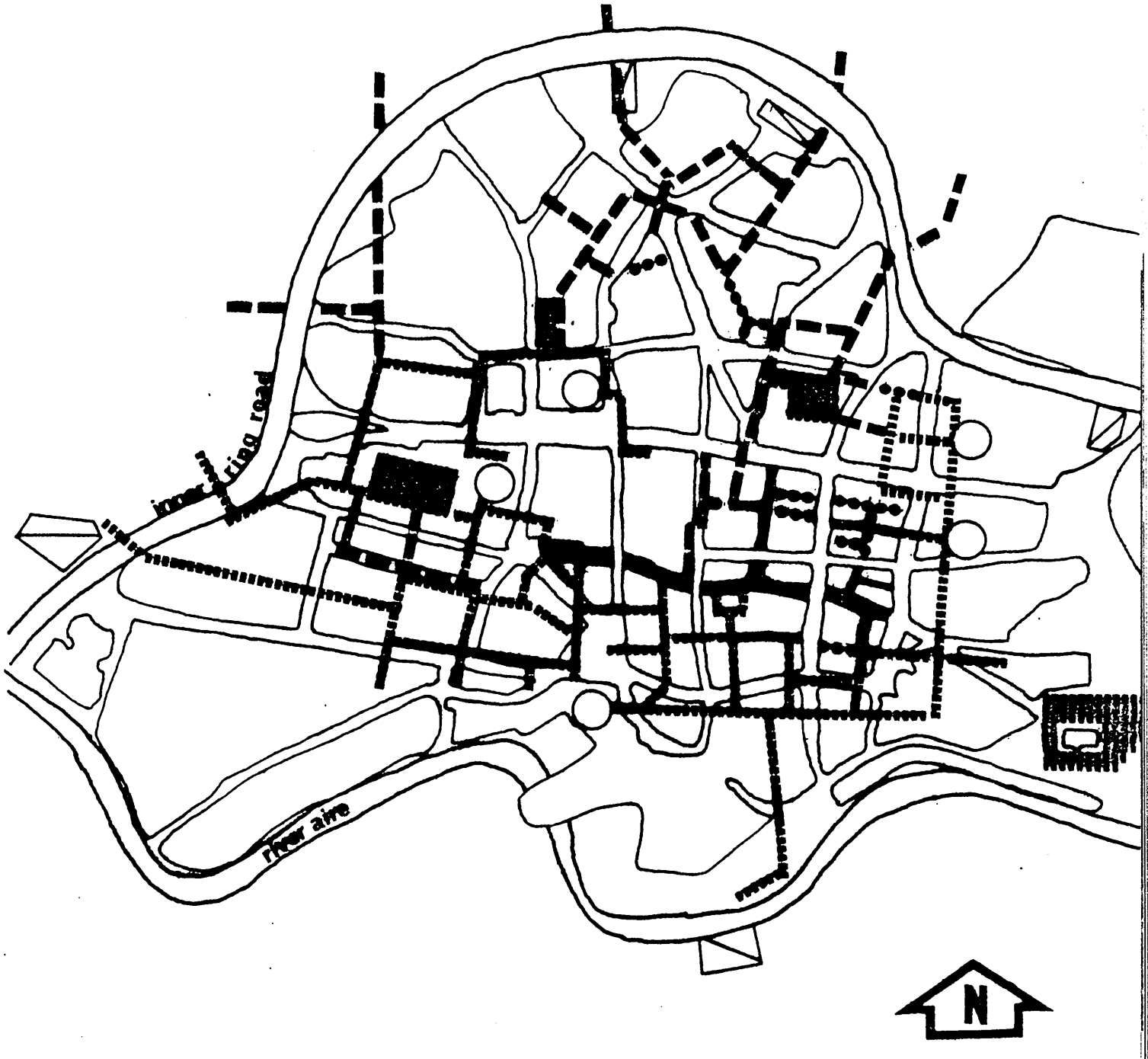

Fig. 8.6

Source: Leeds City Council, Leeds Pedestrian Streets, (July 1972).

success that more streets in Norwich are being pedestrianised.[71] The Norwich pedestrianisation scheme brought increased sales, a charming atmosphere, an architecturally restored historic area and many pedestrian visitors. The side streets were kept for service access and hand carts are used to deliver goods to the shops in the street.

A more flexible approach in the spirit of pedestrianisation is 90% pedestrianisation which achieves the effect that is wanted without the total irksome restrictiveness, and seems to work in some cities better than others. Leeds has adopted this 90% pedestrianisation approach for some of its paved shopping streets between Headrow and the Boar Lane.[72] Vans are allowed occasionally into the area driving at 5 miles per hour, by deliberately having difficult surfaces and this does not seem to upset the shopper, nor shoppers' safety. (fig. 8.6)

2. Malls

A mall is an American expression for a generous pedestrian promenade, either covering the whole street, or

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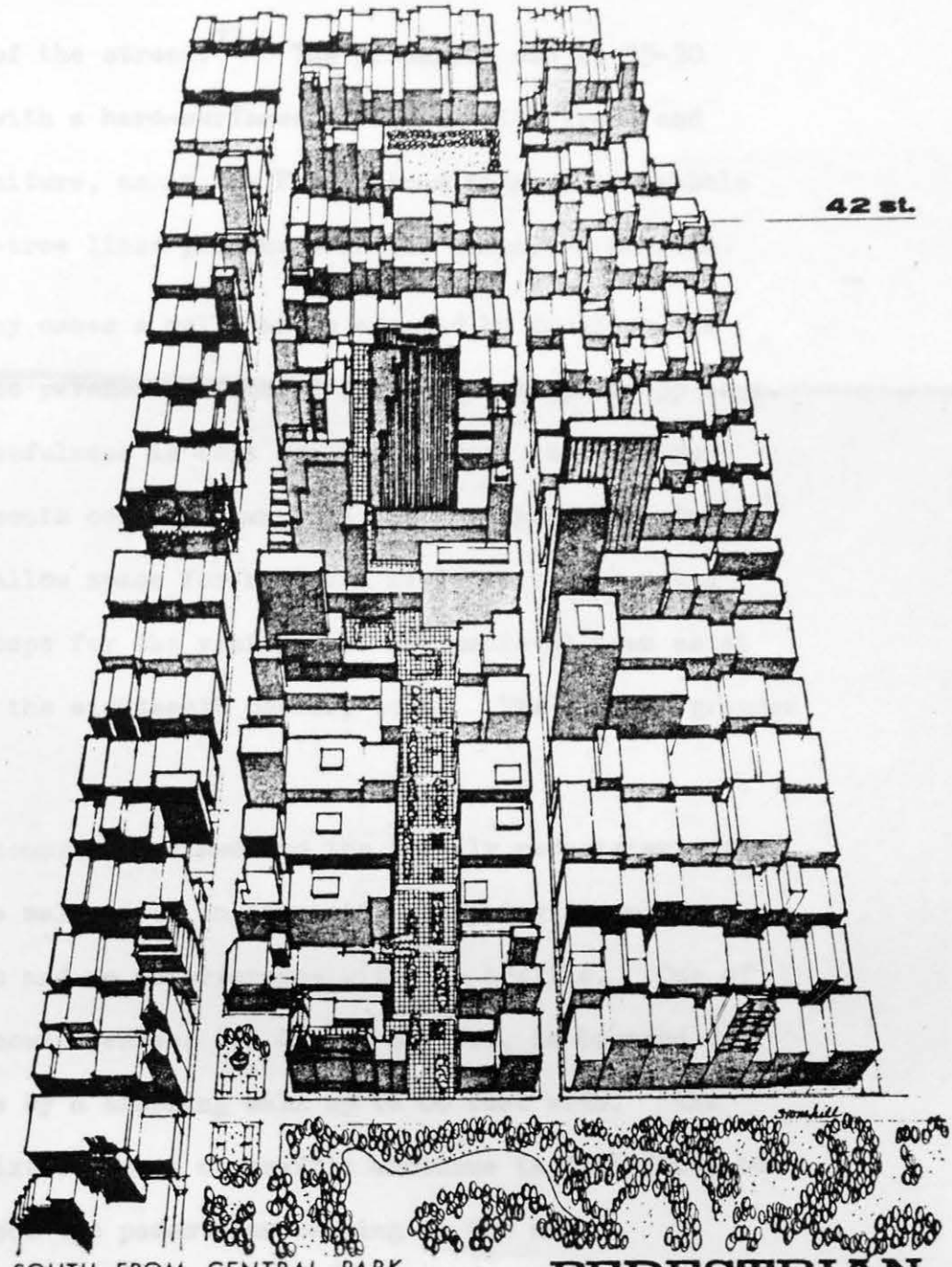
71. Wiedenhoeft, Ronald, 'Planning for Pedestrians', The Planner, Vol. 61, June 1975, pp.228-231

72. Aldous, A., Battle for the Environment, (Fontana, 1972) and Wiedenhoeft, Ronald, "Planning for Pedestrians", The Planner, Vol. 61, June 1975, pp. 228-231.



Pomerance & Breines' proposal for a pedestrian mall between Fifth and Sixth Avenues, nicknamed "5½ Way." This view is south from Central Park. (Pomerance & Breines)

Fig. 8.7

Source: Seymour, W.N., Small Urban Spaces: The Philosophy, Design, Sociology and Politics of Vest-Pocket Parks (New York University Press, 1969).

only part of the street.[73] The promenade can be 35-50 feet wide with a hard-surfaced promenade with trees and street furniture, as in the French tradition of the pebble based lime-tree lined promenade in the Luxemburg Gardens.

In many cases a mall can be created by doubling the width of the pavements, from 15 feet wide, to 30 or 35 feet. A mall's usefulness is best for the Baroque town or the late nineteenth century town when the more generous street standards allow space for malls. It is certainly not a design concept for the vestiges of the medieval town as at Norwich or the eighteenth century town. The mall is grander in scale.

As a compromise answer to the totally pedestrianised street, the mall gives an attractive shopping space for pedestrians and no interference with the traffic. One of the best known avenues, the Champs Elysees, is bounded on either side by a shopping mall up to 60 feet wide. The eight to sixteen lanes of traffic continue in full flow, but do not affect the pedestrian walking in the mall.

In the United States, the larger malls like

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73. See Glossary

8.24 Mall, Sacramento, California (Landscape Architecture, October 1973).

HOTEL REGIS
FEED'S

TABLE 8-3

COMPARISON OF MAJOR REASONS MIDDLE-CLASS, WORKING-CLASS AND TEEN-HIP GROUPS GAVE FOR COMING TO THE MALL

REASONS	MIDDLE CLASS	WORKING CLASS	TEEN-HIP
Stores - shop	24	8	7
Work here	11	2	0
Entertainment, Meet people, Nothing to do	6	22	8
Other	4	5	+

'A Class-Conscious Evaluation: Going Back to Sacramento's Pedestrian Mall' - Franklin D. Becker, Landscape Architecture, October 1973, p.

TABLE 8-4

FEATURES MIDDLE-CLASS, WORKING-CLASS, AND TEEN-HIP DISLIKED MOST AND LEAST ABOUT MALL

	Most Liked	Most Disliked
Middle class	Stores Quiet and relaxing atmosphere	Cement Other people
Working class	Atmosphere Entertainment Other people	Cement Nothing All-weather protection
Teen-Hip	Water Other people	Nothing
Merchants	Park-like features No cars Nothing	Arch, features, cement No comment People (hippies, bums, old men)

'A Class-Conscious Evaluation : Going Back to Sacramento's Pedestrian Mall' - Franklin D. Becker, Landscape Architecture, October 1973, p.

Sacramento's Mall, on Former K Street, provide a promenade and also a mini-bus up and down the mall. A recent survey of the use of Sacramento's Mall showed that people wanted comfortable places to sit, restaurants and sidewalk cafes, more park like features and better lighting.[74] The Mall attracted some alcoholics, hippies and old men who in turn required supervision from the police. Yet the Mall was most successful for the shopkeepers as a device for increasing their business, for shoppers as a place to relax, and for young people and lower socio-economic groups to find social entertainment (see **Tables 8-3 and 8-4**).

3. Crosswalks

A crosswalk is an improved pavement or a short connecting pedestrian walk between existing streets.[75] Crosswalks can be created through blocks between streets and between avenues. Some English versions are known as 'the cut', as in Bloomsbury and the East End of London. The Scottish term is 'the vennel'.

Crosswalks can be short, a block in length, or extend for a mile. A proposal for a mile long crosswalk

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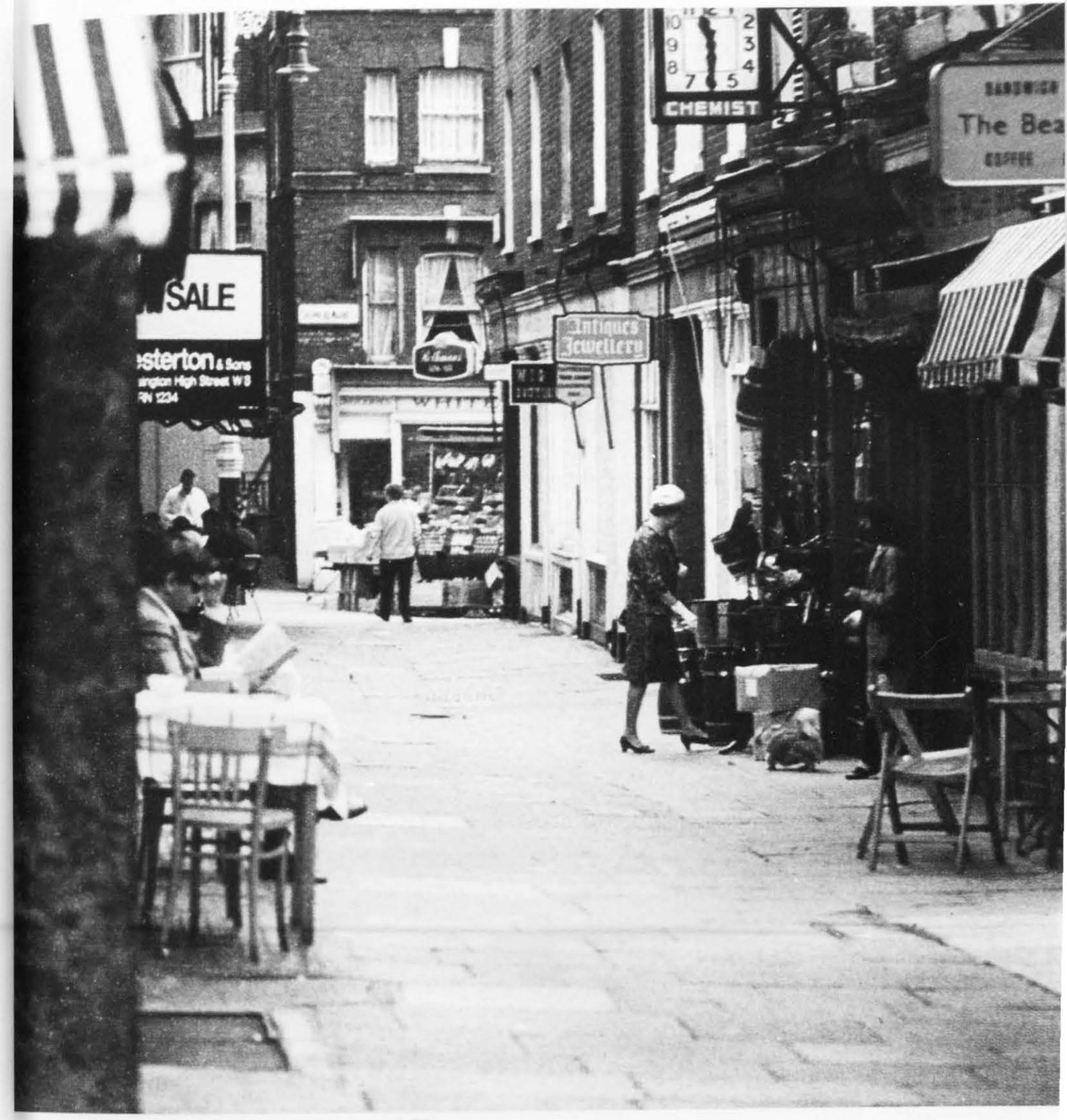
74. Becker, Franklin D., "A Class-conscious Evaluation", Going Back to Sacramento's Pedestrian Mall, Landscape Architecture, October 1973, pp. 448-457

75. See Glossary

8.25 Pedestrian Cross Walk, London.

(GLC, Tomorrow's London)


SALE
CHEMIST
Antiques
Jewellery

goes from 42nd Street to 59th Street, in New York, by a series of different pedestrian ways.[76] For part of the way it would go through existing buildings, for other parts it would go through new buildings and across streets. Essentially, the crosswalk is a connecting link that leads from one major street to another. The vennel, cut or crosswalk functions not only as a little traffic artery, but more importantly as 'a place' to be, to be seen in and to see people, and gives variety to the art of urban living.

4. Pedestrian Way / Strollway System

A pedestrian way is a completely pedestrianised system of covered walks, covered arcades and covered passages through buildings which allows the urban dweller to stroll in all kinds of weather.[77] Historic versions are the Victorian arcades in Leeds, Nottingham and London or the earlier 18th century arcades in Milan and Turin.

The British term is pedestrian way; the American term is strollway. The pedestrian way / strollway is entirely protected from weather and not green. The strollway goes through buildings and joins up underground exits

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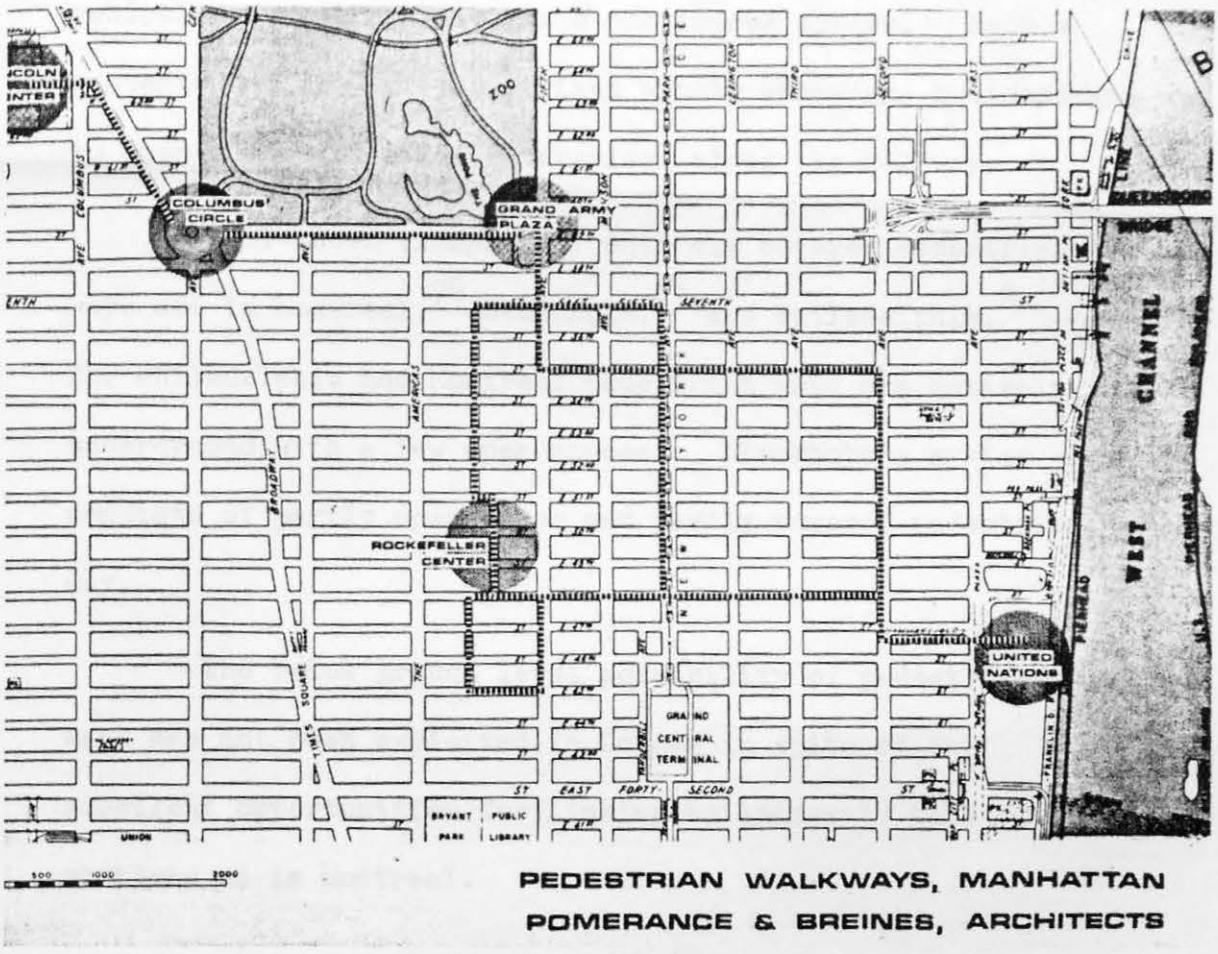
76. Seymour, W.N. (Ed. by), Small Urban Spaces, (New York University Press, 1969), pp. 68-69

77. Seymour, op. cit., pp. 69-71



A "Strolling System" has been suggested for midtown Manhattan, extending from Lincoln Center to the UN. (Pomerance & Breines)

Fig. 8.8 Strollway, Manhattan, New York City

Source: Seymour, Whitney North (Ed. by), Small Urban Spaces: The Philosophy, Design, Sociology and Politics of Vest-Pocket Parks (New York University Press, 1969).

and underground arcades. One should be able to walk from the upper storeys of adjacent buildings down through the underground pedestrian routes either over or under the vehicular street traffic, in a continuous system. Such a concentrated flow of pedestrians should encourage businessmen to open shops and other enterprises along the walkway.

Well-known examples of entirely covered pedestrian ways are in Montreal,[78] Stockholm,[79] and Philadelphia.[80] The Philadelphia and Montreal pedestrian ways are entirely underground with a few open spaces. Stockholm's system consists of partly open space and partly covered pedestrian way.

The below ground level possibility of pedestrian ways has not been exploited in London in spite of the excellent opportunities for linking buildings to tube stations as in Montreal.

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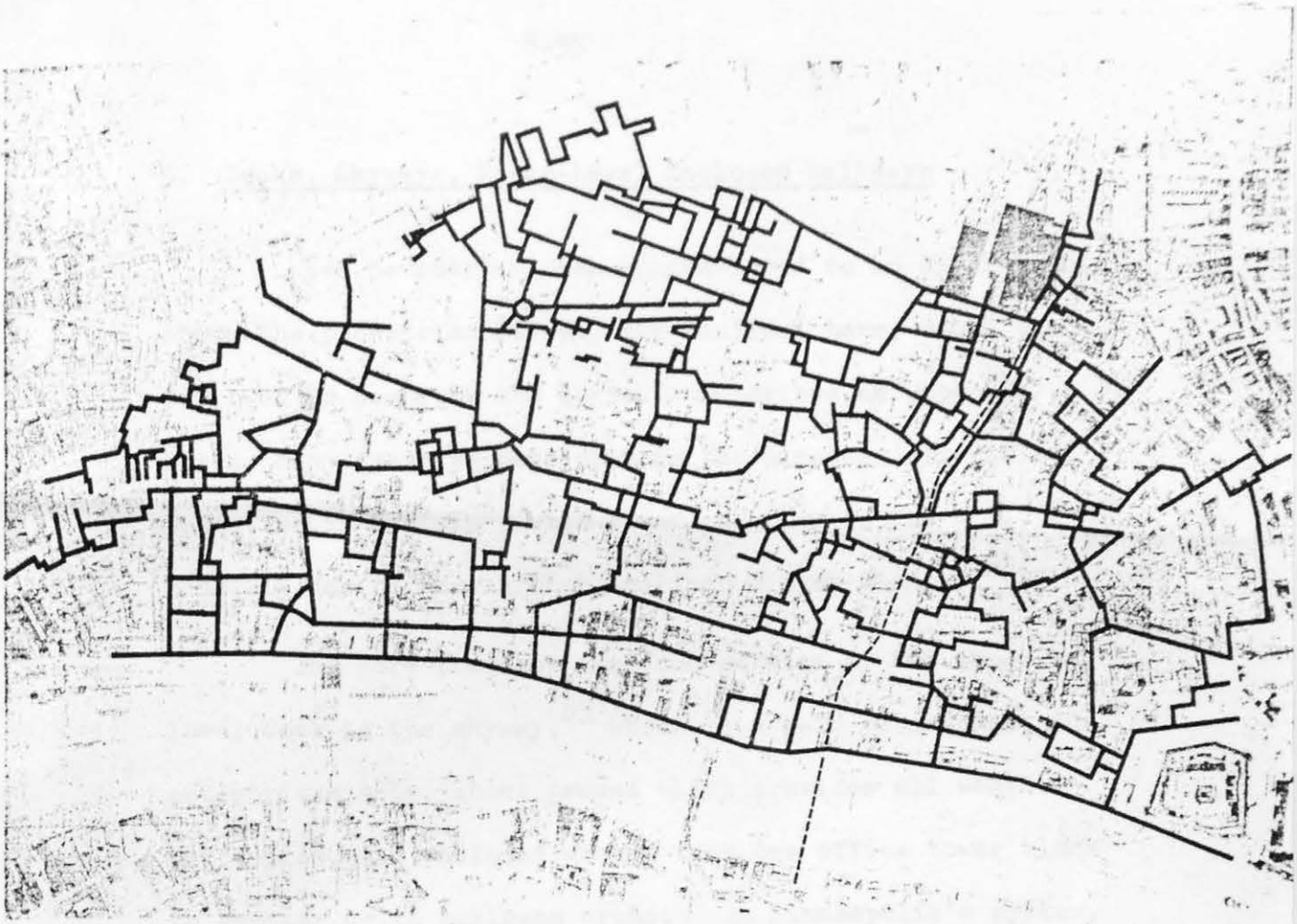
78. Antoniou, Jim, 'Access Networks', Official Architecture and Planning, June 1970, Vol. 33, No. 6, pp. 510-526.

79. Bacon, Edmund, Design of Cities, (Thames and Hudson, London, 1967), pp. 272-275.

80. Morris, Eleanor, "New Urban Design Concepts - the Philadelphia Plan", The Pedestrian in the City, Architecture Year Book XI, ed. David Lewis (Elek Press, London, 1965)

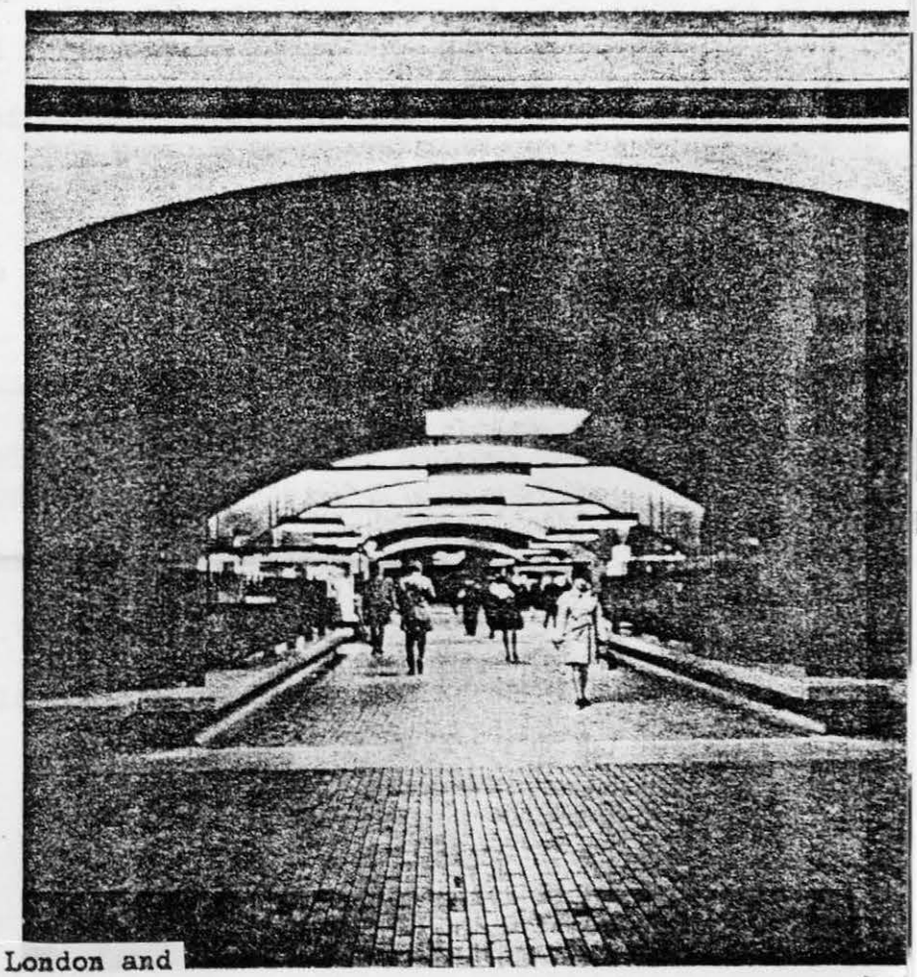


proposed walkway network
possible speedaway link

Above: *City walkways: proposed network* (reproduced by kind permission of the Corporation of London)

Right: *Montreal: the "rock" station type, where the architect is asked to decorate the space and design the access* (see page 524)

Below: *Part of the Montreal downtown pedestrian underground system*



City Walkways, London and Montreal

Fig. 8.9

Source: Antoniou, Jim, 'Access Networks', Official Architecture & Planning, Vol. 33, June 1970, pp. 510-526.

5. Decks, Skyways, Upper-Level Enclosed Walkways

When pedestrian open spaces moved to an upper level above the pedestrian street, the nautical term, deck, was borrowed to describe the space. Described as upper level decks, many examples developed in the nineteen sixties and seventies in Britain[81] with fewer examples in the U.S., possibly due to the harsher American winter climate.[82]

The more frequent American version of the upper level deck is the skyway,[83] which is a path of movement for pedestrians only, above ground which provides all weather protection, and enclosed access from one office tower block to another or to business areas. In Minneapolis's system, 16 buildings are linked, 20 feet above ground, by glass enclosed corridors and escalators leading from building to building, in one of the most successful and extensive skyway systems.[84]

Unlike the American examples which are mostly

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81. See Portsmouth, Charlotte Square, Coventry Central Area, many of the New Town Shopping Centres, etc.

82. See Philadelphia, Chicago, San Francisco, etc.

83. See Glossary.

84. Hellyer, 'Minneapolis', Country Life, January 2, 1975, pp. 34-37.

8.26 Skyway and Nicollet Mall, Minneapolis (RTPI, Streets Ahead, 1979).

MASSACHUSETTS BAY TRANSPORTATION AUTHORITY AND BOSTON REDEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY

provided privately and therefore go from commercial area to commercial area, the publicly funded British examples provide access from housing areas and other non-commercial areas as well as from commercial areas.

The deck level pedestrian system was originally favoured by planners and traffic engineers in Central London, as the cheapest method of segregating vehicles from pedestrians, and it enabled traffic levels to be maintained or even increased on the roads below. But examples, like the Barbican in the City of London, are not all that frequently used perhaps for the reason there should be more ramps and terraces and fewer staircases.[85]

6. Roof Gardens and Play Decks

Gardens, fragile and temporary by nature, only survive as useful local open space in isolated circumstances.

However, an undeveloped resource of urban gardens are roof gardens. The whole range of urban recreation could be extended by considering the use of roof gardens as amenity spaces for adults. William H. Whyte pointed out that roof gardens were one of the many unused open space

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85. Chamberlin, Powell and Bon, Residential Development Within the Barbican Area. (Report to the Court of Common Council, Corporation of the City of London, April 1959).

8.27 Roof Garden, Kaiser Building Garage, Oakland, California (Halprin, Cities, 1963).

opportunities in the inner city.[86]

The well known Flamingo roof garden of Derry & Tom's department store in London, built in 1938, and still used, proved there was no reason why trees could not be successfully established in a roof garden high above the traffic and create a feeling of pleasant open space.

A play deck is a carefully designed small playground for children on a roof deck of a tall block of flats or on roofs of garages. With ground moulding, a roof deck could resemble open space. Playgrounds on the roof were first suggested by Le Corbusier half a century ago in his City for Three Million People, and put into effect in his Unites d'Habitation at Marseilles, Nantes and elsewhere in France, but have been generally unpopular in Britain. Liverpool Council suggests such a solution, only in special circumstances.[87]

7. Greenways and Walkways

A greenway is the American version of the British walkway. It is mostly green overhead from a canopy of trees, rarely green underfoot. Usually in the inner city

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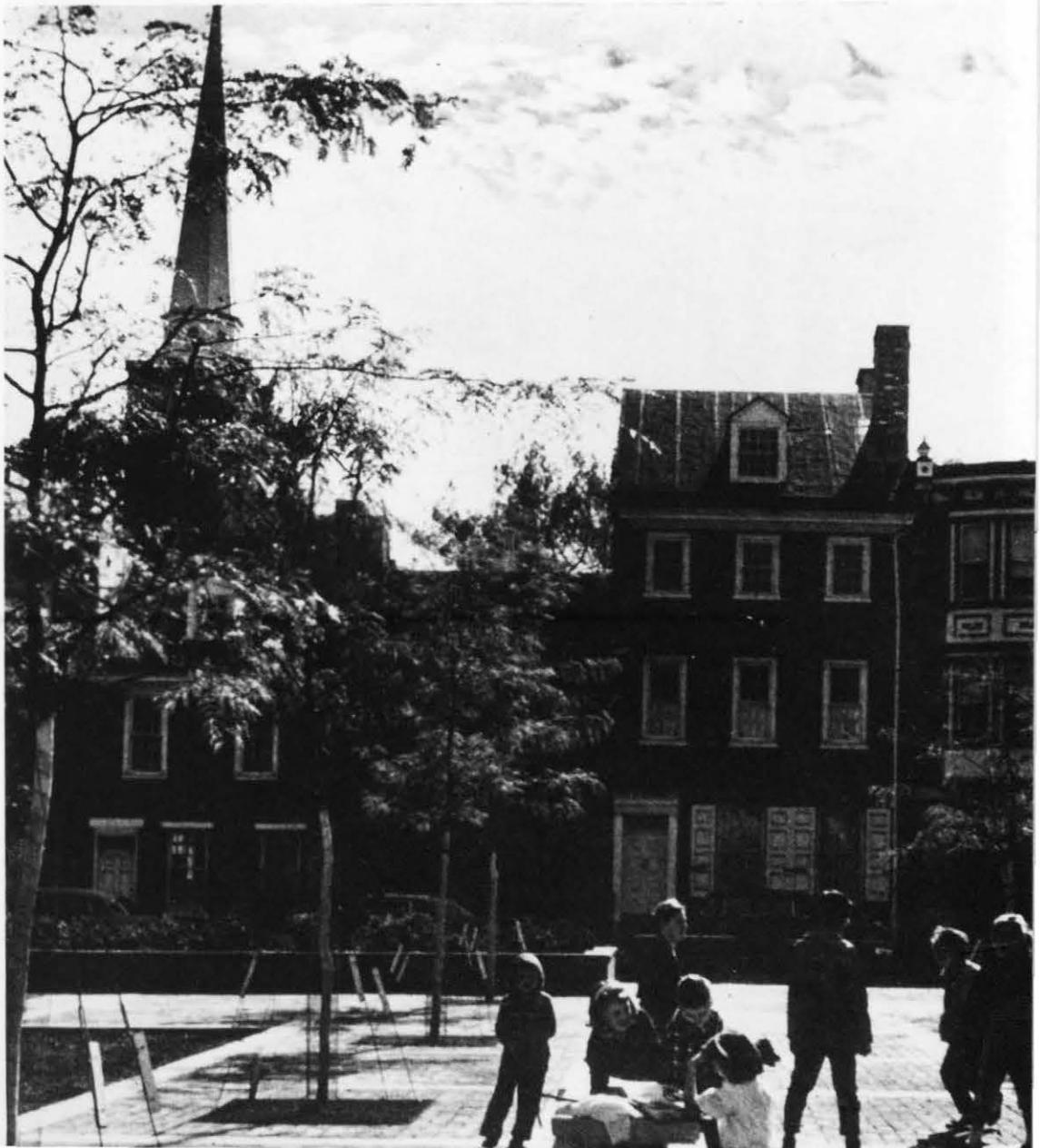
86. Mann, Lawrence "Urban Open Space Programming", The American Institute of Planners Journal, January 1970, Vol. 36, No. 1, pp. 65-68

87. Liverpool Council, op. cit.

8.28 St. Peter's Greenway
(Before and After)
Philadelphia.
(Architectural Designs,
August, 1962).



8.29 Greenway System,
Philadelphia

(Bacon, Urban Design).

1966

1:7000

the ground plane is hard and the greenery is overhead.[88]

Greenways serve the most popular pleasure throughout every age group of walking yet very little is done to encourage walking in the inner city. Greenways and walkways cost relatively little, take up little space, can be easily constructed and planned for safe walking and even cycling, so they should have a higher priority than many other open spaces.

The Open Space Plan for Edinburgh recommended the creation of greenways in the city as a means of linking existing open spaces, enhancing the appeal of residential areas and creating access to areas of the countryside with pedestrian routes all over the city.[89] Of different length, width and character, the greenways can range from the short evening walk length to a whole day's trip into the countryside. For some residential areas which are deficient in open space, it is easier to provide a greenway rather than large acreages of open space. Greenways, because of their narrow width, can be achieved in their entirety when other kinds of expensive open space cannot. It is easier to find 6 feet, 10 feet or 15 feet width of space than to find 2 or 5 acres space altogether. This is important for inner city

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88. See Glossary

89. Edinburgh Town Planning Department, Open Space Plan for Edinburgh, (Edinburgh 1969)

areas where cost is such a factor.

A linear greenway can alleviate pressures for additional facilities which the local authority is unable to provide. For example, greenways can be designed along the edges of existing rivers, and canals. The path of the greenway need be only 4 - 6 feet in width according to the area available and can be surfaced with a variety of materials. Along the rivers, low protective walls may be required to stop children falling down the banks or into the water itself. Or it may be necessary to have fencing barriers to prevent vandalism. Design requirements need to be worked out on the particular sites. Each greenway needs its own map boards, signs, litter bins, seats and other landscape furniture.

In Glasgow the Kelvin Walkway forms part of a system of waterside walkways and recreation areas penetrating the northern half of the city.[90]

Greenways can serve their community by going from one important community nodal point to another. Indeed the example of greenways in Philadelphia stipulate that the greenways are "a series of inner-block park and footpath extensions, centering upon and connecting together the

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90. Milligan, James, 'Something the matter with Glasgow', Official Architecture and Planning, Vol. 35, no. 1, January 1972, pp. 18-24

8.30 British Walkways (RTPI, Streets Ahead, 1979).

FEATHERS

principle historic structures scattered through the Society Hill area. Deliberately joggled to be in scale with pedestrian movement, this open space system pulled vistas of church spires deep into residential blocks and later became the determinant for the placing of the new apartment towers."[91]

Not nearly enough imagination is being shown by any of the London Boroughs towards thinking of new forms of local open space except for a few Boroughs expending efforts on walkways, such as Newham's system of pedestrian walkways, also known as footways:[92]

1. Urban passageways

These are mostly older and well established pedestrian routes generally passing through densely built-up areas and serving as short cuts to shops and schools, bus stops and railway stations.

2. Local paths

Newham has a number of shorter narrower paths and alleys providing rear access to housing areas.

3. Footbridges and subways

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91. Bacon, Edmund, "Downtown Philadelphia: A Lesson in Design for Urban Growth", Architectural Record, Vol. 129 No. 5, May 1961. See also: Bacon, Edmund, Design of Cities (Thames and Hudson)

92. Newham, London Borough; Lund, Kenneth, Pedestrian Ways, Survey (1972-73)

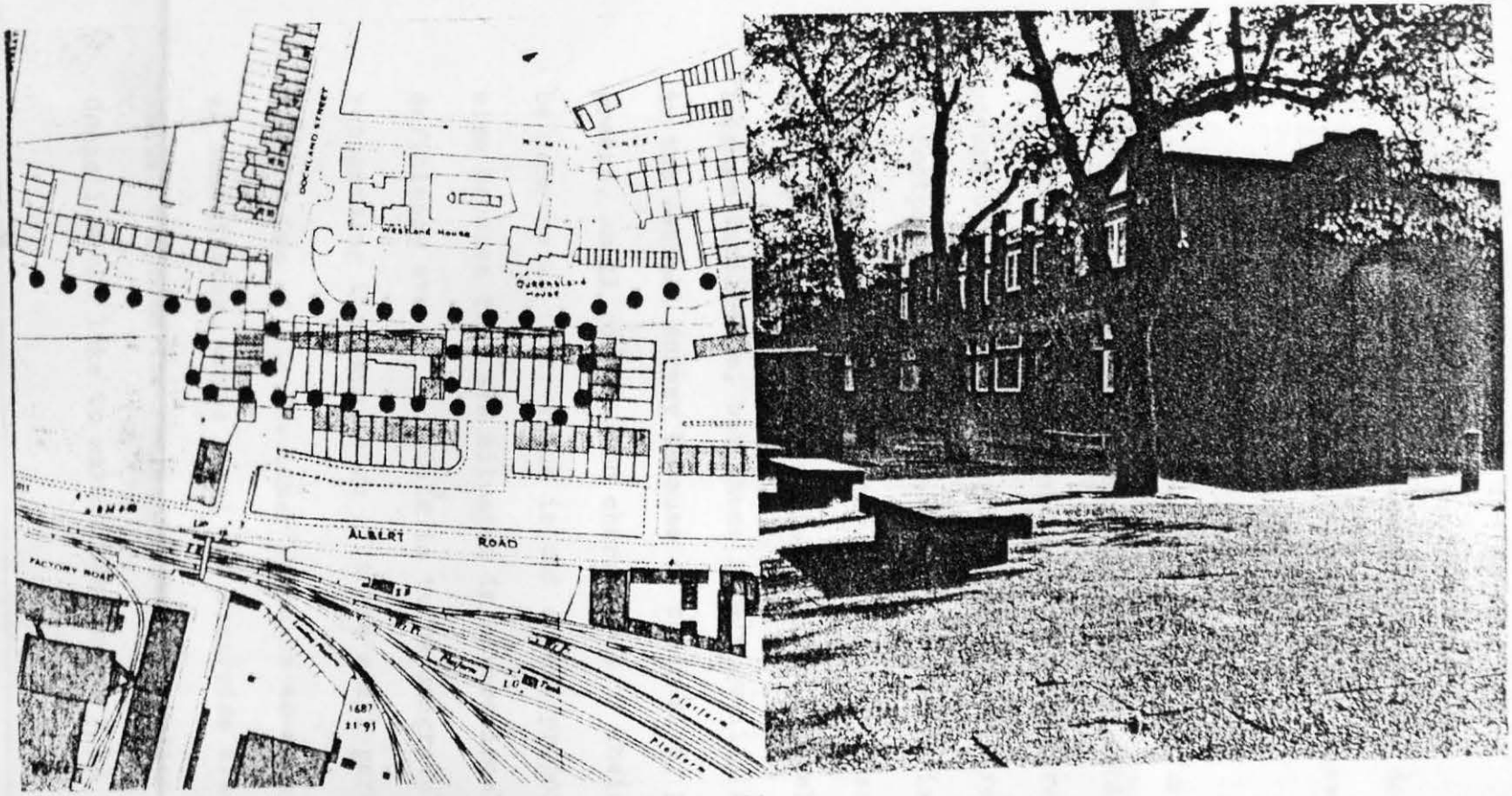

Fig. 8.11 Pedestrian Ways, Newham, London

Source: Newham, Borough of: Lund, K. Pedestrian Ways (Department of Planning and Architecture, London Borough of Newham, June 1974).

4. Towpaths

Newham's towpaths and riverside blockways, whose original use has virtually ceased, present possibilities for walkways.

Enfield's report acknowledges that further improvement in local park deficiency can only be achieved by the creation of even smaller spaces either when redevelopment occurs or by the linking of existing green areas by a network of footpaths.[93] They observe that there exist numerous minor open spaces which form an important visual part of the local environment besides also providing purely passive leisure facilities, but these rarely qualify for inclusion in the overall survey because of their size, particularly greens, small gardens and churchyards. Their loss would be immense as their value is out of all proportion to their size because they are situated in severe local park deficiency areas. Enfield is to be congratulated for recognising the importance of these small parks and greenways.

One of the few inner Boroughs to consider greenways is Westminster, where canal and riverside areas provide valuable spaces for recreation and relaxation.[94] Westminster Council would like to make a continuous walk from Riverwalk

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93. Enfield, London Borough, Stonard, N.A. The Provision of Public Open Space (1971)

94. Westminster, op. cit.

8.31 Pedestrian Way, Fife, Scotland
(RTPI, Streets Ahead, 1979).

Gardens under Vauxhall Bridge to Pimlico Gardens; and open up the towpath along Regent's Canal for public use by agreeing to manage it for the British Waterways Board. This would give a continuous walk of 4 miles linking with similar schemes of the adjoining boroughs.

8. Pedestrian Precincts

An ultimate purpose of pedestrian open space schemes is to organise the entire central urban core into a cluster of pedestrian precincts, either devoted to a variety of land uses, or emphasising those uses which have evolved over a period of time. Each of these pedestrian precincts should be served by public and vehicular transport.

However traffic segregation is accomplished, traffic should not penetrate into the pedestrian precinct beyond a certain point, and foot traffic should carry on in each of the pedestrian precincts without being disturbed.

The centre of Coventry was designed entirely on this principle. The centre of Portsmouth, the later ten-year plan for Fort Worth, the present traffic-free precincts in San Francisco, Philadelphia and Montreal are all attempting variations of pedestrianised precincts.

Each pedestrian precinct should be different and within each of the pedestrian precincts the full variety

8.32 Pedestrian Town Centre,
Bolton, England.
(RTPI, Streets Ahead,
1979)

of grand and small inner urban spaces should be found.

Special Characteristic Spaces

Other forms of minor urban space are developing, which do not fit the categories of local open space or urban open spaces. Ecological spaces have become important. The last ten years have seen the development of historical trails, heritage sites, nature centres, nature trails and the public use of waterways.

A.1. Ecological Spaces

The ecological approach of McHarg and others is concerned with the hydrology of an area and the contribution that open spaces can make to maintaining the water balance of an area.[95]

The goal is to preserve the ground water reservoir and to allow for infiltration. If the infiltration is disturbed by hard surfaces and the water is allowed to run off or evaporate before it reaches the ground, then the chance of continuous water supply being available is reduced.

Extensive studies were made in the sixties of the infiltration rates of water in the Wissahickon Valley Watershed near Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, where it was found that the average depth of water infiltrated per minute was .58" for woodlands,

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95. McHarg, Ian, Design with Nature (American Museum of Natural History, The Natural History Press, Garden City, New York, 1969)

8.33 Tamarack Bog, Lake County Illinois. (Open Land in Urban Illinois, 1971).

.28" for fields and only .10" for lawns.[96] The difficulty appears in the heavily built up areas where the infiltration of water is much slower. Conservationists have urged the preservation of woods and forests, to enhance infiltration of water. There are other ecological benefits associated with underground runoff which are characteristic of forests or wooded areas, and these measures combine to support the preservation of forest or wooded areas for purely ecological reasons, providing added reasons for saving open space in the inner city.

Not only are forests important for the ecological purposes of a city, but wetlands are also important. Wetlands are lowlands covered with shallow and sometimes temporary water, such as marshes, swamp and bogs. The value of wetlands includes again the storage of ground water, the accommodation of flood water, the stabilisation of the run-off, the reduction or prevention of erosion and habitation for wildlife and the provision of an outdoor laboratory for students and scientists. The importance of wetlands to a metropolitan area is shown by the fact that a 6" rise on a 10-acre marsh for example, gains 1,500,000 gallons of water in storage.[97]

If one replaces fields and forests which absorb water with

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96. Philadelphia City Council and Regional Science Research Institute, Environmental Study of the Wissahickon Watershed within the City of Philadelphia (Report to the City of Philadelphia, June 1973)

97. McHarg, op. cit.

rooftops and pavements without any water absorption quality, the run-off and new water is lost and water quality disappears. It is definitely impressive that between grass lawns which are not very capable of absorbing water, and the pervious wetland, the proportion of the run-off which soaks in en route instead of being 75%, is reduced to 25%.[98]

The ecological importance of wetlands is generally concerned with areas larger than 5 - 10 acres, but it must be remembered that there are marshlands, riverside lands and areas of wood which should be preserved in central inner urban areas for the same ecological reasons that one would preserve larger areas in the outer urban areas. This is a neglected approach.

A.2. Trees

Trees are the closest that many inner-city dwellers can come to a garden. The local open space around one tree is the most basic of open space design; a simple base plane, the tree, the one vertical feature, one focal point and the canopy of leaves gives an overhead plane. Immediately, the tree describes a cubic space form to unformed air. It is the simplest of design devices, and yet still the most popular.

London has benefitted from being "well-treed". The Royal

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98. Philadelphia City Council and Regional Sciences Institute, op. cit.

Parks are spectacular contributors to the trees of London and have a wide range of tree species. The old London County Council inherited a legacy of specimen trees in the Georgian squares planted by private land owners in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The plane tree was the predominant tree planted because of its ability to tolerate the polluted atmosphere and because its ornamental aspect at most times of the year. The huge plane trees were planted in 1789 and the largest are now over 100 feet in height. Their canopies spread over 130 feet providing shade and ornament. Plane trees are spectacular and durable for large open spaces, but not necessarily so suitable for street planting, which require greater care.

The number of trees legally protected by tree preservation orders have increased. For instance, in the Westminster City area alone tree preservation orders have saved 237 trees between 1969 and 1974.[99] The Clean Air Act has helped to preserve the tree and plant material in London because the oak and the beech, which formerly could not withstand the polluted atmosphere, now are thriving in the central area.

Borough Councils can be helped to preserve and improve London's streets, by the tree bank of the Greater London Council. Situated at Hersham, it stocks some 50,000 trees, specially

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99. Matthews, "Keeping our Capital Green", Country Life, Nov. 14, 1974, pp. 1472-6

prepared for transplanting. There have also been experiments for having instant trees in moveable containers, for example in Oxford Street, and introducing portable tree landscapes. Most of these trees seem to have survived. The Historic Metropolitan Public Gardens Association, as the oldest association in London, has done a great deal to improve the environment of the city by encouraging tree and shrub planting.

The Civic Trust have also promoted the use of trees by demonstrating in bleak midland towns how trees can be transplanted and how a dull layout can be overcome by trees.[100] Since the characteristic features of most industrial urban cities are those of air pollution, a low standard of planning in architecture, waste land and an absence of trees, it is thought by many that it would do nothing but good if trees were planted on all open land in and around urban areas which were not due to be built on in the next five years. With even some planting, the soil is improved and the pollution is reduced, the prospect is made more attractive, the winds are reduced and the excessive noise is reduced and the eyesores are hidden, all this on land which you cannot use otherwise.

The Civic Trust have also produced a standard of tree densities for urban areas, which they consider provides a minimum

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100. Civic Trust, "Painting the Town Green", Architects' Journal, 15 June 1966.

good environment. The standard varies from 10 to 40 trees per urban acre.[101]

The environmental significance of trees is thought by many to be the most important, although there is not much of a scientific basis on which to evaluate the ecological amenity of trees. It is thought that forests possess ecological capacity to influence noise, air pollution, the micro-climate and water supply. Although trees are capable of reducing community noise, a thousand feet of very dense wood with thick underbrush is required to make a significant decrease in the noise of goods trains.[102] A relatively dense wood of 400 feet wide, lowers and improves the noise level of a community. Other investigators state that the dense wood would have to be 1,900 feet wide, so it is clear that more investigations will have to be made.[103]

The ability of trees to clear the air pollutants from the atmosphere is known, but the quality of these results is not known. Trees can remove certain air pollutants from the atmosphere, and especially coniferous species are capable of reducing air pollution in a significant way. But to determine the amount

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101. Civic Trust, Architects' Journal, op. cit.

102. Smith, William "Trees in the City", American Institute of Planners Journal, Vol. 36, No. 6, (November 1970), pp. 429-436.

103. Smith, op. cit., pp. 429-436

of the various pollutants that conifers are capable of removing needs to be relative to the amount that exists in a given community atmosphere. It is felt by some tree enthusiasts that the most positive micro-climatic benefits that the community may derive from woods involves the depression of summer air temperatures and a reduction of winter wind velocities.[104] These benefits do not extend any significant distance from the woods, so the people who benefit are those living within or nearly adjacent to the woods. Both deciduous and coniferous species have the ability to lower summer air temperatures, which is important in the United States. Coniferous forests in Britain have a somewhat greater ability to lessen winter winds.

B.1. Historical Trails and Heritage Sites

In the last 25 years there has been increasing interest in providing pedestrian routes, designated historical trails, created to link historic buildings one to another. Extensive pedestrianised historical trails occur in areas such as the City of London, Boston's Faneuil Hall area and Philadelphia's Society Hill, where groups of historic buildings are in close proximity to each

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104. Smith, op. cit., pp. 429-436

8.34 Gastown Improvement Area, Vancouver, Canada (Ferrabee, Design and Environment Projects, 1976).

BLOOD ALLEY SQUARE

other.[105] Many of the smaller British towns could not do this as the buildings are in everyday use, but in the larger cities where there are a number of historic buildings which are kept as museums, the historical trail is possible.

In Edinburgh the Royal Mile has been an historical trail for many years, but it has never been made into a full pedestrianised system. One has to squeeze on to the pavement and avoid the traffic as best as one can.

A variation of the historical trail is the heritage site and the heritage trail. Heritage sites have been more broadly defined as places of major historical, cultural, archaeological or architectural significance. Unlike historical sites, they are valued for a greater variety of reasons. They have special

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105. Boston: Boston's Freedom Trail and Black Heritage Trail, (Boston 200).

Chicago: Bach, Ira J., Chicago on Foot, (O'Hara).

Minneapolis: Do-it-yourself Tours in Minneapolis, (Minneapolis Convention and Tourism Commission in co-operation with the Minneapolis 76 Commission).

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connections of historical importance with either people, events or religion and philosophy or with science, technology or culture. These heritage sites can also provide recreational use and stimulating leisure activity. For the inner urban area they can be connected to either nature trails, nature reserves or historical trails. They provide an activity which is not dependent on weather conditions and can be linked into the open space system of cities.

Heritage trails were produced as part of the local authority's contributions to the European Architectural Heritage Year of 1975. The Corporation of the City of London, for instance, issued a booklet giving the routes to heritage trails, including the shortest one of 1½ miles long and of an hour's duration.[106] It takes in the Wren churches and Lloyds Building. Most walks are marked out by metal studs in the pavement and bring in more modern buildings than the usual historical trail allow.

As a contribution to European Architectural Heritage Year 1975, the Scottish Tourist Board contributed to the development of several local heritage trails. Most of the trails were designed as easy walks for the family, being convenient to car parks and public transport. And each of them has leaflets and signs on buildings to enable the public to follow the trail.

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106. "City Trails", Town and Country, Country Life, March 6, 1975, p. 559.

Heritage trails were introduced in Linlithgow and Glasgow. But these are not enough. The potential for stimulating open space activity by heritage trails is untapped.

2. Nature Centres and Nature Trails

Along with heritage trails, nature trails provide additional educational open space activity, and should normally connect with a nature centre. The ecological requirements of wild life are such as to require much larger areas of open space than the size of spaces that we have been discussing. Two and three hundred acres minimum are usually necessary for a nature centre preserve, and normally nature trails will be within a nature preserve or within existing parks as in Glasgow[107], or in Philadelphia.[108]

However, in the centre of the city it is possible to create nature trails along riverside areas of very narrow and linear form by borrowing the natural landscape of a particular area ecologically capable of surviving inner city pollution. The possibility of nature trails in the inner city should be considered carefully. Nature trails can be part of an inner city open space system if the topographical situation lends itself.

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107. Glasgow Corporation Parks Department, Leisure in the Parks, Official Handbook 1974 (Corporation of Glasgow, p. 59

108. Schulkyll Valley Nature Center, Annual Report, (1970, 1971, 1975)

8.35 Hayward Warren Nature Trail (Outdoor Recreation, Staffordshire, 1971).

A nature trail is different from a normal walkway in that the nature trail is laid out for educational purposes, marked with descriptions of the trees, the fauna, the vegetation, the ecological balance and the changes according to the seasons, with legends posted, interpreting nature as one walks along the trail.[109] The possibilities for such a nature trail are very few in the inner city, but there are enough of them to demonstrate the importance of educating both adults and children to the needs of ecological balance and the conservation of natural resources.

C. Waterways

Closely allied to ecological open space and conservation areas are the water areas. Both the ORRRC Report in America and the Government Social Survey pointed out that water was a fundamental attraction and the focal point of outdoor recreation. They were talking about the bigger scale water areas, more applicable to the large open spaces, but there are, in the inner areas, water areas which can be developed for local uses like rowing, boating, and swimming. All water areas of any kind make fine scenery and provide some habitat for plants, animals and birds.

In particular, many British cities contain and conceal disused waterways, which could be made attractive spaces in the inner city. Unfortunately, there have been long periods of indifference and hostility to the inland waterways system in the forties, fifties and sixties.

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109. Glasgow Corporation Parks Department, The Nature Trail at Springburn Park, a guide, (Corporation of Glasgow)

In this connection, the 1968 Transport Act concerning the waterways may help. The 1968 Transport Act designated three categories of waterways:[110]

1. commercial waterways
2. cruising waterways
3. the remainder, which the British Waterways Board is to deal with in the most economical manner possible, whether by retaining and developing or eliminating and disposing.

The commercial waterways and the cruising waterways are outside this study, but the so-called remainder category is very much relevant to open spaces in the inner urban area.

The idea that the British Waterways Board should fill in canals could be in most cases very expensive. One Midland authority spent £50,000 of ratepayers' money filling in one abandoned flight of locks.[111] The only reason for adopting such an expensive solution would be to avoid the problems of stagnant rubbish infested water which is dangerous to children and which

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110. British Waterways Board, Leisure and the Waterways (H.M.S.O., 1967)

111. Braithwaite, Lewis, 'The Use of Urban Canals' (with special reference to Birmingham and the Black Country) Centre for Urban and Regional Studies, Birmingham University, 1970 Journal of the Royal Town Planning Institute, July/August 1971, Vol. 57, No. 7.

makes people feel is downgrading the environment.

The other approach is to positively use the disused canals. The canals which are very often in the inner areas can contribute to inner urban open space. There is the inherent attractiveness of water, the historical associations which go with the early industrial revolution architecture and the interest of the locks, bollards and bridges.

For example, in the Little Venice Scheme the canal winds its way through inner London.[112] The canal itself is barely wide enough for two canal boats to pass, but it is an infinitely successful open space, provides amusement, change and peace for the surrounding neighbourhoods. The more elaborate scheme, St. Catherine's Docks, by the Tower of London, uses several locks for boats of considerable size. The Victorian warehouses have been turned into flats, clubhouses and little yacht clubs have been built, all providing interest to the area. Another such scheme is Birmingham Corporation's Grindlay Walk Scheme.

The canal system of waterways in the inner areas is useful not only for boating but for walking and providing open space breathers. The canal towpaths are of major importance as a network of pedestrian routes because they are separated from the busy road networks and they could become, with **imagination and funds of greater use.**

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112. Greater London Council, Leisure for Londoners, (London, February, 1973)

D. Allotments

Originally allotments provided alternative opportunities for economically cheap food, but today the use of the allotment is primarily recreational. An allotment garden is defined in the Allotments Act 1922 as a small plot of land, or allotment, not exceeding 1012 m^2 in extent which is wholly or mainly cultivated, by the occupier for the production of vegetable or fruit crops for consumption by himself or his family.[113]

At the end of the Second World War there were about one and a half million allotment plots in England and Wales and by 1970 this had dropped to about one half million with a vacancy rate of 20%.[114] Because of this decline in the use of allotments, the statutory standard of 4 acres per thousand population is probably excessive.[115]

Unfortunately, the image of the allotment holder is poor because the plots tend to look untidy and unattractive. In the Departmental inquiry allotment holders themselves complain of extensive vandalism, other people's weeds, insecurity of tenure and a lack of shared facilities.[116]

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113. See Glossary

114. Seeley, I.H., Outdoor Recreation and the Urban Environment, (Macmillan, London, 1973), p. 207

115. Burton, T.L., Recreation Research and Planning, (Allen and Unwin, London, Ltd., 1970), p. 163

116. Ministry of Housing and Local Government, Departmental Inquiry into Allotments, Cmnd. 4166 (H.M.S.O.) October 1969

Because of these characteristics, a concentration of allotments, in the traditional manner, has scarcely any amenity value. Rather a dispersed allocation of allotments - on small and individual sites within a residential area, could reduce their collective ugliness, yet be near their owners and provide some recreational uses for the whole family.

Allotments do not have much of a role in the design of local open spaces, at least not in their present form. The Departmental Inquiry Committee suggested that allotments be turned into "leisure gardens", a better quality proper garden with flowers, shrubs and trees to be used mainly for recreation.[117] This new form of leisure gardens could be united in a small local open space with children's play spaces, with plots enclosed by hedges or fences, with the potting sheds grouped to be visually less obtrusive and some care taken over their landscape design. This should help to stop the ugly, fenceless fields of concentrated zoning that allotments are now and provide one more attraction to the local open space.

E. Evening and Uncertain Weather Use

Many parks, small parks, ball pitches and tennis courts could be lit for evening use. The American examples show how

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117. M.H.L.G., Allotments, op. cit.

great a proportion of the night is spent on night lighting. Although this would not be applicable throughout Britain due to local geographical differences, there are areas where there is a strong case for night lighting.

Likewise the use of small parks could be extended to greater use in uncertain weather. Total enclosure provides complete protection in all weather, but could be too expensive an answer. There is the possibility of providing some heating, or sliding roofs, overhangs or protected benches which could enable parks to be enjoyed more, particularly by older people where the weather is only uncertain. There are possibilities for less expensive solutions to providing some weather protection which have not been exploited.

F. Mobile Recreation

To facilitate the development of both permanent and temporary parks, mobile or pre-fabricated playgrounds have been developed which are installed, set and then easily removed and taken to another site. Mobile forms of playgrounds and recreational play centres can travel from place to place to give instant leisure facilities to provide inexpensive recreational alternatives which could make sense for the inner urban areas.

Instant leisure could give a more flexible approach by concentrating on three main alternative approaches:[118]

118. Drury, Alan, 'Instant Leisure', the National Gallery, Architectural Design, Vol. XLIII, 1/1973, p. 4.

1. Operating mobile leisure facilities on vacant sites.

2. Adding to existing physical facilities by using mobile leisure facilities.

3. Providing mobile leisure facilities which the resident population could choose themselves, to enhance the diversity and variety of leisure.

Mobile leisure facilities are immediately useful for both the temporary vacant site and the permanent small park. Mobile leisure facilities can help to upgrade existing physical resources in existing playgrounds or open spaces until a permanent solution can be developed. Or if the resident population of an area changed, they could provide their own particular leisure facilities. This would get away from rigid zoning of playgrounds and open spaces and allow more flexibility. Mobile leisure facilities also allow various changes over time. Mobile facilities could back up permanent amenities and, at the same time, pioneer new outlets and allow for change in population structure and thus change in needs.

For example, "Play on Wheels" is a mobile facility jointly financed by the Liverpool Inner Area Study Group and the Liverpool Education Department with leaders supervising music and craft facilities and inflatable play equipment.[119]

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119. Liverpool Inner Area Study Group.

An American approach has been to create a fairyland by bringing in Walt Disneyland type equipment, and although this is entertaining for a while, it tends to add to the cost of the temporary park.[120] The children lose interest when the novelty fades, so that the fairyland must be well **endowed** on a permanent basis to succeed.

The New York City Park Department initiated a mobile recreation programme.[121] They use portable and semi-portable equipment, like swimming pools and skating rinks, and set new one in rooftops, small parks, local spaces. They also lease public lands which are awaiting the construction of schools and newer housing projects and temporarily use them for recreation opportunities.

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120. Gordon, Sick Cities (Macmillan Co. New York, 1963), pp. 120-121

121. Dattner, Richard, Design for Play (Van Nostrand-Reinhold, New York, 1969

Summary - Possibilities for Local Urban Open Spaces

The possible forms of open space and particularly local open space have increased greatly over the past twenty years, such that a public authority has more opportunity than ever before to create some open space in the inner cities. So many possibilities exist that no longer can a public authority dismiss any inadequacy in the provision of local open space by arguing that the gross acreages are not available. Many types of open spaces are less than one acre or one hectare in size, making gross acreage sites, of 5 to 50 acres no longer essential.

It is also significant that so many of the new possible open space forms are based on walking, which as the ORRRC Study, the Pilot Study and the BTA Study all showed, was the single most popular recreational activity for all ages. It would seem right therefore that all public authorities give high priority to open spaces which emphasize walking. Crosswalks, strollways, walkways, greenways, and skyways all have unlimited potential for inner city areas.

A further innovation has occurred with the new special characteristic spaces. Ecological demands, the increased interest in the national historic heritage, and the desire to understand the natural preserves of life have also helped increase the possible stock of open space by providing dual purpose spaces. While marshes are serving ecological needs, they can act as borrowed landscape for nearby residents and provide nature trails for inner city children.

None of these newer forms of open spaces have minimized the need for the basic spaces for children, or for teenage playgrounds and small parks. But the form that children's play spaces can take has been expanded to include such new types of open spaces as super-block interiors, pocket parks, play centres, and play barns.

As these new forms of open space are innovative, they may create new administrative problems. On the other hand, if their costs are greatly less than previous costs, it is more likely that public authorities will want to implement these new flexible spaces. The succeeding chapter discusses the financial costs of the new open spaces.

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75. See Glossary.

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77. Seymour, op. cit., pp. 69-71.

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81. See Portsmouth, Charlotte Square, Coventry Central Area, many of the New Town Shopping Centres, etc.

82. See Philadelphia, Chicago, San Francisco, etc.

83. See Glossary.

84. Hellyer, 'Minneapolis', Country Life, January 2, 1975, pp. 34-37.

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87. Liverpool Council, op. cit.

88. See Glossary.

89. Edinburgh Town Planning Department, Open Space Plan for Edinburgh, (Edinburgh 1969).

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94. Westminster, op. cit.

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San Francisco: Doss, Margot Patterson, San Francisco at Your Feet, (Evergreen).

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106. "City Trails", Town and Country, Country Life, March 6, 1975, p. 559.

107. Glasgow Corporation Parks Department, Leisure in the Parks, Official Handbook 1974 (Corporation of Glasgow), p. 59.

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109. Glasgow Corporation Parks Department, The Nature Trail at Springburn Park, a guide (Corporation of Glasgow).

110. British Waterways Board, Leisure and the Waterways (H.M.S.O., 1967).

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112. Greater London Council, Leisure for Londoners, (London, February, 1973).

113. See Glossary.

114. Seeley, I.H., Outdoor Recreation and the Urban Environment, (Macmillan, London, 1973), p. 207.

115. Burton, T.L., Recreation, Research and Planning, (Allen and Unwin, London, Ltd., 1970), p. 163.

116. Ministry of Housing and Local Government, Departmental Inquiry into Allotments, Cmnd. 4166 (H.M.S.O.) October 1969.

117. M.H.L.G., Allotments, op. cit.

118. Drury, Alan, 'Instant Leisure', the National Gallery, Architectural Design, Vol. XLIII, 1/1973, p. 4.

119. Liverpool Inner Area Study Group.

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PART III

CHAPTER IX

LEGISLATIVE, FINANCIAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE ASPECTS IN BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES

LEGISLATIVE, FINANCIAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE ASPECTS IN BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES

The most difficult problems of providing open space are concerned with the legislative, financial and administrative aspects. The costs of open space are high and the sources of finance are meagre. In both Britain and the United States powers to acquire open space are contained in various acts, but these are weakened from time to time and the normal administrative procedures are conflicting. These problems need to be examined.

Legislative Aspects in Britain

In Britain, specific powers to purchase land for public open space exist under:

(a) The Public Health Act, 1875.[1]
(b) The Open Spaces Act, 1906.[2]
(c) The Physical Training and Recreation Act, 1937.[3]
(d) The National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act, 1949.[4]
(e) The Public Health Act, 1961.[5]
(f) The Local Government Act, 1966.[6]

General powers for local authorities to acquire, lay out and detail open space were given under the three early acts; the Public Health Act of 1875, the Open Spaces Act of 1906 and the Physical Training and Recreation Act of 1937.

The Public Health Act, 1875, in section 164, relating to "Public Walks and Pleasure Grounds" still allows a local authority to purchase, lease, maintain, improve or contribute to the support of public walks and pleasure grounds.[7]

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1. Public Health Act, 1875 (38 & 39 Vict. c. 55)

2. Open Spaces Act, 1906 (6 Edw. 7 c. 25)

3. Physical Training and Recreation Act, 1937 (1 Edw. 8 & 1 Geo. 6 c. 46).

4. National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act, 1949 (12, 13 & 14 Geo. 6 c. 97).

5. Public Health Act, 1961 (9 & 10 Eliz. 2, c. 64).

6. Local Government Act, 1966 (c. 42).

7. Roddis, J., The Law of Parks and Recreation Grounds, (Fourth edition, London: Shaw & Sons Limited, 1970), p. 6.

The Open Spaces Act consolidated all enactment relating to open spaces. In the Act, "open space" means 'any land, whether inclosed or not, on which there are no buildings or of which not more than one-twentieth part is covered with buildings, and the whole or the remainder of which is laid out as a garden or is used for purposes of recreation or lies waste and unoccupied. Section 9 of the Act gives powers to local authorities to acquire the freehold or to take a lease or to acquire any right or easement in or over any space; to undertake the entire or partial management or control and make agreements for more purposes.' [8] Royal Parks are excluded from the application of the Open Spaces Act.

The Physical Training and Recreation Act, 1937 allowed land to be purchased for "playing fields, gymnasiums, swimming baths, bathing places, holiday camps .... and other buildings and premises for physical training".[9]

Funds from Central Government are authorised by the Local Government Act 1966. These were modified by the Town and Country Planning Act of 1971, which allows the minister, if land is bought for open space, to change and use the land for other planning purposes.[10]

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8. Roddis, op. cit., pp. 41-44

9. Roddis, op. cit., p. 27.

10. Town and Country Planning Act, 1971 (c. 78)

The Housing Act of 1957 and subsequent acts also allowed a local authority to "provide .... in connection with any such housing accommodation any building adapted for use as a .... recreation ground, or other buildings or land which .... will serve a beneficial purpose in connection with the persons for whom the housing accommodation is provided." [11] Specific aspects of these acts are discussed further.

Most of the new legislation for leisure is concerned with countryside aspects of open space, such as national parks, access to the countryside, nature reserves, camping and caravanning, and not with urban open space.

Financial Aspects in Britain

A. Local Authority Budgets for Open Space

Lamentably, the amount of money spent on recreation and open space is a small proportion of most of the budgets of the major conurbations, such as Birmingham,[12] Wolverhampton,[13] and Leicester,[14] whose structure plans show current attitudes towards expenditures.

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11. Housing Act, 1957 (5 & 6 Eliz. 2, c. 56)
See also: Lewisham, London Borough of, Playground Facilities, (March, 1972), p. 27.

12. Birmingham City Council, Borg, Neville, Structure Plan for Birmingham, Written Statement, (December, 1973)

13. Wolverhampton County Borough, Structure Plan, Written Statement, (1973), pp. 66-68

14. Leicester City Council and Leicestershire County Council, Draft Structure Plan for Leicester and Leicestershire, Written Statement, (June, 1973), p. 114

(see Table 9-1). In Birmingham's budget, 1% was spent on recreation and leisure (including open space); in Wolverhampton's budget for 1971-1976, less than 2% of the budget was spent for leisure and culture, and in Leicester only 1.2% was spent on open space. More than half of Birmingham's budget for recreation and leisure (£5 million) is being spent on a sports centre, costing £3 million between 1976 and 1981, which has already received £2 million, in the previous quinquennium.[15] The percentage of the budget spent on open space is a further small portion of the remaining funds. Open space receives a low priority.

What is true for the Metropolitan Districts of Birmingham and others, is also true for London and the London Boroughs, but to a lesser extent. The Greater London Council and the Boroughs are able to spend more on open space, although the Greater London Council couples the budget for recreational needs with the art budget and spent £11.2 million on art and recreation in 1973.[16] About £8 million was spent on the revenue account to meet running expenses, leaving £3.2 million to be spent on new provisions. However this money was spent on art as well and included the South Bank Art complex, so that cultural organisations as well as park interests were fighting for the same money.

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15. Birmingham, op. cit.

16. Greater London Council, Leisure for Londoners, (February, 1973).

TABLE 9-1

FIG. 17 RELATIVE GROWTH IN CAPITAL EXPENDITURE BY LOCAL GOVERNMENT SERVICES 1971–91

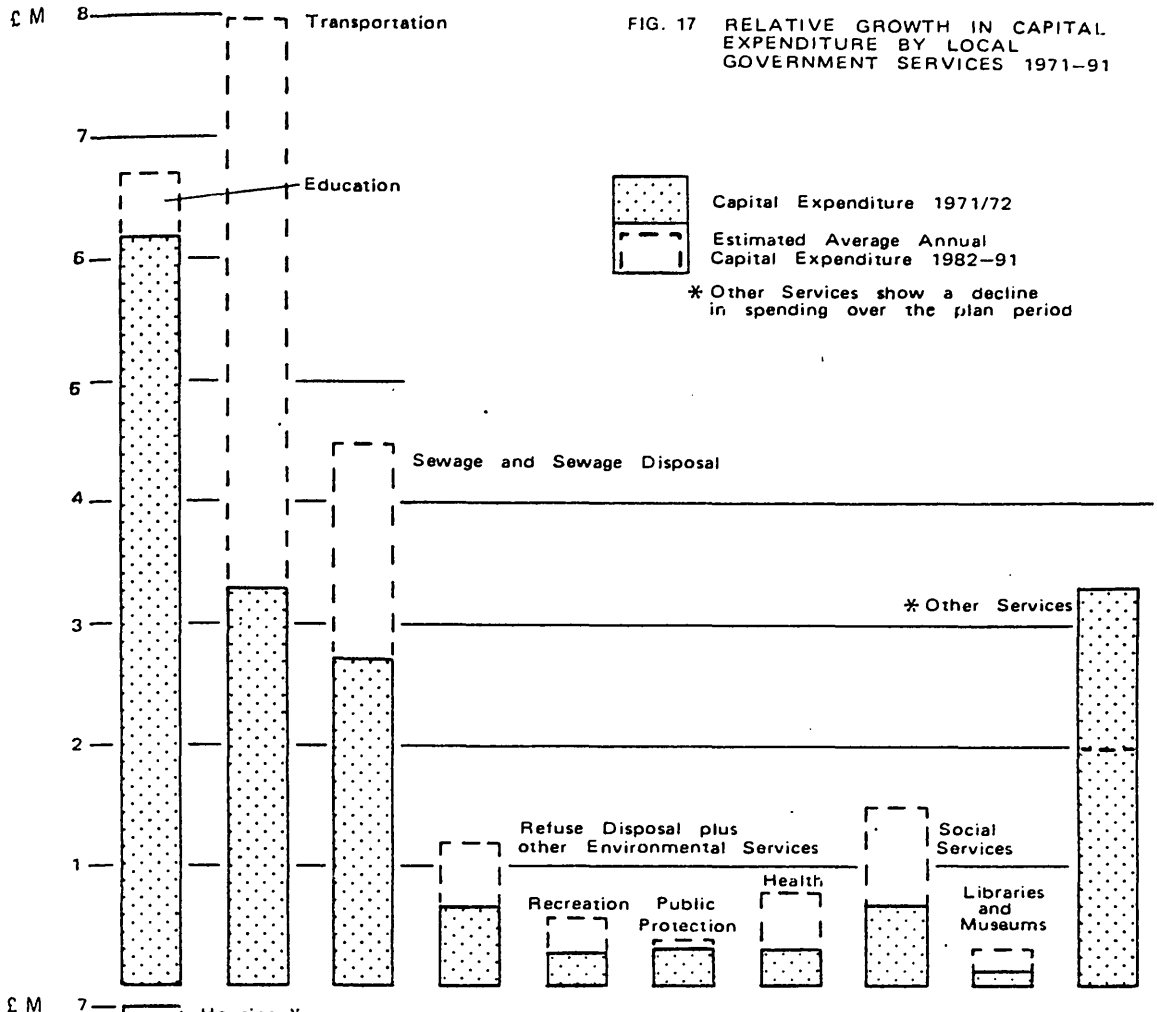
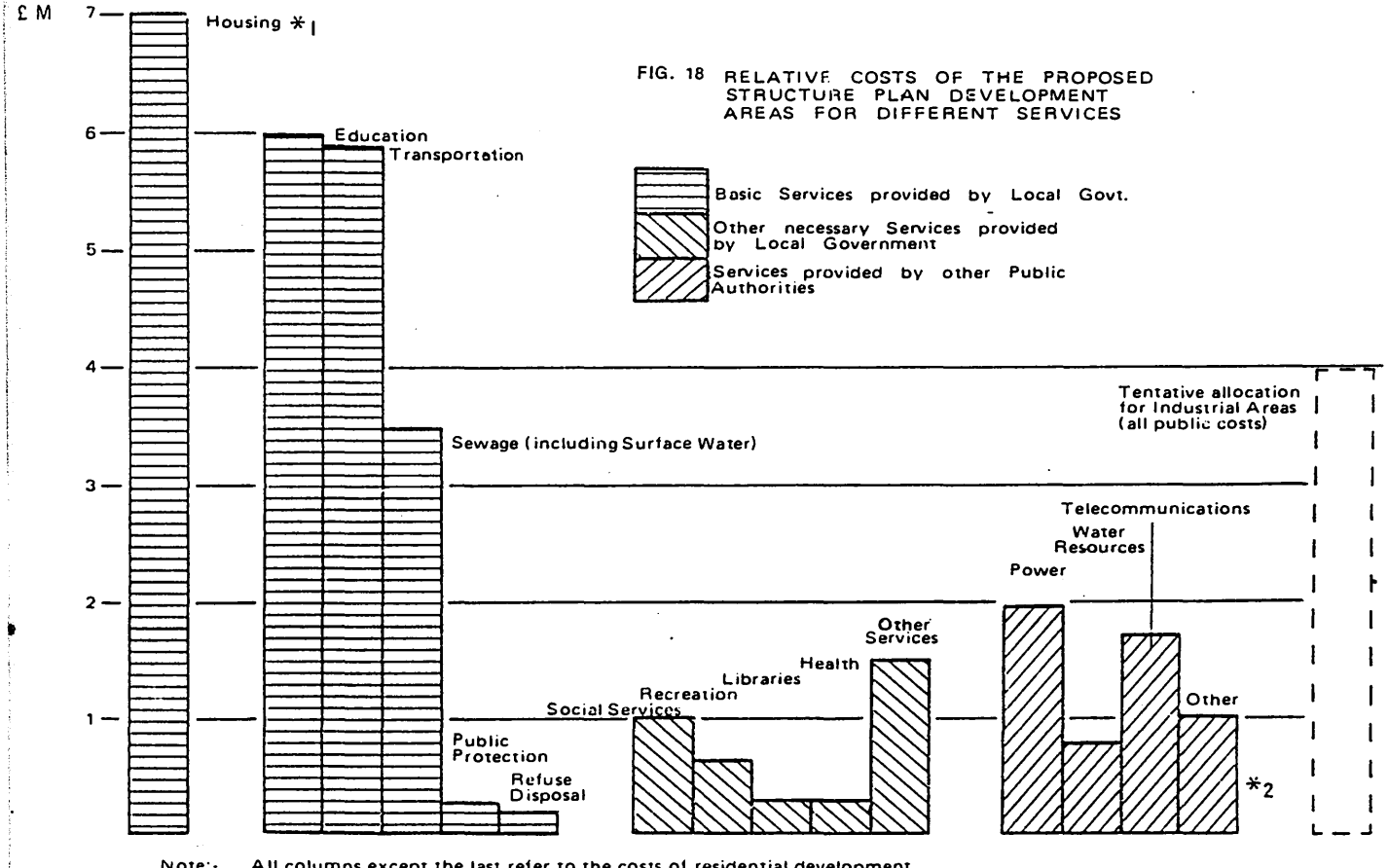


FIG. 18 RELATIVE COSTS OF THE PROPOSED STRUCTURE PLAN DEVELOPMENT AREAS FOR DIFFERENT SERVICES



Note:- All columns except the last refer to the costs of residential development. – the costs of industrial development will depend on the type of industry & the proportion of costs defrayed by developers.

*1 Housing costs will depend on the public/private housing ratio eventually adopted.

*2 Transportation costs for other public bodies cannot be determined until the Land Use Transportation Study is published.

Source: Leicester County and City Planning Departments, Draft Structure Plan for Leicester and Leicestershire, Written Statement, (Leicester City Council, and Leicestershire County Council, June, 1973).

The expenditure of the London Boroughs on arts and recreation in 1972/73 was about £5¼ million and represented about 5% of the net total local government spending in London.

Annual spending by individual London Borough Councils ranged extensively. In 1965/66 Barnet spent £495,000 on its 1,654 acres and Hillingdon spent £296,000 on its 2,923 acres, whereas Hackney was only able to spend £72,000 on a bare 20 acres and Kensington, which represents one of the wealthiest boroughs, spent the lowest amount of £43,000 on 79 acres.[17]

B. Costs of Open Space Acquisition by the Greater London Council and the London Boroughs

The Greater London Council stated in the Greater London Development Plan that the most pressing needs are those problems which are too great for the Greater London Council and particularly the problem of the acute deficiency of open space in Inner London, at the District and Local level which coincides with the deficiencies of other kinds of special provisions such as the lack of play space for children.[18] Brent, for instance, having spent only 2% of its total budgeted expenditure on community facilities and children's playgrounds, considered that an increased level of

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17. Whitaker, Ben and Browne, Kenneth, Parks for People, (Seeley Service and Co., London, 1971), p. 121

18. Greater London Council, Development Plan Statement, 1969

expenditure was required.[19]

The main problem is the high cost of land acquisition which all the Inner London Boroughs, with the exception of the City of London, consider they are unable to pay. Possibly because discussion of land costs invariably forces up prices, most of the London Borough Reports do not discuss costs, and those which do discuss them give the costs in summary form. Furthermore by 1974 only 14 out of the 33 London Boroughs had produced reports on open space.[20] Despite inadequate information, enough information has been provided to give an indication of the great costs of providing open space in the inner areas.

In Kensington prices for land range from £200,000 to £500,000 per acre and to meet even the minimum open space deficiency objective the cost of land acquisition could be as high as £18,000,000 (see Table 9-2). Kensington Borough Council consider this to be a prohibitive sum which would be increased by the extensive loss of rate value, and that to provide open space on the scale suggested in the Greater London Development Plan would be financially irresponsible, and would mean displacement of many people and their homes with all the economic and social implications this would entail.[21]

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19. Brent, London Borough of, Playgrounds in Brent, (1973)

20. See Appendix.

21. Kensington and Chelsea Royal Borough, Leisure and Recreation, Context Paper 2, (1975), p. 12

TABLE 9-2

COSTS OF OPEN SPACE ACQUISITION IN LONDON

	Estimated Cost of Acquisition	Total No. of Acres	Estimated Cost per acre	Estimated Cost of Layout
Outer London Boroughs				
Brent - total green space[1]	£67 million	deficiency of 450 acres	£150,000/acre	additional
School Playing Fields	£18 million	120 acres		
Inner London Boroughs				
Kensington and Chelsea[2]	£7-£18 million		£200,000 - 500,000/acre	additional
City of Westminster[3] specific programme	£918,000	14.2 acres 6.25 acres	£147,000/acre	£169,000
Southwark[4]	£1.9 million (1971) (over 15 years) £2.8 million	45 acres at 3 acres/yr. 60 acres at 4 acres/yr.	£42,000/yr./acre	

1. Brent, London Borough: Open Space and Recreation Provision in Brent, (1970), pp. 8-12.

2. Kensington and Chelsea Royal Borough, Leisure and Recreation, Context Paper 2, 1975.

3. North Westminster Study, (February, 1966), Appendix 3 (1-2).

4. Southwark, London Borough: Open Space Study, Recreation in Southwark, (1971).

Kensington Council considers the only solution is to compromise by accepting an overall concept of leisure and recreation to range from the provision of open space to other community and specialist provision which can be provided indoors. In their view the contribution made by private enterprise in the field of arts and indoor leisure facilities and cultural recreational facilities should be included in the standard, as a borough like Kensington has a wealth of cultural and recreational facilities. In densely urban areas recognition of cultural and recreational facilities should compensate, to some extent, for the shortcomings or lack of facilities such as sports and other open space recreational facilities.

The City of Westminster Council report that it is not easy to provide new recreation facilities in areas which lack them at present because of the conflict between housing need and open space need.[22] In addition locating new recreational facilities is a problem. Residents object to the influx of users and their new noise. Westminster Council has suggested that because space and finance are limited it may be necessary to offer a lower standard of provision than would otherwise be thought desirable and that this would reflect the residents' desires.

The City of Westminster proposed for the next decade to provide only 14.2 acres of new public open space, of which 7.95

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22. Westminster City Council, City of Westminster Development Plan, Leisure in Westminster, Summary S4, (December, 1974)

acres was already in the Council's ownership.[23] Most of the new acreage was to be in North Paddington to provide a network of local open space in parallel with the stages of housing development and related to the pedestrian routes, schools and shopping centres. The intent was laudable but the actual acreage pitifully small. The estimated costs were as follows:[24]

TABLE 9-3

City of Westminster Estimated Costs of Open Space (1966-1976)

Estimated cost of acquisition of 6.25 acres	£918,000 or £147,000 per acre
Estimated cost of layout of 14.2 acres	£169,000
Total cost over a decade for 14 acres	£1,087,000

For Islington to achieve their plan, it would cost 22 to 23 million pounds and 2¼ million pounds of this expenditure would have to come from a central Government allocation for locally determined schemes.[25] Without an increase in the level of allocation

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23. Westminster City Council, North Westminster Study, (February, 1966), Appendix 3, (1-2)
See also Westminster City Council, Problems, Issues and Priorities, Development Plan, Report on Stage One (October 1974), pp.105-111

24. Westminster City Council, op. cit., Appendix 6, (2)

25. Islington, London Borough: Blythe, K.G., Islington Borough Community Plan - Recreational Open Space, Topic Paper Review, (February, 1974)

of funds from the central Government to Islington, the programme could not even be achieved in fifteen years. It is more likely that it would take twenty-five years to achieve the proposals.

Southwark Borough has a more complex problem, caused by its existing environmental deprivation. The Southwark Borough Council plan is an ambitious one to provide 32 local parks, 19 small parks, and 13 gardens which would link the individual open spaces.[26] The plan seems totally unrealistic as such a plan would mean the politically impossible displacement of 14,000 people. Southwark is a primary example where a Borough should adopt ideas which are more ingenuous than the inadequate approach which they are suggesting.

Southwark's proposals are based on a programme of implementation of 3 acres a year which would cost the Council about £1.9 million for the first fifteen years and represents a capital expenditure of about £125,000 a year. A 2-acre a year programme would take forty five years, while a 4 acre a year programme of acquisition would take twenty two and a half years to complete.[27] Indeed the overall cost, which has to be met by the ratepayer, increases the longer the period of implementation and worse still, inflation affects all estimated development costs. Southwark is

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26. Southwark, London Borough: Recreation in Southwark, Open Space Study, An analysis and proposed strategy and programme for the provision of Public Open Space, (January, 1971).

27. Southwark, op. cit.

a blatant example of an inner city area which must think of other approaches.

Other Boroughs note that proposed open spaces in former development plans have proved vulnerable due to pressures in addition to lack of finance, such as lack of initiative, the needs of other uses and inadequate building. Future proposals need to be more clearly programmed and financed for implementation.

Since the high cost of land increasingly appears to make the provision of new open spaces problematical, many Boroughs consider that future additional provision can only be met in redevelopment areas, and where these redevelopment areas do not coincide with areas of specific need, alternative means of provision must be discussed so that the local parks provision can be increased. It is here that greater ingenuity needs to be exercised.

C. Costs of Open Space Acquisition in the Major Conurbations

Costs of open space acquisition in the major conurbations are a great deal lower and do not reach the staggering burdens that the London Boroughs must bear. In Leeds costs were as low as £3,000 per acre while the greatest cost Liverpool reached was £50,000 per acre (see Table 9-4).[28] Sunderland outside Newcastle reached a cost of £7,000 approximately per acre, high for Sunderland but manageable.[29]

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28. Leeds City Council, Public Open Space Development (1973) Liverpool City Council, Inner Areas Plan Review, Appendix 74, Recreational Open Space (1974).
29. Sunderland Borough Council, Rafeek, A.T., Hendon District Plan, (March, 1976)

TABLE 9-4 COMPARATIVE COSTS OF NEW OPEN SPACES

BOROUGH/DISTRICT	TYPE OF OPEN SPACE	APPROXIMATE ACREAGE	ESTIMATED GROSS COST	DATE	COST/ACRE
Leeds	Dual-use public open space - hard, paved, loose surfaced ball games area set within a landscaped and planted open space land reclamation	2.8	£ 8,000	1973	£2,857
		4.8	£13,706		£2,855
		20.0	£12,347		£ 617
Liverpool Inner Areas (Layout Costs only do not include land costs)	Open spaces	1.0	£ 5,000	1974	£5,000 (layout costs)
		2.0	£30,000		£15,000
		2.8	£15,000		£5,357
		52.7	£905,000		£17,173
		3.5	£40,000		£11,428
		1.2	£56,000		£46,666
		15.1	£120,000		£7,947
		11.0	£100,000		£9,090
		2.2	£9,000		£4,091
		1.1	£10,000		£9,091
		1.4	£15,000		£10,714
	Hard surface dual use plots	2.4	£70,000		£29,166
	All weather pitches Pitches	9.0	£100,000		£11,111
	PART/ADVENTURE PLAYGROUND	6.0	£75,000		£12,500
	All weather dual use pitches	13.0	£130,000		£10,000
	Conservation Area	18.0	£44,500		£2,472

Leeds City Council, Public Open Space Development: Little London (1973) Burley Village (1973)
Liverpool City Council, Inner Areas Plan Review (1974) Appendix 74, Recreational Open Space.

All scheme costs are adjusted by 10% inflation factor/year to 1974 level.

TABLE 9-4 COMPARATIVE COSTS OF NEW OPEN SPACE - 1975 PRICES

BOROUGH/DISTRICT	TYPE OF OPEN SPACE	OPEN SPACE APPROXIMATE ACREAGE	ESTIMATED GROSS COSTS	DATE	COST/ACRE
Brent, London[1]	Adventure Playground			1975-1977	£30,000 £46,000 £20,000 £20,000
South Kilburn	Amenity Open Space Area 1974	3.83	£27,500	(1974 + 10%)	£ 7,200
	Children's Playground		£15,000		
Sunderland Borough[2]		.6	£ 4,400	(1974 + 10%)	£ 6,666
South Hylton Dist.		.8	£ 4,400	(1974 + 10%)	£ 5,625
Sunderland Borough South Hylton Dist.	28 Leisure Garden Plots 15 Pigeon Lofts and associated car parking		£42,630	(1974 + 10%)	£ 8,526
Sunderland Borough[3] Hendon District		1.4	£ 4,300	1975	
		.4	£ 2,700		
		.7	£ 3,000		
		.6	£ 4,000		
		.3	£ 2,000		
		3.4	£16,000		£ 4,706/acre
Sunderland Borough[4]		27.0	£150,000	1975	£ 5,555/acre
South Hylton Dist.		1.5	£ 4,000	(involved reclamation)	£ 2,666/acre

1. Brent, London Borough of, Playgrounds in Brent, Interim Report (Community Facilities Working Party) p. 3.
2. Sunderland Borough, South Hylton District Plan (March 1974)
3. Sunderland Borough, Hendon District Plan (March 1976)
4. Sunderland Borough, South Hylton District Plan (March 1976)

D. Costs of Different Types of Open Space

Costs also vary greatly between the type of facility provided. If car parking is associated with the facility, the open space costs go up, as for instance, with the cost of playing fields at Liverpool (see Table 9-4). If only soft landscaping is used the costs are lower, as at Leeds. The soft landscaped park, the mobile facility, the temporary park and the playground are all less expensive forms of open space.

The small local park, the small amenity open space, can cost less than £5000 in any British city except London. In an inner urban area one is more likely to find possibilities for three one-quarter acre small local parks than find the finance for a single local park at £50,000 to £150,000.

Costs of playgrounds can be adversely affected by high costs of land and land availability, even though the amount of land required is less than for other forms of open space. The Department of the Environment gives financial aid only for playgrounds within housing areas, so that while some local deficiency in playgrounds can be removed as a part of redevelopment, the overall problem cannot be solved without searching for alternatives.

Increasing use of indoor space should receive priority for

provision because of the greater utilization factor in the context of rising costs in the competition for land.

Mobile leisure facilities can also be inexpensive alternatives. Playgroup lorries or packaged units for playgroups or adventure playgrounds can arrive by scheduled buses and be deposited for a week in a neighbourhood and then taken onto the next neighbourhood. Disused derelict buildings can also be used by installing a mobile play unit or leisure facility within them. Mobile play units can be used as part of permanent or even temporary youth centres and any of the work of unloading and loading these mobile units could be done by the neighbourhood residents themselves.

E. Sources of Finance

Sources of finance for open space programmes mainly come from local government, but there is some finance from central government, special government and private organisations. A summary of local authority powers and sources of finance is given in Table 9-5.

1. Sources of Funds: Grants from Local Government

(a) District Councils

The main source of funds remains the District Councils under the present system of local government. The percentage allocation rests between 2-5% of the budget. Raising funds by rates provides the capital.

In certain instances people are prepared to pay additional

TABLE 9-5

LOCAL AUTHORITY POWERS AND SOURCES OF FINANCE [1]

SERVICES/FACILITIES	LEGISLATION OR OTHER SOURCE OF AUTHORITY
General Powers of Local Authority	
1. Power to acquire open space	Open Spaces Act, 1907.
2. Power to provide open space by the receiving Authority	Town Development Act 1962.
3. Power to provide physical training recreation facilities including playing fields, gymnasia, swimming baths, camp sites, and associated buildings and equipment.	Physical Training and Recreation Act, 1937.
4. Power to carry out any building or work on land when no other powers are available.	Town and Country Planning Act, 1962.
5. Power to improve the area of Local Authority.	The Local Authorities (Land) Act, 1963.
Grants to Local Authority	
6. For providing buildings and other works for social and recreational purposes.	Town Development Act, 1962 as extended by the Town and Country Planning Act, 1968.
7. Up to half cost for acquisition of land for public open space.	Local Government Act, 1966.
8. Half cost for acquisition and reclamation of derelict (for whatever use, including recreation).	Local Government Act, 1966.

9.	75% cost of acquisition of land and carrying out works to form a countryside park.	Countryside Act, 1968.
10.	In addition, a County Council may, at its discretion, make contributions to District Councils for provision of public playing fields, sports and community centres, children's playgrounds etc.	Education Act, 1944

Grants to Voluntary Bodies

11.	For acquisition of land (up to 50%); provision of playing fields, gymnasia, swimming baths, pavilions, etc. provision of initial equipment, professional fees.	Physical Training and Recreation Acts, 1937 and 1958, Education Act, 1944.

Loans to Voluntary Bodies

12.	By National Playing Fields Association, for provision of playing fields and associated facilities.	Discretion of N.P.F.A.
13.	By governing bodies of certain sports, for provision of playing fields and associated facilities.	Discretion of governing bodies.
14.	Charities	Discretion of governing bodies.

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1. Tamworth Borough Council, Tamworth Open Space, Open Air Recreation in an Expanding Town. (Town Development Team and Tamworth Borough Council, September, 1970).

rates for specific projects for a specific period. Otherwise there is antagonism towards paying higher rates if they appear to be a permanent drain upon people's resources. Chester Council has been able to impose an extra conservation rate of 0.8p which the Government matches. This has given Chester an income of over £400,000 per annum to spend on conservation projects.[31] Similar rates could be set up for open space, under existing rates taxation procedures.

(b) Greater London

The responsibility for providing recreation facilities in London is shared between the Greater London Council and the London Boroughs. Local government finance therefore comes both from the GLC and the local councils. Finance is made available from the GLC resources for the GLC itself to carry out schemes. Needless to say the Boroughs contend that the GLC does not carry a sufficient financial responsibility. In addition the Inner London Education Authority makes finance available for play activities by allowing school premises to be used outside school hours and by running holiday activities. Many of the London Boroughs have recommended that the GLC provides financial aid for play schemes within the wards identified as the deprived areas in need of urgent action.[32]

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31. McKean, Charles, Fight Blight, (Kaye and Ward, Ltd., 1977).
32. See Hammersmith, op. cit., and Kensington and Chelsea, op. cit.

2. Sources of funds: Grants from Central Government

(a) Local Government Act, 1966 Grant

Under Section 8 of the Local Government Act, 1966, the Minister may pay grants in approved cases in respect of expenditure incurred by local authorities in connection with the acquisition of land under any enactment for use as public open space.[33] The grant is payable annually in approved cases and is 50% of the national annual loan charges referable to the expenditure met from loan on acquisition of the approved land.

The government also pays a grant of 75% for the acquisition and layout of country parks and only up to 50% for the acquisition costs of urban parks. Some local authorities, seeing that they could get more funds by creating a country park, have emphasized country parks rather than urban parks. The 25% differential has been to the detriment of urban parks.

(b) Urban Aid

The Home Office has administered grants under the Urban Aid Programme (Local Government Grants (Social Need) Act 1969) which has provided 75% of additional expenditure incurred by local councils in areas of special social need interest, and 75% to local councils and 100% to other organisations for research.[34] The central

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33. Town and Country Planning (Grants) Regulations 1968 Circular 12/68. Local Government Act, 1966, Section 8

34. McKean, op. cit.

Government has given aid through this scheme to local authorities with areas of multiple deprivation, overcrowding and lack of amenities. The requests for urban aid grants have to come through the local council who can amend or approve a community's or their own scheme.

The pool from which grants have been allocated has been severely limited. For example, the Home Office received applications for £14.4 million in Urban Aid grants in 1975 (phase 14 of the Urban Aid programme) as compared with the £4 million which was available.[35] Hammersmith Borough Council complained that by 1973 it had received approval for only one scheme.[36] Hammersmith noted that although voluntary bodies had had slightly more success, Urban Aid grants had only been an occasional and exceptional source of finance at that time. Kensington and Chelsea also noted that the Urban Aid programme to inner urban areas was inadequate and could not provide play provision.[37]

(c) Special Grants

Funds labelled "special grants" may be granted by the Minister or the Secretary of State for Scotland for unusual requests.

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35. McKean, op. cit.

36. Hammersmith, London Borough: Children's Play Facilities, Working Party, (1973) pp. 20-21.

37. Kensington and Chelsea, op. cit.

3. Sources of funds: Grants from other Government Organisations

(a) Development Grants

Development grants are only available for intermediate or development areas, and consist of (1) a grant of 85% of the net capital expenditure incurred in enabling derelict, neglected or unsightly land situated within development, intermediate or derelict land clearance areas to be brought into use or improved in appearance (Local Employment Act 1972)[38] and (2) a grant of 50% of the national loan charges incurred in carrying out works for the reclamation or improvement of derelict, neglected or unsightly land anywhere in England and Wales (1966 Local Government Act).[39]

Loans are also available from the Department of Trade and Industry for projects which provide additional employment. If enough local open space projects were proposed, a programme might qualify.

(b) Tourist Grants

Both the English and Scottish Tourist Boards give loans and grants for tourist projects in development areas (Development and Tourism Act 1969).[40] These grants could apply to heritage trails, nature trails, and other specialist open space uses which double

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38. Local Employment Act, 1972, (c. 5)

39. Local Government Act, 1966, op. cit.

40. Development of Tourism Act, 1969, (c. 51)

as local open spaces.

(c) Job Creation Schemes and the Manpower Services Commission

A wide range of projects were considered under the Job Creation Scheme, as supervised by the Manpower Services Commission. The jobs, including minor labour-intensive improvements to urban areas and the creation and improvement of local open space were sponsored by the local Councils, and supervision was paid for by the Manpower Services Commission. Latterly only youth labour and essential adult supervision has been sponsored by the Manpower Services Commission. If the programme continues, it will remain a definite means for creating and improving open space.

As an example, the Greater London Council gave £12,000 for environmental work in Bermondsey Comprehensive Development Area.[41] Under the job creation scheme, a small organisation of one or two full-time employees (including a gardener) managed a team of youths who planted, constructed or cultivated small open spaces. What normally deters Councils from employing small sums on such schemes is the strong leadership required to run such a scheme. Not only does the gardener need to know the techniques of landscaping, but he also needs to be a firm leader of youth, and also able to cope with all the bureaucratic forms for employment and national

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41. McKean, op. cit.

insurance that such a project requires. The Job Creation Scheme is useful if local Councils can organise such a project.

(d) Community Industry

Community Industry is another activity which can be organised by the local district council to help socially disadvantaged young people. The projects must be for the good of the community and be work that would otherwise not be done.

3. Sources of Funds: Grants from Voluntary and Non-Profit Organizations and Other Sources

Although local authority finance is the primary source of funds for a local open space programme, the demands on local authorities are proving too great and it is necessary to consider other sources of funds.

Local communities and non-official agencies can often raise sufficient funds to implement small open space projects. When local community organisations, like church groups, conservation societies, housing associations, and other community groups, take on community projects, the advantages can be numerous. The overall financial risk is smaller, the District Council's financial responsibility is reduced, although matching funds should always be requested, the damage caused by possible failure is less, and yet a greater section of the population is taking part in the enhancement of their own neighbourhood.

It would further be to the District Council's advantage to see if any of the tasks which they now try to perform could not be performed better by local people. Labour, goodwill and local leadership can be offered free by local people.

There are a number of methods of raising money for local open space projects, of which a number are discussed.

(a) Voluntary Organisations

Voluntary organisations provide finance from their own resources for the provision of equipment and staff for schemes run by them, which can also be partially supported by Council finance. Voluntary organisations can also provide through the donation of land, facilities or money by private organisations. They can provide recreational facilities for youth clubs and community associations under the direction of main governing bodies such as the Central Council of Physical Recreation. There are also the organisations which are the self-appointed guardians of recreational facilities acting as pressure groups as, for example, the National Playing Fields Association, the Adventure Playgrounds Association and the Civic Trust.

On a local level, voluntary groups consist of community associations, Association of Youth Clubs, which are very often supported by local authorities, and on the other hand, the local societies for sports clubs and social groups which are self-supporting.

Many of these groups are now receiving local authority support and will need matching or more funds in the future.

(b) Charities

Charities are a good source of funds if they can be persuaded to support an open space project.[42] Charities are normally business-like, have good local contacts, and a firm community respect upon which projects can be based.

Administrative Aspects in Britain

The administrative aspects of the provision and maintenance of open space are almost as complicated as the financial aspects. The problems of Greater London again mirror the problems of the other major conurbations, and to a lesser extent London's problems with a two tier division of responsibility for parks and open spaces is repeated in the districts.

Before the Greater London Council was created, the Parks Department for London County had acquired a high reputation for the provision of parks and children's play facilities. This responsibility was then taken over by the Greater London Council after considerable bargaining.

The present responsibility for providing public recreation

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42. Charities Aid Fund, Directory of Grant-Making Trusts, (48 Penbury Road, Tonbridge, Kent)

facilities is shared between the Greater London Council and the London Boroughs, according to the London Government Act of 1963.[43]

The Greater London Council has overall strategic responsibility for recreation provision in the London Boroughs. The Greater London Council has also to provide and manage the parks, commons, and open spaces which have significance for the whole of London or the South-East Region.

The London Boroughs are then responsible for the provision and management of local parks open space and recreation facilities for their local communities. A division of responsibility is shown in Table 9-6. Other public bodies also provide recreation facilities. The Department of the Environment and the National Trust manage over 6,000 acres of royal parks and other public open space; the Corporation of the City of London manages large areas of open space, and certain commons like Wimbledon and Putney are under the special guardianship of particular governing boards.

Lately there have been more new authorities which have taken on recreation as part of their work. These agencies include the Forestry Commission, the Lea Valley Regional Park Authority, the British Waterways Board, and the Metropolitan Water Board. In addition the education authorities and particularly the Inner London Education Authority also provide recreation and recreation

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43. Greater London Council, Leisure for Londoners, op. cit.

TABLE 9-6

TYPE OF PROVISION, DEPARTMENT OR AGENCY RESPONSIBLE, NATURE OF RESPONSIBILITY

TYPE OF PROVISION	DEPARTMENT/AGENCY	RESPONSIBILITY
UNSUPERVISED PLAYGROUNDS	Depending on location In parks: GLC or LBL Parks/Surveyor's Dept. On Housing Estates: GLC or LBL Housing Department	Ensuring that there is adequate provision, management and maintenance of children's play spaces in new and older housing estates
	Others: Surveyor's Department	
SUPERVISED PLAYGROUNDS	GLC Parks Department	Provision and running of One-O'Clock Clubs and holiday play-parks and Under 5's Play Areas.
	GLC Housing Dept/ Parks Dept.	Provision of land and equipment for Adventure play areas in housing estates in association with Parks Department
	LBL Parks Dept. Voluntary Groups	Usually running grant-aided adventure playgrounds
SCHOOL PLAYGROUNDS (Dual Use)	GLC Housing Dept/ ILEA	Negotiation for shared use/management/supervision of school playgrounds both on new development and older estates out of school hours for Junior Clubs or Play Centres
	ILEA	Provision and design of dual use school playgrounds in conjunction with school Division
		Maintaining and management of school playgrounds during school hours

Lewisham, London Borough, Playground Facilities, 1973, p. 26.

facilities.

The controversy that surrounded the transfer of the handing over of part of the old London County Council parks system to the Boroughs highlighted the difficulties of administering a park system which contains metropolitan scale parks as well as tiny open spaces. Opponents of the handover argued that the Boroughs, and particularly the Inner London Boroughs, would be unable to look after the parks and open spaces.

Eventually the defenders of the Greater London Council parks administration were able to achieve a provision for the GLC to retain parks and open spaces which were 'for the benefit of the area of Greater London substantially larger' than the borough concerned.[44] The opposition to the transfer wanted to make certain that London's great open spaces were not left to the care or non-care of the small boroughs who were ill-equipped to look after them. The GLC on its part was trying to rid itself of financial and administrative responsibilities for the small and medium sized spaces which would be entirely used by local people. The most powerful argument was the one which argued in favour of a parks administration which had been of such high quality. As Aldous points out, the idea of "throwing away decades of effort spent in building up a standard rare in parks management, and to dismantle an existing efficient

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44. Aldous, T., Battle for the Environment, (Fontana, 1972), p.123-4

and progressive organisation in the hypothetical belief that the separate organisations of thirty-two London boroughs would mostly be able to match its standards was too much of a gamble."[45]

In the end the Greater London Council kept responsibility for 47 out of its original 172 parks and a significant 5,530 acres out of a former total of 7,615 acres. The GLC now looks after all the major open spaces, including eight medium sized parks of between 50 and 200 acres, which were a marginal category within the London Government Act and could have been the responsibility of either the Boroughs or the GLC.

Boroughs were reluctant to take up responsibilities without extra funds and especially the Inner London Boroughs, like Southwark, were opposed to the transfer. Boroughs were also reluctant to assume responsibility for an open space if the majority of users came from the neighbouring Borough. The Greater London Development Plan opted out of its responsibilities for open space, and tried to pass the responsibility along to the Boroughs. As has been shown, this has been disastrous for the Inner London Boroughs.

There are further administrative problems within the individual Boroughs. For example, the City of Westminster notes difficulties with the division of responsibility for the provision of open space between the Housing Committee and the Works Committee

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45. Aldous, op. cit., p. 124

responsible for public open space.[46]

Legislative Aspects in the United States

Legislation for the acquisition, layout and maintenance of open space include:[47]

(a) The Housing Act of 1961

(b) The Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965

(c) The Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968

(d) The Model Cities Act of 1968

(e) The Housing and Community Development Act of 1974

Under the Kennedy administration the Housing Act of 1961 provided grants for the acquisition of open space. Localities could qualify for grants not exceeding 20% of the cost of acquiring title to or interest in land of scenic or recreational value. This limitation was increased to 30% if the land was within a metropolitan area.

President Johnson's programme for open space was incorporated in the *Housing and Urban Development* Act of 1965, in which the maximum federal grant was increased from 30% to 50% of the cost of

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46. North Westminster Study, op. cit., Appendix 3 (2)
47. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Housing Act of 1961, (Washington, D.C., 1961)
Department of Housing and Urban Development, Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965, and Beautification Aid for Urban Areas, (Washington, D.C., November, 1965).
Department of Housing and Urban Development, Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968 and Model Cities Act of 1968 (Washington, D.C., 1968).
Department of Housing and Urban Development, Housing and Community Development Act of 1974 (Washington, D.C., 1974).

acquiring and developing the land. Activities eligible for the grant included the development of parks, malls, squares, public waterfront areas, and walkways. Street furniture, such as lighting and benches, tree planting and decorative paving were also part of the Beautification Aid Scheme.

Funds were available under a variety of programmes:[48]

1. Public Works Planning - included recreation projects.

2. Community Renewal Programmes - included community recreation.

3. Model Neighbourhoods in Model Cities - urban renewal.

4. Open Space Land Programme - to help communities acquire and develop land for parks, recreation, conservation or historic purposes in urban areas. Grants were up to 50% of the costs involved in acquiring and developing land for open space use.

5. Title VII Demonstration Project - these grants of 50% were for special demonstration projects in the fields of open space land acquisition and development, historic preservation and urban beautification.

6. Urban Beautification and Improvement Programme.

7. Comprehensive Planning Assistance Programme.

8. Urban Renewal Programme.

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48. Department of the Interior, Federal Assistance in Outdoor Recreation, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1970), pp. 61-64

Although Congress declined to give President Johnson his requested increased HUD Open Space Programme from $75 million to $200 million, open space and recreation development were a major part of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968 which authorised grants amounting to 80% of the cost of planning a model neighbourhood programme.[49]

The Model Cities Act was passed in 1968, but appropriations declined under the Nixon and Ford policies of benign neglect.[50] President Nixon, in the pre-election months of 1971, requested $2 billion for General Revenue Sharing and Urban Community Development Revenue Sharing between the Federal Government and the major metropolitan areas. Once elected, by 1973 such requests were no longer being made.

However, the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974 established a Community Block Grant programme to replace the above listed federal programmes which included Urban renewal, Model Cities, Neighbourhood Facilities and the Open Space land programme.[51]

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49. Council of Environmental Quality, The Second Annual Report of the Council on Environmental Quality, (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971), p. 201

50. See Chapter III

51. U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Consolidated Community Development Block Grant Regulations, (Washington, D.C., July, 1976)

Grants for Open Space also continue under Title VII of the Housing Act of 1961.

It is noticeable that the titles of the urban acts have changed from urban to community, reflecting concern for local issues. Now the emphasis is still further scaled down to neighbourhood help. President Carter's National Urban policy is attempting to recognise the mutually supportive roles for local development and improvement involving the public, private and community sectors, by increasing the involvement of the third element, the community sector.[52]

Recognition has been given to the vast array of neighbourhood organisations, voluntary associations, non-profit groups and other self-help groups that are part of community life. Recent amendments to the Housing and Community Development Act include the word 'neighbourhood' as a big element in the objectives of the act and all applications for recent grants are favoured if they fulfill 'neighbourhood reclamation' objectives.

Some 47 programmes now exist (see fig. 9-1) to help neighbourhoods, including the Urban Recreation Demonstration programmes, administered by the Department of the Interior, and Community Development Block grants administered by HUD which directly aid open space programmes.[53]

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52. Kaptor, Marcia, "Neighborhoods and Urban Policy,- The view from the White House", The Practising Planner, The American Institute of Planners, Vol. 8, No. 3 (September, 1978).

53. Kaptor, op. cit., pp. 6-7

Neighborhood Related Federal Programs

Program	Agency	No. of Projects	Budget Appropriations (Dollars in Millions)
Economic Development			
Special Projects Program	Economic Development Administration	9 Grants & Contracts 5 Loans	1.4 7.1
Neighborhood Preservation Project	HUD/Federal Home Loan Bank Board	27	—
Neighborhood Housing Services Program	HUD/Federal Home Loan Bank Board	46	8.9 (for both projects)
Minority Bank Deposit Program	Dept. of Treasury	—	127.0
Minority Business Development Program	Office of Minority Business Enterprise	300	—
Small Business Administration Loan Program	Small Business Administration	1500	115.0 (in loan guarantees) 35.0 (in direct funds)
Economic Development Program	Community Service Administration (CSA)	40 CDCs	48.0
Neighborhood Improvements			
Volunteers in Service to America	ACTION	320	15.2
University Year for Action	ACTION	29	3.0
Youth Challenge Program	ACTION	12	0.1
Retired Senior Volunteer Program	ACTION	415	12.0
Senior Companions Program	ACTION	30	4.2
Foster Grandparent Program	ACTION	117	21.2
Youth Community Service	ACTION	1	8.0
Community Anti Crime Program	LEAA	150	25.0
Research on Selfhelp Practices and Institutions at the Family and Community Level	Office of Human Development Services, HEW	2	0.4
Public Health Service Programs	Public Health Service, HEW	574	247.0
Expansion Arts Program	National Endowment for the Arts	600	6.8
City Arts	National Endowment for the Arts	11	0.8
City Spirit	National Endowment for the Arts	20	0.4
Arts Centers and Festivals	National Endowment for the Arts	25	0.8
Learning Through the Arts	National Endowment for the Arts	11	0.2
Comprehensive Employment Training Act	Dept. of Labor	—	12.0
Youth Community Conservation Improvements Project	Dept. of Labor	—	88.0
Department of Health, Education and Welfare	—	—	—
Youth Employment and Training Program	Dept. of Labor	—	450.0
OHDS Transportation Demonstration Program	Office of Human Development/HEW, Dept. of Transportation	5	0.4
Works of Art in Public Places	National Endowment for the Arts	40	0.7
Community Action Program	Community Services Administration	878 Centers	326.6
Senior Opportunities and Services	Community Services Administration	—	12.1
Community Food and Nutrition Program	Community Services Administration	—	26.7
Livable Cities	National Endowment for the Arts	54	1.0
Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service	Dept. of Interior	78	64.2
Urban Recreation Demonstration Program	Dept. of Interior	1	6.0
Historic Preservation Fund-in-Aid Program and Challenge Grants	Dept. of Interior	—	—
Transfer of Surplus Federal Real Properties Program	Dept. of Interior	—	—
Historic American Buildings Survey	Dept. of Interior	—	—
Historic American Engineering Record	Dept. of Interior	5	—
Community Development Block Grants	HUD	1300	3,500.0
Urban Development Action Grants	HUD	50	400.0
Section 312	HUD	—	80.0
Urban Homesteading	HUD	39 Cities	15.0
Community Conservation Research	HUD	1	0.1
Neighborhood Strategy Area Program	HUD	20,000 Units	78.0
Energy and Winterization Program	CSA	—	26.7

Kaptur, Marcia, "Neighborhoods and Urban Policy", Practicing Planner, American Institute of Planners, Vol. 8, No. 3, (September, 1978).

A special Urban Parks and Recreation programme is proposed by President Carter's administration to provide $150 million per year worth of grants to rehabilitate and maintain urban parks and recreation facilities under the joint administration of the Housing and Urban Development Department and the Department of the Interior. If this programme takes place open space provision should noticeably increase.[54]

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54. Note: Since this study was written, the Carter Administration has passed the Urban Park and Recreation Recovery Act of 1978, to be administered by the Department of the Interior. This act authorises a five year $725 million programme based on the concept that recreation in cities can often best be served by restoring, upgrading, reconditioning and recovering facilities which have deteriorated. The Urban Park Recovery Programme is partly a result of a national/urban recreation study completed in 1978 which showed that urban recreation systems were in a crisis situation in most U.S. cities. In the study, 77% of the residents' samples were dissatisfied with their recreational opportunity, and in low income neighbourhoods, dissatisfaction approached 100%.

Grants under the Urban Park Recovery Programme will be awarded on a 70% federal share, and a 30% local matching share basis. However a 15% state contribution will be awarded with the possibility of an additional 15% federal share, which would, in those cases, eliminate the municipal share entirely.

The Department of the Interior will administer the programme through its Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service. Of the grant, 3% of each year's funding will go toward planning grants and 10% of the total will be available for innovative projects. The Urban Park Recovery Programme for the revitalisation of urban parks is one of the most promising programmes for many years. (Chestnut Hill Local, Thursday May 17, 1979, p. 19).

Administrative and Financial Aspects in the United States

Open space acquisition in the United States was spurred on by the unprecedented wave of public interest in and demand for open space, in new techniques and programmes and in new incentives for recreation. This wave of public interest subsided, once the Vietnam and Watergate traumas focused public attention elsewhere.

Nevertheless a variety of new methods and techniques for acquiring open spaces and controlling open spaces have developed. These techniques allow for greater flexibility and response to indigenous requirements. Three methods of acquiring open space are:

1. Direct acquisition
2. Various forms of regulation
3. Taxation, direct and indirect.

A. 1. Acquisition

Acquisition of open space is the normal method for local authorities through either compulsory purchase, donation or outright purchase. A further tool which has been developed in the United States, but not in Britain, is the purchase of easement rights, where the development rights of an open space are purchased through an easement agreement. There are some advantages to this kind of neutralising system in a country with few planning controls.

A.2 Costs of Open Space

Acquisition costs vary enormously but valuable examples of low cost open space are the small urban parks. In 1967, the average cost of a small urban park was less than £2,000, which provided new pavements, casting and joining structural walls, material paving and soft surfacing, greenery, play equipment, benches, masonry, retaining walls or painting and fencing.[55] (see Table 9-7). In 1970, costs for small urban parks in New York City on vacant land were £10,000 to £15,000.

TABLE 9-7[55]

TEEN PARK

Initial Expense	
Electric lighting	$ 900
Painting	720
Canopy	520
Furniture	315
Public address system	270
Trees and flowers	185
Carpentry	745
Other	315
Total	$3,970
First-Year Repair and Replacement	$ 789
Cleaning and Maintenance, Per Year	$1,000

55. Seymour, op. cit., pp. 30-31.

TABLE 9-7

TOT PARK

Initial Expense	
Land	$ 750
Retaining walls and concrete surface	2,930
Fencing	1,400
Painting	378
Trees and Shrubs	300
Tree house	195
Wooden play blocks	95
Wooden boat (used)	20
Tables	23
Miscellaneous	26
Total	$ 6,117
First-Year Repair and Replacement	
Tree house	210
Painting	100
Sand	75
Planting	80
Picnic tables	70
Rowboat (used)	15
Miscellaneous	47
Total	$ 597
Cleaning and Maintenance, per Year	$ 1,000

ADULT PARK

Initial Expense	
Land	$ 750
Trees and landscaping	4,550
Brick paving	601
Picnic table	70
Other	32
Total	$ 6,003

First/

TABLE 9-7 (contd.)

First-Year Repair and Replacement	
Planting	$ 80
Painting	33
Miscellaneous	25
Total	$ 138
Cleaning and Maintenance, per Year	$ 1,000

The costs of the self-help small park on vacant land are so clearly favourable when compared to the average costs of parks in Leeds, Liverpool and London that there must be some possibilities for local authorities to provide open space in this form.

B. Subdivision Control and Zoning Regulations

The second means of acquiring major open space is through zoning regulations which are not nearly as stringent a control as planning permission in Britain. Zoning regulations for developed land and subdivision controls for virgin land specifically lay down rules as to how the development is to take place although there is no federal system, as in Britain, nor indeed universal individual State systems. Subdivision controls and zoning regulations are done on a local basis and are subject to local political pressures.

Sometimes there are requirements for local open space, but even these can be overruled.

Cluster zoning has been recommended by such open space advocates as William Whyte, where communal open space is held in common between a cluster group of houses.[56] For presumably cultural reasons, people have been loath to take on the responsibility of looking after open space on a communal basis.

Most of the zoning tools have been inadequate for the provision and even preservation of open space and further methods have been suggested for stronger controls. These include development zoning, transferable densities, and large scale cluster zoning for neighbourhoods. The inadequacies of the American planning controls hold little relevance to the British system.

C. Taxation

Taxation is the third method which is used to maintain low density development with open space or areas with open space character. Public open space is normally exempt from taxation. The partial or full exemption of private open space is determined according to the direct public benefit and the extent to which they are useful to the adjacent areas. Preferential assessment is being

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56. Whyte, William H., The Last Landscape, (Doubleday, New York, 1968)
Whyte, William H., Cluster Development, (New York, American Conservation Association, 1964).

Neighborhood Related Urban Policy Initiatives

	Adm. Agency	Budget Authority FY 1979 (Dollars in Millions)
Neighborhood Revitalization		
(With Direct Neighborhood Involvement)		
(1) **Urban Volunteer Corps in ACTION** This would be created for $40 million to (1) match the needs of neighborhood organizations with volunteers with specialized skills; (2) provide small grants with an average of $5,000 to cover costs of tools, supplies, materials, and administrative support to carry out voluntary projects.	ACTION	40.0
(2) **Neighborhood Self-Help Program** This would be created in HUD to provide assistance to neighborhood and voluntary organizations for specific housing and revitalization efforts.	HUD	15.0
(3) **Livable Cities** A "Livable Cities" program from HUD, with participation by the National Endowment for the Arts, would be implemented to support communities and states for neighborhood and community based arts programs, urban design and planning activities.	HUD	20.0
(4) **Community Anti-Crime Programs** New efforts would be directed toward neighborhood involvement in crime-watch, escort services for elderly, assistance to shop-keepers, and other projects.	Justice	10.0
(5) **Troubled Schools** Expansion of the "cities in schools" project to assist families and students in troubled schools.	HEW	2.0
(6) **Community Development Credit Unions** These serve the needs of their membership and reinvest assets in neighborhoods where they operate. The program, for $12.4 million, would be jointly administered by the Community Services Administration and the National Credit Union Administration.	CSA/ NCUA	12.0
(7) **Community Development Corps** Venture Capital for five successful local CDCs.	CSA	20.0
Neighborhood Improvement		
(With Local Government Involvement)		
(1) **Housing Rehabilitation** This would increase funding of $150 million for the HUD Section 312 loan program.	HUD	150.0
(2) **Urban Parks and Recreation** A 150-million-initiative of grants to rehabilitate and maintain urban parks and recreation facilities.	HUD/Interior	150.0
(3) **Health Centers** An inner city health initiative that would provide an additional $50 million to community health centers.	HEW	50.0
Special Programs		
(1) **National Coop Bank** The NCCB will provide sound loans and competent technical assistance to the increasing numbers of people building their own effective small business cooperatives in such areas as auto repair, housing, health, crafts and other consumer goods and services.	Independent with board appointed by President with advise and consent of the Senate.	300-500.0
(2) **Neighborhood Reinvestment Corp.** This expands and institutionalizes the neighborhood housing services demonstration of the urban reinvestment task force to revitalize older urban neighborhoods by mobilizing public/ private and community resources at the neighborhood level.	Independent	15.0
(3) **Institute for Better Communities** Run by the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, it would bring together all participants in the home lending process with the goal of coordinating the practices of various mortgage lending institutions to develop reinvestment prototypes.	FHLBB	—

Kaptur, Marcia, "Neighborhoods and Urban Policy", Practicing Planner, American Institute of Planners, Vol. 8, No. 3, (September, 1978).

advocated for agricultural land as a method of keeping agricultural land assessed at agricultural values rather than at development values.

The assessment of land at market value for tax purposes is a strong deterrent to the preservation of open space in urban areas. As Udall pointed out, no attitude is more fatal than the belief of local leaders that economic salvation lies solely in getting new property on the tax roll.[57] Central Park which cost something like $ 5 million in the 1850's is now worth billions of dollars today and much of its value lies in its special enhancement in property value. Political pressure should recognise the enhanced value that open spaces provide for the adjoining owners, and consequently for the tax base.

For example, the presence of trees and green spaces are known to raise the value of adjoining residential property as studies have shown that people will pay more for the pleasant atmosphere created by trees.[58]

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57. Udall, Stewart, 1976 : Agenda for Tomorrow, (Harcourt, Brace and Co., New York, 1968)

58. Hammer, T.R., Horn IV, E.T., and Coughlin, R.E., "The Effect of a Large Urban Park on Real Estate Value", Regional Science Research Institute, Discussion Paper Series, No. 51, Philadelphia: Regional Science Research Institute, September, 1971.

    See also: Hammer, T.R., Coughlin, R.E., and Horn IV, E.T., "The Effect of a Large Urban Park on Real Estate Value", Research Report, Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. 40, (4), July, 1974, pp. 274-277

An example of an additional tax specifically for open space purposes, like the Chester example, was undertaken at Aspen, Colorado where an additional 1% sales tax was levied to raise funds for the acquisition of open space.[59] Layout and maintenance is provided by the Parks Department. Large acreages of open space have been acquired to preserve the beauty of Aspen in this manner.

Summary

In Britain while legislation exists to acquire and maintain open space, adequate funds are not available.

Overall spending on open space is meagre. While the Greater London Council is able to spend 5% of its total budget on recreation and art, conurbations like Birmingham and Liverpool spend a maximum of 1% of their budget. Indeed as half of Birmingham's budget was spent on a Sports Centre, the percentage of the budget spent on open space was more approximate to ½% as compared to 5% of London's budget.

High land costs are the chief deterrent to the acquisition of open space and in central areas can range as high as £500,000 per acre as in Kensington. Land costs are not as high in the other

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59. Bartel, Herb, "Preserving Urban Open Space", Planners Notebook, Vol. 1, No. 8-9, November - December, 1971

conurbations as in London, and tend to range between £3,000 to £50,000 an acre. Even so the major conurbations consider that they can afford only a few acres a year, especially as they are programmed to provide large parks which require large parcels of land. If the emphasis were changed, other solutions could be found, such as the small urban parks in New York, where costs are low.

A compromise suggested by the London Borough Councils was to accept an overall concept of leisure and recreation to include all art and cultural activities as inner city recreation space. Others suggest that indoor space and dual purpose space should be increasingly utilised. Specific costs of small parks and very small local parks are low enough to indicate that if some ingenuity were used small open spaces in the inner areas could be found. Under-used sites, vacant sites, derelict land, dual-use land all should be pressed into use. Cemeteries, mobile recreation, temporary play parks, adventure playgrounds are all possibilities.

Most sources of funds are inadequate and there seems to be a bias towards country parks in Britain. The layout and development of urban parks should be provided on the same scale as the country parks are provided for under the grant provisions of the Countryside Act of 1968. There is no comparable legislation for urban areas.

Administrative difficulties in Britain are almost as great a deterrent as financial difficulties. Particularly the two tier local government system which divides responsibility for open space

is unsatisfactory. The administrative problems in redevelopment are also extensive. Time consuming processes allow the cost of open space to increase while these processes are handled.

The American context of acquisition of open space is so different from the British context that it would appear to have little benefit for the British system. However taxation methods, zoning controls, and lack of legislation all indicate that the British system is more organised.

The small park in the United States, which began ingenuously from the bankruptcy of central city sites and the defaulting of owners at sheriff sales, indicate that imaginative methods can be turned to good account. Similar opportunities probably exist elsewhere and one senses that all the legalistic and administrative opportunities have not been examined.

In both the United States and Britain new financial aids and administrative machinery need to be organised in recognition of the need for open spaces in the inner city.

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54. Note: Since this study was written, the Carter Administration has passed the Urban Park and Recreation Recovery Act of 1978, to be administered by the Department of the Interior. This act authorises a five year $725 million programme based on the concept that recreation in cities can often best be served by restoring, upgrading, reconditioning and recovering facilities which have deteriorated. The Urban Park Recovery Programme is partly a result of a national/urban recreation study completed in 1978 which showed that urban recreation systems were in a crisis situation in most U.S. cities. In/

Footnote 54 cont'd.

In the study, 77% of the residents' samples were dissatisfied with their recreational opportunity, and in low income neighbourhoods, dissatisfaction approached 100%

Grants under the Urban Park Recovery Programme will be awarded on a 70% federal share, and a 30% local matching share basis. However a 15% state contribution will be awarded with the possibility of an additional 15% federal share, which would, in those cases, eliminate the municipal share entirely.

The Department of the Interior will administer the programme through its Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service. Of the grant, 3% of each year's funding will go toward planning grants and 10% of the total will be available for innovative projects. The Urban Park Recovery Programme for the revitalisation of urban parks is one of the most promising programmes for many years.
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PART THREE:

CHAPTER X

NEW APPROACHES TO THE PROVISION OF OPEN SPACE IN URBAN AREAS

NEW APPROACHES TO THE PROVISION OF OPEN SPACE IN URBAN AREAS

Local open space may be obtained by outright purchase or compulsory purchase if a local authority can afford current high land costs. Local open space can also be obtained by ingenious design of existing spaces or the multiple use of new and existing spaces. A third source of open space is urban vacant land, which is lying dormant in a temporary or permanent basis, which appears in all metropolitan cities in large quantities.

If these three sources of open space are to be adequately utilised, a local authority requires an approach and methods of survey and implementation which will achieve greater results than heretofore. This chapter examines both the extent of urban vacant land and a possible method for combining all three sources.

Urban Vacant Land in Britain

In the last twenty-five years substantial redevelopment of existing buildings has cleared central areas of cities to provide space for new offices, shopping centres, hotels, multi-storey car parks and many other uses. It has been noticeable that after demolition has taken place, very often vacant land persists and the demolitions lead to more vacant land, which is unsightly and depressive and can quite often destroy the sense of townscape.

A. Amount and Character of Vacant Land in Cities

Although it is easy enough to see vacant urban land there is little national documentation on vacant land. In a sixties review, Best and Coppock found a large proportion, as high as 20 per cent, of the more densely populated towns, which was taken up by vacant open space, defined as all remaining land which was not covered by buildings, garages, sheds, flowers and food crops, paths and drives.[1] In contrast the actual provision of planned open space was inadequate. In London, although 15 per cent of its urban land was open, the actual provision of public open space was poor by all standards, at only 2½ acres per thousand population. Best and Coppock looked at other large settlements where only 6½ per cent more of their urban areas was used in open space than in

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1. Best, R.H., and Coppock, J.T., The Changing Use of Land in Britain, (London, Faber and Faber, 1962)

London and found vacant land to be 4½ times the provision of public open space per thousand persons. Vacant ground was not sufficiently utilised and could have been put to better use. Fifteen years later the situation is similar.

For current documentation, the Department of the Environment requires local authorities to carry out surveys of derelict and despoiled lands, lands in active use for mineral working, land used for tipping, but not for vacant or dormant land. Lands which are "unfilled sites awaiting development and urban sites cleared with a view to redevelopment as part of a programme of urban renewal" are excluded from the DOE Survey.[2]

Other sources show more complete documentation.[3] On average, in all the major metropolitan counties, five per cent of the land is vacant, of which one-third is officially derelict by DOE definitions (See Table 10-1).

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2. Civic Trust, Urban Wasteland, (Civic Trust, 17 Carlton House Terrace, 1977), p. 4.

3. Burrows, John, "Vacant Urban Land - a continuing crisis". The Planner, Vol. 64, No. 1, January, 1978, pp. 7-9

TABLE 10-1

Vacant land in the metropolitan counties[4]

	Officially derelict 1974 (Hectares)	Total Vacant (Hectares)	% of county area
Greater London	324	7,727	4.89
West Midlands	1,535	4,296	4.80
Greater Manchester	3,405	N.A.	(2.6)
West Yorkshire	2,857	N.A.	(1.4)
Merseyside	529	3,789	5.80
South Yorkshire	1,565	9,084	5.79
Tyne and Wear	1,314	N.A.	(2.4)
Strathclyde Region	N.A.	9,250	0.70

In the central areas of the four major conurbations, Birmingham, Glasgow, Liverpool and London, land vacancy ranges between three per cent and eight per cent of the city area (see Table 10-2)[5]. Thirty to fifty per cent of the conurbation's vacant land occurs in the inner areas and includes many small sites, which average less than one hectare (or two and a half acres) each. The accumulative total of vacant sites in the inner areas averages between five per cent and eleven per cent of the inner city. The

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4. Burrows, John, "Vacant Urban Land - a continuing crisis". The Planner, Vol. 64, No. 1, January, 1978, p. 7.

5. Burrows, op. cit., p. 7.

worst example is probably the East end of Glasgow where land vacancy is about twenty per cent.

TABLE 10 - 2

Vacant land in four major cities [6]

City totals	Total VL (ha.)	% of city land	No. of sites	Av. site size	% of city VL
Birmingham	834	3.07	823	1.01	100
Glasgow	1,562	7.70	1,054	1.48	100
Liverpool	648	5.59	544	1.19	100
London	7,727	4.89	N.A.	N.A.	100
Inner Areas					
Birmingham	262	7.26	512	0.51	31.4
Glasgow	418	11.93	494	0.85	26.7
Liverpool	359	10.26	426	0.85	55.5
London	1,885	5.58	N.A.	N.A.	24.3

(Inner areas defined here as the most central 35 km^2 of Liverpool, Glasgow and Birmingham and 338 km^2 in the case of London).

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6. Burrows, op. cit., p. 7.

Of the 13 Boroughs in inner London all but Camden and Southwark submitted nil returns for the 1979 DOE derelict land survey but all have vacant land. However Southwark Borough Council, as one of the few London Boroughs to publish vacant land surveys, published a list of vacant and potentially vacant sites in the Borough since 1975.[7] Vacant sites and sites in temporary use pending redevelopment are included as are sites in local authority ownership or subject to compulsory purchase which are likely to be vacated within the next two years prior to redevelopment.

TABLE 10-3

Southwark Vacant Sites[8]

Ownership	Number of Sites		Acreage	
Borough Council	168	53%	680	80%
Greater London Council	69	22%	128	15%
Private	79	25%	45	5%
TOTAL	316	100%	853	100%

7. Southwark, London Borough of, Vacant and Potentially Vacant Sites (September, 1976)

8. Civic Trust, op. cit., p. 11

10.1 Vacant land, Red Road Flats, Glasgow (McKean, Fight Blight, 1977).

It is clear the Borough Council are most to blame for holding empty sites, and that there is potential for both permanent and temporary uses, like public open space.

For Greater London, the London survey of 1966 shows a total of 22,588 acres of Vacant Land and accompanying buildings.[9] The GLC definition of Vacant Land had four types: (a) buildings under construction, (b) unoccupied premises, (c) derelict buildings, and (d) vacant land. Vacant land included "land with no apparent activity and no evidence of its being used as farmland or for public or private open space, disused mineral workings not yet either returned to their former use or changed to a new use, sites carrying advertisement hoardings, inaccessible waste or green land, cut off from public access by public utilities, railways etc. It excludes private gardens, other land ancillary to another use."[10]

Excluding the buildings, Greater London contains 16,139 acres of vacant land. Table 10-4 compares the vacant land figures for 1966 and 1971 for each of the Boroughs in Inner London.[11] In almost every Inner London Borough there has been an increase of vacant land. Indeed Southwark, where the Council states there are no funds for local open space, have had an increase of 65 acres of vacant land, or more than 3 times their required open space acreage for ten years! Only Kensington and Westminster show little or no increase.

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9. Greater London Council, Research Report no. 8, The Land Use Survey 1966. (Greater London Council, Department of Planning and Transportation, 1972)
10. GLC, Research Report No. 8, op. cit.
11. Civic Trust, op. cit., p. 12.

TABLE 10-4

Vacant Land in London 1966-71 [12]

Inner London Boroughs	1966 acres	1971 acres	Change acres	Percentage Change
Camden	46	82	+ 36	+ 78%
City of London	9	26	+ 17	+189%
City of Westminster	74	52	- 22	- 30%
Greenwich	228	579	+351	+154%
Hackney	82	74	- 8	- 10%
Hammersmith	38	79	+ 41	+108%
Islington	75	99	+ 24	+ 32%
Kensington and Chelsea	17	19	+ 2	+ 12%
Lambeth	120	131	+ 11	+ 9%
Lewisham	185	254	+ 69	+ 37%
Southwark	194	259	+ 65	+ 34%
Tower Hamlets	187	250	+ 63	+ 34%
Wandsworth	73	172	+ 99	+136%
Inner London Total (12 Boroughs and the City of London)	1,328	2,076	+748	+ 56%
Outer London Total (20 Boroughs)	13,834	14,063	+229	+ 2%
Greater London Total	15,162	16,139	+977	+ 6%

12. Civic Trust, op. cit., p. 12

The Inner London total shows an astonishing 2,076 acres of vacant land some of which could provide local open space.

Other local authorities have identified equally large amounts of vacant land. The Borough of Wigan, Greater Manchester, identified 3,460 acres of "other waste land" which included slum clearance sites, unused agricultural land, and unused industrial land.

After the Inner Area Studies groups were set up in 1972, the Liverpool group surveyed the vacant land in the Liverpool study areas.[13] Of the 1,257 acres within the study area, 11% or 138 acres were vacant. More than three-quarters of this vacant land was owned by Liverpool City Council, in reserve for schools, open space. Indeed there were 1,235 acres of vacant land in the whole of Liverpool, and the Council admitted that most of this land would probably still be vacant for another five years.

In Edinburgh the Cockburn Association surveyed the urban area of central Edinburgh and found over 100 derelict sites amounting to more than 80 acres, mostly belonging to Lothian Region and Edinburgh District Councils.[14] Although the Association advocated that most of the urban vacant land be appropriated for housing,

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13. Department of the Environment, Vacant Land, (IAS/L1/11 1976).

14. The Cockburn Association, Annual Report, (Edinburgh, 1978)

some local open space was suggested.

What is truly disturbing is the constant appearance of the Regional or District Council as culprits for allowing vast areas of urban wasteland to exist, for which several reasons are given. Premature demolition is the most common reason, followed by either indifference or more likely indecision on the part of the owners. A local authority's policies are often delayed, or changed. Sites marked for open space are particularly vulnerable as the laying out of open space falls into the locally determined sector of local authority finance and therefore is well down the priority list for expenditure.

The statutory under-takers, like the Railways Board, the Gas Board, and others are some of the worst offenders. British Railways Board are slow to release or re-use surplus land. Special legislation and/or taxation procedures are required to release land owned by statutory undertakers.

B. Procedures to Cure Land Vacancy

Various procedures can cure the problem of excessive urban wasteland. Legislation and/or taxation procedures are required, and local authorities themselves can tighten up their own demolition procedures. Voluntary action by local authority societies, charities and local community associations can also clear and utilise vacant land.

New legislation procedures as proposed by the Civic Trust could include the following:[15]

(a) control of demolitions consent, which would not be granted in the absence of planning permission for the re-use of the site,

(b) requirement that nationalised industries, statutory undertakers and local authorities should review their land holdings at regular intervals and dispose or lease unused land for which they have no future or immediate realistic requirement,

(c) requirement that road plans should be reviewed at more frequent intervals.

Administrative and financial procedures could include the following:

(a) Rates levied on vacant disused land (but not on open space),

(b) Landscaping treatment could be encouraged by bonus tax reliefs or bonus zoning benefits,

(c) Amenity taxes could be applied as in the Chester example,[16]

(d) Licences should be granted for temporary use of sites,

(e) Local authorities should be required to landscape all sites on which no development will take place for at least 2 years.

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15. Civic Trust, op. cit., p. 55

16. See Chapter IX

C. The Design of Temporary Open Spaces/Temporary Playgrounds

Using vacant land can give a permanently floating stock of recreational land that could be extremely important in terms of bringing recreational services to areas which are usually most in need of them. Most of these temporary areas could be leased for short-term public open space, and short-term recreational playgrounds.

One of the problems which prevents the use of such space for recreation is the lack of a legal mechanism which guarantees the return to the owner in time for the construction to begin. Administratively, as councils already own so much of the vacant inner city land, it should be easiest for councils to lease their own land for temporary use.

The small park is a permanent solution to small pieces of vacant land, but the temporary park is an answer for transitional areas. The design of temporary open space could include areas similar to permanent open space:[17]

(a) infants' play area

(b) children's play area

(c) general play area or adventure playground (adventure playgrounds are ideally suited to temporary open space useage due to the

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17. Civic Trust, op. cit., p. 54.

transitory nature of the materials used).

(d) Small parks -

these could include gardens, which require maintenance or pocket parks, which could become permanent particularly if they are gap or corner sites where future use was in doubt.

(e) Ecological areas or nature trail -

as this requires the area to remain in its natural site, it may be difficult to achieve.

(f) Urban farms -

although this requires considerable management, it does not require large acreage.

D. Examples: Vacant Land Used for Local Open Space

Already various experiments have taken place utilising vacant land for temporary open space, such as these examples:[18]

(1) A small public garden with seating for resting and waiting for a bus has been created on a 0.3 acre site in Leytonstone High Road from a demolished pre-fab site.

(2) A very small garden, 17 by 11 yards, has been created from a heap of rubble near the Guildhall, High Wycombe, Buckinghamshire.

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18. Civic Trust, op. cit., pp. 42-55

10.2 Japanese Water Garden, Covent Garden, London (McKean, Fight Blight, 1977).

LONDON
BELONGS
TO THE
PEOPLE

(3) A small disused linear section of a long park has been made into a riverside green by the Sleaford and District Civic Trust.

(4) 4 acres of public garden are being laid out by a Wiltshire Civic Society when the local District Council said it hadn't the money to do the job.

(5) Meanwhile Gardening Association has turned a 3½ acre site in Paddington into a garden and recreation centre. The site had been vacant for ten years. The Job Creation Programme paid a team of twelve workers and a bookkeeper for a year.[19]

(6) City Farms are projects involving gardening on small plots of vacant land that would otherwise stand idle, wasted or full of debris.[20] The concept of the City Farms is to give city children a first-hand experience of farm and rural activities.

The first example was Inter-Action's fun-art farm on two and a half acres in Kentish Town, London where Inter-Action secured temporary licences from the Joint owners Camden Council

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19. McCullough, Jamie, Meanwhile Gardens, (Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation UK and Commonwealth Branch, London, 1978)
See also: Jubilee Committee, The Uses of Unused Lands for Community Purposes. A report. (London Celebration Committee, 26 Old Queen Street, London, S.W.1.

20. Inter-Action Advisory Service, City Farms, using Wasteland in Towns and Cities for Projects involving Gardening and Farm Animals. (Inter-Action Advisory Service Ltd., Talacre Open Space, 15 Wilkin Street, London)

10.3 Kentish Town Fun Art Farm, London. (McKean, Fight Blight, 1977).

The Kentish Town Fun Art Farm. The community workshop is in the centre, and cows and goats are kept in the sheds on the left.

and British Rail. Here the farm includes a riding school, sheep, pigs, grass and community garden and attracts 50,000 children a year.

Later examples include a farm, on land leased from the Port of London Authority, and a first City Farms Scotland at the Greater Possil City Farm, Glasgow.[21]

A City Farm land Bank has been set up to provide funds for temporary licences or simply to hold the land in trust on behalf of the local group. A further off-shoot is NUBS (Neighbourhood Use of Buildings and Spaces) which provides assistance for local groups in urban areas anywhere in Britain. The Department of the Environment has given NUBS a £15,000 grant for the promotion of City Farms.

These examples have been based on joint cooperation between voluntary groups, community associations and District Councils, but there are some examples of District Councils attempting temporary parks on vacant sites on their own initiative.

Some London Borough Councils provide temporary play facilities on sites which have been cleared awaiting redevelopment and suggest that provisional funds should be set aside, not just for permanent playgrounds, but for temporary playgrounds.

For example, Hammersmith Borough have said that land which is

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21. Mitchell, T.C., City Farms Scotland, (212 Wilton Street, Glasgow)

now lying idle should be laid out as temporary open space until available resources allow them to be completed permanently.[22] Financial allocation could be required for interim or temporary layouts. As an experiment in public participation the council provide only sufficient money to cover costs of material and then encourage the local residents or voluntary groups to provide the labour source.

Hammersmith have also considered the other alternative to bring those areas which are now vacant and implement them immediately as permanent open spaces. However, in most cases the costs are too high. It would also mean that some of these sites would be developed in isolation from the housing redevelopment which is not due to start until several years afterwards. At the moment there is a lack of financial provision for laying out vacant sites on a temporary basis, although a shortage of funds is a poor excuse for land to lie vacant, untidy or derelict when it could be of beneficial use. Hammersmith suggests allocating a certain amount of years specifically to finance the provision of temporary open space layouts on vacant sites which are not expected to be permanently developed within two years. This approach comes very close to the concept of the pocket park which provides a permanently managed solution which the temporary park does not.

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22. Hammersmith, London Borough, Vacant Sites/Temporary Open Spaces, (January, 1974)

10.4 Vacant land, Weehawken, New Jersey
(Open Space in the Inner City Exhibition).

Vacant Land in Metropolitan Cities in the United States

Although documentation on vacant land sites is only presented in this study for British examples, vacant land possibilities for open space also exist in American cities. For instance, a recent example of promoting the use of vacant land in urban areas in the United States is the one and a half million dollar urban gardening programme of the United States Department of Agriculture to aid city gardeners in the major cities.[23] The Los Angelos Neighbourhood Garden and Farm Programme has a total of 30 acres at 22 locations.

With the three possibilities of open space sources, land acquisition, design ingenuity of existing spaces and vacant land, a method is needed to combine all aspects.

A Method for Assessing Potential Open Space Provision

If the British and American approaches are synthesized, to fulfill present day requirements, an urban open space system needs to fulfill at least five functions:

1. Active recreational needs of the human including physical and psychological needs.

2. Passive recreational needs.

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23. National Park and Conservation, "City Planners hatch on to Urban Agriculture". (June, 1977)

3. An amenity role - serving human aesthetic needs and also providing historic continuity.

4. An element of urban form, serving economic development patterns along with human needs and appearing in both macro and micro forms.

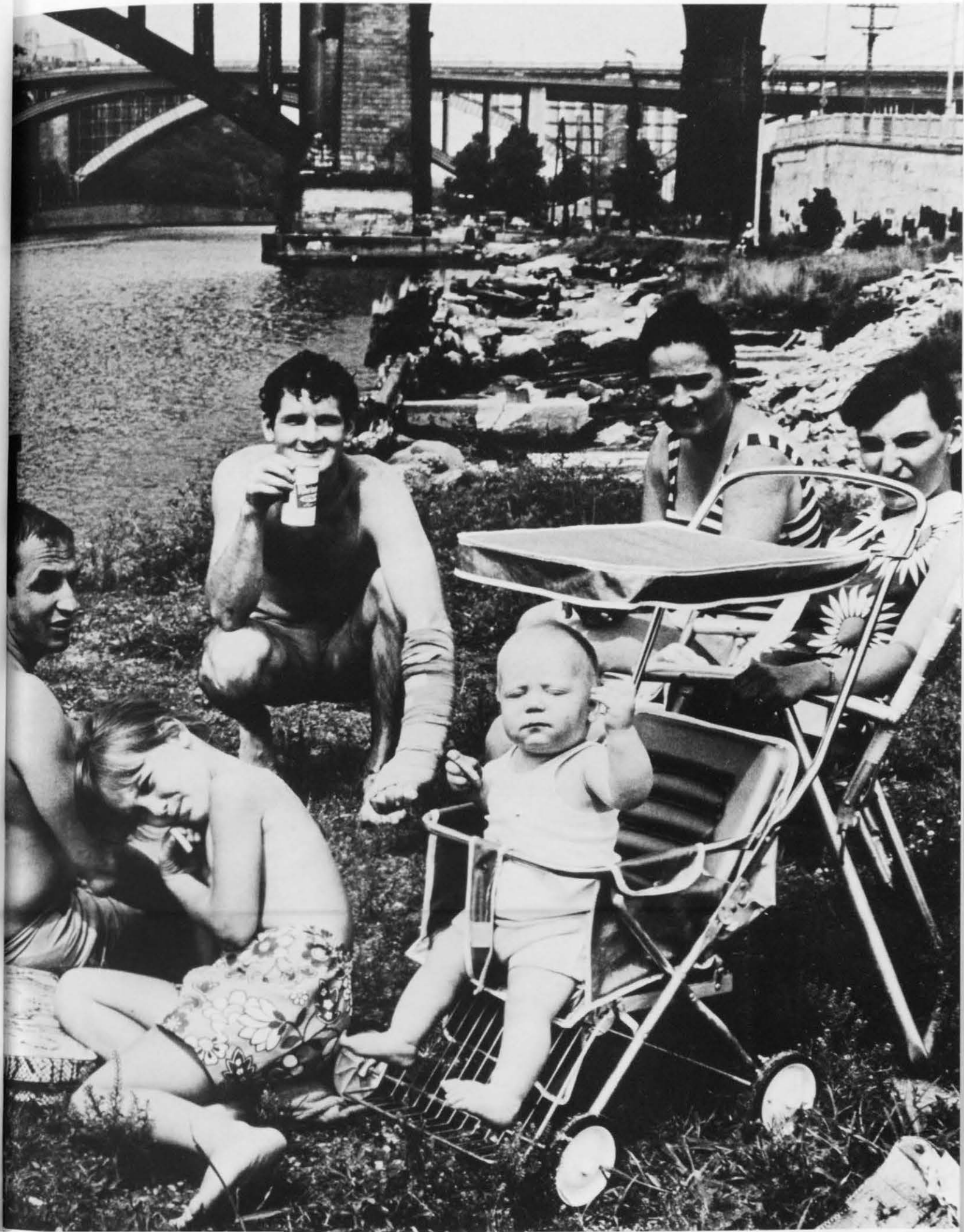
5. The protection and enhancement of ecological resources, of the air, water, soil, plant and animal life.

A. The Search for Open Space in Urban Areas

Open space in urban areas is scarce through cost, neglect, misuse or any of the many reasons discussed. Moreover, it is costly, physically deficient, and politically unfeasible to remove buildings and create new open space. Therefore we have to be either more ingenious about inventing new kinds of open space, or each open space will have to satisfy a number of goals, instead of a single function in a hierarchy of functions, or vacant land will have to be utilised. Particular sites with particular aspects need to be carefully examined for their recreational, amenity or other functional open space potential.

As the Layfield Enquiry Report suggested, local answers should be found for local problems. Since resources are scarce, there is a need for open spaces to satisfy several functions. Urban open spaces can fulfill all or only some of the five functions at either the macro, regional scale, or at the local, micro scale.

10.5 Vacant land,
Harlem River, 181st Street,
Bronx, New York City
(Open Space in the Inner
City Exhibition).



The search for open space can use a multi-purpose approach which, for example, would allow a few adventure playgrounds within a major open space providing urban form and historical continuity. Or play lots and play centres could exist side by side playing fields.

Any available new open space, or existing space should fulfill specific neighbourhood aims, and be used more pragmatically and more inventively adapted than has been done so far.

The result of the multi-purpose approach is flexibility and adaptability so that human needs and improving the quality of life determine the open spaces rather than a set of standards which force the open space and human needs to fit the standard.

The multi-purpose approach may or may not lead to the development of open space systems, a related or planned arrangement which not only provides the spaces to meet urban needs but provides a structural framework at every level of the urban area from neighbourhood to metropolitan level. The normal open spaces and the corridor open spaces, the ecological space may or may not be part of the system of open space. If the parks and parkways fulfill similar functions and therefore can be systemised, and inter-related, leading one from the other, the open spaces could form a system of open space.

But a park could serve the amenity and urban form functions, and other open space functions could be neglected. So with open spaces fulfilling several functions in diverse ways it does not

follow that all the spaces themselves will form part of the system. Some spaces could, whilst others would act independently. If an open space system works naturally, then it becomes important, but all spaces should not be forced into the straight jacket of an open space system.

Growth in population and the gradual devouring of existing human resources will mean the future uses of urban space will tend toward a more dense and a more nucleated pattern. As a more clustered pattern of development occurs, there will be less private open space and at every scale, there will have to be a substantially more continuous open space which is mutually enjoyed or existing open spaces will have to be more carefully utilised to fulfill more functions than previously required.

The fixed element used to be the building areas and the open spaces were the left-over spaces, the areas free from building, but now it is the other way round. In the design, planning and ecological sense, the fixed elements are those open spaces which cannot be replaced because natural open spaces cannot be returned and the ecological spaces cannot be reinstated. Once wasted they are gone forever. The open spaces are the fixed elements and the building areas are the ones which we must manipulate.

A few fortunate cities have natural features on which to base urban spaces and urban space systems. Edinburgh's topography has resisted building development, consequently Edinburgh has had an open space framework which quite easily has become an open space

system, at once, articulated and organised, offering a great range of opportunities for fulfilling any number of open space functions and linked open space system.

However, most cities are not so fortunate and either totally lack natural features or like many American cities have obliterated those natural features they once possessed. Most cities need a new methodology of open space decision-making in which new areas or old areas newly used can increase the quantity and quality of open space particularly in the highly deficient urban areas.

The search for new open space will require examination of sites, and building which have never before been considered. Searching for the indigenous answer suggests the case-study method of approach, which starts with the site and works towards developing an open space use. The gross standard method starts with the open space use and looks for a site. Both methods can be used in support of the other.

B. A Method for Open Space Provision

The need for new methods for open space provision arises from the inadequacy of the gross physical standard approach. Although politically it is still useful to display gross acreage standards, planners are caught between the political necessity of prognosticating gross overall long-term estimates and managing short term allocations which suit a capital budget and which are built immediately into the urban structure.

It is not suggested that gross physical standards should be dismissed but that physical standards should co-exist with the multi-purpose approach within a new methodology.

The method needs to identify open spaces which fulfill the additional functions of amenity, urban structure and ecological enhancement. The relative merits and demerits of each potential site should be quantified in terms of the quality of success in fulfilling function, accessibility, flexibility, and design.

The Case-Study Method

The method proposed for a multi-purpose approach to open space provision is the case-study method. Information is still required concerning participation rates, and frequency of participation, i.e. the demand, as well as an inventory of all existing open space, i.e. the supply in all areas. But this information is set within the context of the case studies.

With the demand and supply knowledge in hand, and an inventory of all existing open spaces, the case study method examines every potential and vacant site or disused building, for its potential open space use. A full case history is written and sketched about each possible site. Taking an individual approach to each potential site may permit greater ingenuity and experimentation with different types of sites and buildings than was allowed by the physical standard method. The relative

merits and demerits of each site are quantified and assessed in terms of the quality of success in fulfilling a potential open space purpose. The examination is done on a point system, which can be expanded to include a matrix for quantifying standards under the old pattern of open space standards alongside a matrix for quantifying the best and the worst of each potential area, and which should pin-point the potential priority of all sites.

The case study method produces a portfolio of sites which are discussed with the community on an individual basis; case histories are recorded and final choices made. A summary of the method is shown in Tables 10-5 and 10-6.

TABLE 10-5

The Case Study Method for Potential Local Open Space

A. Broad Concept

(1) Demand Studies

(a) Participation Rates

(b) Frequency of Participation

(2) Supply Studies

(a) Frequency of visits

(b) Location accessibility

(3) Inventory of Existing Open Spaces

(4) Inventory of Potential Local Open Space

Documentation of all potential open space sites, whether vacant sites, derelict buildings, existing or mis-used sites or sites needing a change of use should be listed as to:

a. Location (and documentation index number)

b. Size (in hectares and acres)

c. Site Conditions

d. Land Ownership, condition of tenure

e. Existing Land use

Temporary Land Use (if any) and Former Land Use

f. Zoned land use or Future proposed Permanent Use and planned starting date

g. Existing standard and method of site maintenance

h. Accessibility to specific age, - sex - family groups

Average surround densities

i. Facilities to be provided.

(5) Diagnosis of Potential Local Open Space

The analysis of potential open space sites should be assessed on a wide variety of factors, such as:

a. Accessibility

b. Existence of facilities and their quality

c. Assessment of Multi-Purpose Potential

(a) Active Recreation

(b) Passive Recreation

(c) Amenity fulfillment

(d) Ecological enhancement and protection

(e) Urban structure role and Land use Unifying potential

d. Value of the Physical Environment as to the negative and positive features of the land

e. Value of the Social Environment as to the surrounding urban structure, the extent of social deprivation, the amount of multiple deprivation.

(6) Comparability Studies - Evaluation of Potential

(7) Prescriptions for Intensifying use of open space and addition to open space.

B. Pilot Study (relating to one or two small areas of total). The same basic approach is used at each stage (although varying in its application) and should systematically include the following:

1. Inventory and Survey of theoretical alternatives of potential open space and all vacant sites, produced as case studies using detailed method as directed.

2. Preliminary Survey of socio-economic demand and/or meetings with participants (depending on scale of pilot study).

3. Evaluation of Case Studies

   a. Evaluation of existing deficiencies

   b. Analysis of constraints and possibilities (as per detailed method)

   c. Preliminary Analysis of costs

4. Diagnose selected alternative sites for preliminary design.

   Discuss selected case studies with participants.

   Diagnose economic factors and method of implementation.

5. Plan/select 2-3 alternative projects as possible project examples for larger plan.

   Set up working organisation with participants, financial sponsors, design teams.

6. Design and Implement 2 or 3 projects

7. Test alternatives over year period as to satisfying demand, weakness in design. Supply criteria etc.

8. Continue case histories and present feedback from participants.

C. Special Subject Area Plan and Policy Statement

9. Repeat all the steps as above for larger area

10. Diagnose future requirements

11. Produce special subject area plan and policy statement on open space.

12. Continue community participation.

13. Implement one or two additional experimental alternatives.

D. Implementation of Special Subject Area

14. Organise design team, community participants and administration on local area basis.

15. Prepare detailed design for excavation work and provision of facilities.

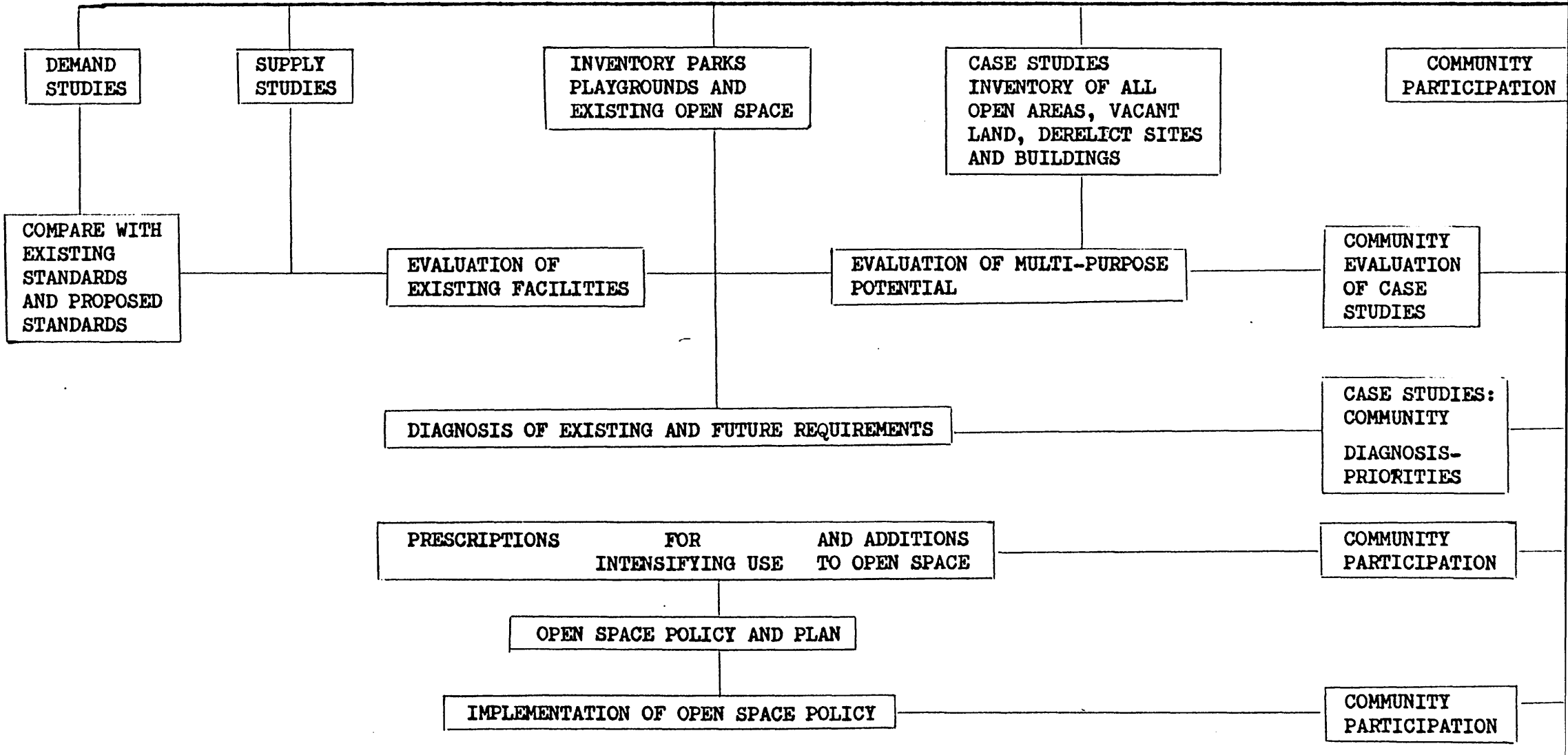
16. Prepare detailed maintenance and community supervision strategies.

17. Monitor, test and continue case histories from feedback from participants.

TABLE 10-6

OPEN SPACE POTENTIAL

CASE STUDY METHOD - BROAD CONCEPT



(3) Assessment of Each Open Space Site

Various studies have been made to establish these assessments. Los Angelos developed a Comparative priority of need for neighbourhood recreation services, by subtracting negative social factors of excessive growth, vandalism, high density and low income from a numerical version of recreation resources to obtain a rank order of deprivation.[24]

The more affluent Hillingdon Borough Council concentrated on only the negative/positive factors of the physical environment, awarding points to sites of greater potential.[25] The results were quantified and demonstrated which existing parks had sufficient environmental quality and which were deficient. (see figs.)

(4) District Plan - Subject Area Plan

Open Space potential makes an ideal subject area plan. The method of incorporating the case-study approach is shown in Table 10-7.

(5) Community Participation

The case study method of assessing each potential site not only encourages ingenuity in finding new solutions but it allows

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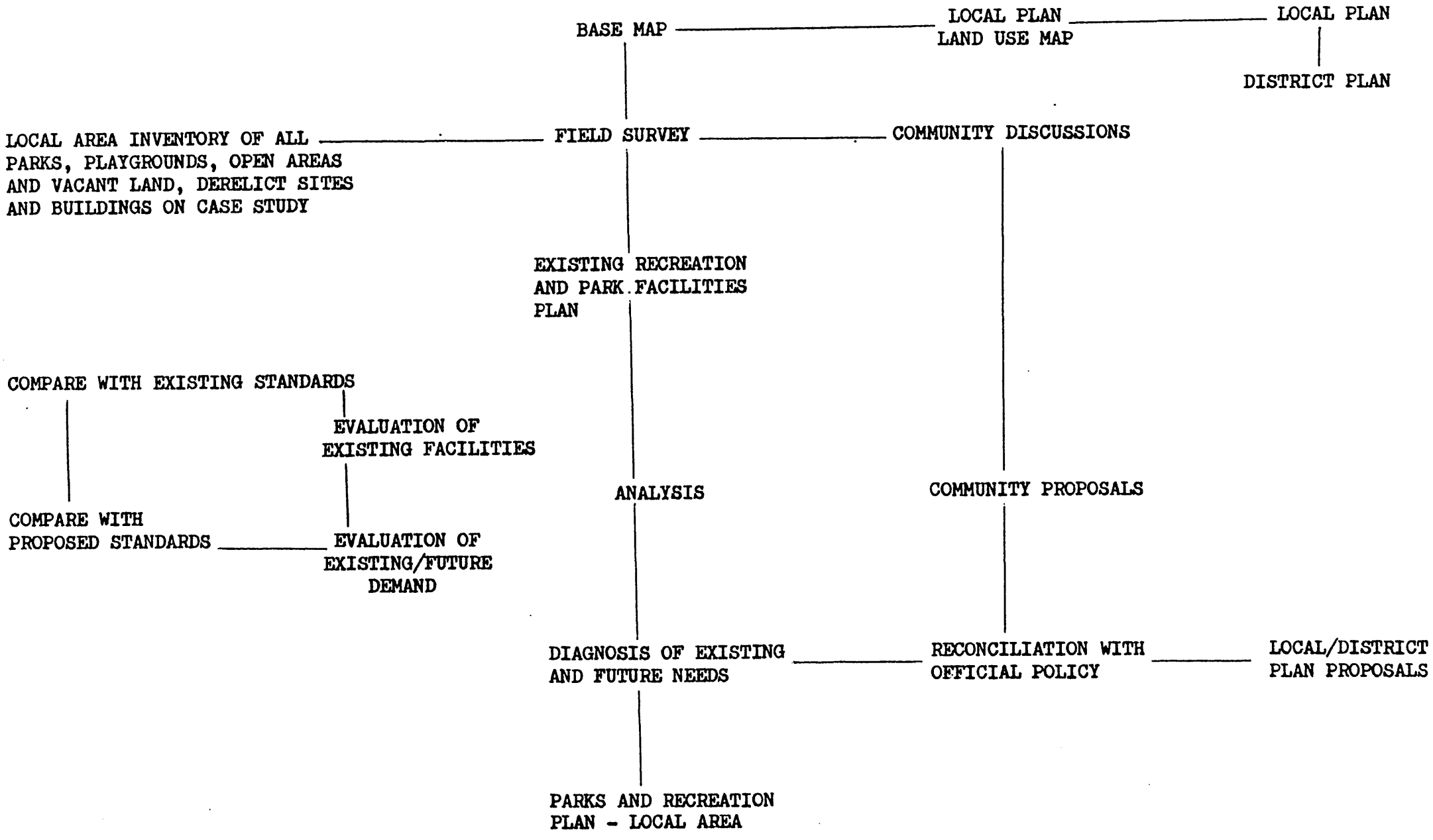
24. Staley, Edwin J., "Determining Neighbourhood Recreation Priorities: An Instrument", Journal of Leisure Research, Vol. 1, No. 1, Winter, 1969

25. Hillingdon, London Borough: Planning Department, Open Land and the Green Belt - A background paper and interim policy, 1973

TABLE 10-7

LOCAL AREA PARK AND RECREATION PLAN



for relevant sites to be discussed and evaluated with the local community, permitted early discussion evaluating community proposals and needs. Using the physical standard approach the planner makes quantitative decisions in isolation or prejudges a situation. The case-study method should allow interchange of ideas, flexibility, and a pragmatic approach. It also should allow the opportunity of discussions at an early stage if community proposals should conflict with official policy as shown in the Structure Plan or District Plan.

Conversely it can also face adverse criticism in the early stages when the physical standard approach will not be aware of adverse feeling until after the plan is published. The Case Study approach is generally considered to be more successful than other methods but its success rate has not been absolute.

Although the preliminary planning costs on the part of the local authority could be higher with the case study approach than with the gross standard approach due to the considerable amount of community consultation which must occur with each case study site, a comparable evaluation has to be made of the relative costs and benefits over the end result of either cheaper sites gained or expensive sites discarded. Due to the excessively high cost of inner city land, it would appear difficult to consume preliminary staff time equivalent to these land costs, and thus extra staff time would appear to be cheaper, and worth the savings in capital costs.

Summary - New Approaches to the Provision of Open Space

Vacant land in urban areas, the so-called 'urban wasteland' is so extensive, particularly in the inner areas, that its acreages often exceed the amount of open space required to fulfill a Borough's or a District Council's programme for ten years. Vacant land, particularly that owned by public statutory undertakers is the largest single resource for local open space.

The proposed case study method surveys and analyses every possible site for its open space potential. The approach starts with the site and seeks an open space use, rather than the open standard approach which starts with the open space design and tries to find a site, often at the expense of having and displacing populations. Further methods use a point system to allocate priorities amongst the sites. These point systems are based on interpretations of areas of multiple deprivation, high density, high crime and vandalism rates and other negative factors.

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11. Civic Trust, op. cit., p. 12.

12. Civic Trust, op. cit., p. 12.

13. Department of the Environment, Vacant Land, (IAS/L1/11 1976).

14. The Cockburn Association, Annual Report, (Edinburgh, 1978).

15. Civic Trust, op. cit., p. 55.

16. See Chapter IX.

17. Civic Trust, op. cit., p. 54.

18. Civic Trust, op. cit., pp. 42-55.

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PART THREE:

CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSIONS

CHANGING CONCEPTS OF LOCAL OPEN SPACE IN INNER URBAN AREAS

CONCLUSIONS: CHANGING CONCEPTS OF LOCAL OPEN SPACE IN INNER URBAN AREAS

Summary

Special attention should be paid to the following conclusions with respect to the changing concepts of local open space in inner urban areas:

1. The historic legacy of open space in both British and American cities is excellent in quality. The limitations of these spaces are their historic sites, which may not now be near major population nodes, the single purpose aspect of the open space and the fear of destroying their excellent quality. Some of the historic spaces are adaptable but many are not, and therefore each historic space

needs to be treated individually. American cities suffer also from a quantitative historic lack of parks. (Chapter II).

2. A renewed interest in recreation and open space began in the United States with the publication of the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission Report in 1958. For over a decade, public and private concern for open space focused on major legislation to acquire open space. (Chapter III).

Although the British government set up the Sports Council in 1963, little public attention was paid to urban open space, with the sole exception of the Civic Trust. Early interest in Britain was focused on academic or official research. (Chapter III).

3. Both British and American demand studies have shown that recreation is desired and will increase. However the emphasis on providing land and facilities for outdoor sport is overdone. The only frequently active pursuit shown by the demand studies, is walking which is the single most pleasurable recreation for the most number of people, regardless of age, sex, income, occupation and education. (Chapter IV).

Therefore the cultural acceptance of the dominance of sport should not continue in the light of the demand surveys. The creation of alternative informal outdoor recreation facilities, which satisfy the desire for walking, such as public open space, should have greater priority than sports grounds or leisure centres. (Chapter IV).

4. The studies of the supply of open space point out continually that people either want the grand metropolitan park over a half hour away by car with full facilities or they want the little park close to home for walking, sitting and for children's play. (Chapter V).

There appears to be agreement on both sides of the Atlantic that firstly small open spaces less than one quarter of a mile away should receive priority, and secondly that landscaping is important to the effectiveness of the small open space. (Chapter V).

5. Early standards set by the National Playing Fields Association, and accepted by the National Recreation and Park Association, were based on active and passive recreation only. However the development of the understanding of the functions of urban open space has broadened. The Edinburgh Study presented four functions of open space - active and passive recreation, urban form, and the purely aesthetic amenity role of urban open space, as a fourth function. The American studies have pushed forward further understanding by adding the role of the fifth function - that of ecological enhancement and protection. (Chapter VI).

As to types of open space, the general trend has been to increase the many varied forms of open space since the original narrow National Playing Fields Association definition. (Chapter VI).

6. Gross open space deficiencies continued in the inner areas of all British cities in the seventies with very little progress

shown over the past thirty years. Standards for both metropolitan, district and local open space have increased, but not even the wealthy London Boroughs have been able to provide the official standards. Standards have been shown to be too rigid, too inflexible, not taking into account multi-use function or changes in taste and attitude. Cities like Liverpool, Sheffield and Glasgow have chosen to concentrate their resources on local areas and children's play areas.(Chapter VII).

In the United States official standards have not been achieved for many of the same reasons. The Department of Urban Development has suggested localised solutions which are particular to the specific city. (Chapter VII).

7. The possible forms of open space and particularly local open space have increased so much that a public authority has more opportunity than ever to create some open space in the inner cities. (Chapter VIII).

It is significant that so many of the new possible open space forms are based on walking spaces such as strollways, walkways, and greenways; and small local parks all have unlimited potential for inner city areas. Further innovations have appeared in ecological spaces, historic trails and nature preserves. Types of children's play spaces have also expanded to include play parks, adventure playgrounds, play barns and super-block interiors. These innovative spaces allow for greater flexibility of provision by the

local authority. (Chapter VIII).

8. Financial, legislative and administrative problems for the provision of open space are many. In Britain overall spending on open space is meagre. Most cities spend 1% or less of their annual budgets on open space. High land costs are the chief deterrent to the acquisition of open space. Most sources of funds are inadequate and there appears to be a bias towards country parks. (Chapter IX).

With reorganisation of local government, District Councils were to provide more detailed public open space for particular areas. But due to high land costs, and the effects of inflation, few District Councils have been able to provide any more or better space than the previous local governments. (Chapter IX).

In America funds for open space were curtailed in the late Nixon and post-Nixon era. As a consequence American inner city areas open space suffered. Funds further decreased in the light of political difficulties, inflation and concern with other issues. Administrative difficulties occur mostly in the inner city where localised decisions are thought to be the best solutions. (Chapter IX). [Since writing this study, Carter's new Urban Park Recovery Programme is to provide funds for the revitalisation of urban open space. With such an excellent programme and approach, hopefully the provision and quality of open space in inner areas will greatly improve in U.S.cities between 1980 and 1985.]

9. It has been an object of this study to seek other sources and other approaches to obtaining more open space and particularly more local open space. The design possibilities of local open space are

infinite and new design approaches can convert existing public spaces into local open spaces or multiply the number of uses of existing spaces. The extensive amount of urban wasteland in many cases more than equals the needed amount of local open space, and then it becomes a question of changing the tenure or altering the tax system to alter the non-use to public open space. (Chapter X).

A wide variety of methods and approaches of calculating both open space and recreation needs have been used over the past thirty years, and there has been a gradual trend away from the definitions of gross standards of open space in terms of so many acres per thousand population, to a recognition that local circumstances vary so much that no simple universal standard can be applied.

Method for the Provision of Open Space

The method suggested in this study attempts to help the local authority in a loosening up of attitudes towards open space. Although participation rates, frequency of participation and supply studies must continue, the emphasis in assessing space needs for local open space is based on on-site survey, analysis and implementation, using the case-study method. The individualistic approach to each town and specific population is considered essential if an effective pattern and provision of open space is to be achieved.

The case study method attempts to persuade local authorities to start with existing assets and convert these into open space and

recreational uses, rather than demolishing needed housing or other areas to provide open space, and forcing the relocation of hundreds of people or assets at high social and economic costs.

The method stresses the individuality of every town, and that no urban solution will be like another. The approach is thus a decentralised approach depending on particular circumstances.

The method also stresses the utilisation of not only public authority work, but also commercial, private and voluntary support. Some of the most innovative and least expensive concepts of local open space have come from volunteer neighbourhood groups.

Conclusions - Changing Concepts of Local Open Space

A. The Need for Local Open Space

It has been seen throughout this study that one of the major changes in the concept of open space has been the change from the vast royal park, to the fairly large Victorian parks to the present day need for small parks and local open space. Although the metropolitan and district parks have been mainly outside this study, it is noticeable that the demand for public open space has been greater for the two extremes of the park hierarchy, both for the metropolitan open space (150 acres or more) and the local open space (5 acres or less) than for the intermediate district park (50 acres approx.). Indeed the emphasis in many cases is more on the small park (less than 2 acres) than it is on the metropolitan park.

It is curious that New York passed a Small Parks Act in 1887 with a million-dollar annual appropriation, and in 1897 Jacob Rils Committee on Small Parks recommended that the city "turn all unused plots of city ground, wherever found, into children's playgrounds for neighbourhood use" should have been ignored for almost a century until New York created Paley Pocket Park and other small parks.[1]

No less an urbanologist than Lewis Mumford has also voiced the present day concept and need when he said that the two things he would immediately do to make his own city more attractive to live in would be to add "rows of shade trees in every street, and a little park, even a quarter of an acre, in each block, preferably near the middle."[2]

The local park can fulfill the role of meeting place and a place for social intercourse. It is unfortunate that our present points of social contact are completely separated from our open spaces.

Provision for pleasure and fantasy has, to a large extent, been taken over by the cinema, television and the world of commercial entertaining, as has the provision of places for social contact. There are not many places people can visit with the simple preference

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2. Mumford, Lewis, The Highway and the City, (Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., New York) (1963), p. 232.

of meeting, walking, talking and indulging in pleasurable and diverting fantasy together. As they are not expensive, parks can and should have social contact as a pre-eminent objective in their planning and design.

B. The Indigenous Character of Local Open Space

The planning of local open space should take account of the particular needs of the local inhabitants, as well as the overall standards of distribution and location of other open space.

The one principle that applies throughout all the work done in the United States and Britain, is that local open space should be provided on an indigenous basis. Local open space is demanded, created and supplied on a local basis. The answers to the what, why and how of local open space are only found within the particular neighbourhood itself. The quality of the open space determines its success and quality will only result from factors which specifically suit the particular activities and role of the individual community, such that local authorities should not apply rigid gross standards or identical play parks.

For an open space to express indigenous character and local needs may require the involvement of local people and local residents with professional leadership and support. It is thought that local people can significantly contribute to the provision, organisation and management of local parks on a continuing basis.

C. The Design of Local Open Space

Design and landscaping are the most important factors in the success and impact of any local urban space. The majority of visitors are primarily interested in passive recreation and parks are only attractive for walking, sitting, if well designed and laid out.

The design and functions of the local open space also need to be considered on an indigenous basis and need to be planned in conjunction with local neighbourhood groups. The design needs to be flexible so that it may take account of future changes. It also needs to include separate areas for different age groups, catering for diverse interests.

The possible forms are immensely varied - small parks, adventure playgrounds, play parks, super-block interiors, greenways, walkways, nature trails, historical trails, and can be organised in an infinite number of ways. Possibly the adventure playground and the small local park are the most successful innovations so far. Walkways, greenways and other forms of small open spaces are not yet developed extensively.

In detail, materials should also be indigenous to the locality and as natural as possible. Children's play should provoke stimulation, as do the adventure playgrounds, which are preferable for the inner area situation as they can compete with the exciting stimuli of the surrounding city life.

D. The Administration of Local Open Space

Communities can be encouraged both administratively and financially to manage, maintain and feel possessive about their local open space, by forming local committees to look after the park and spaces. These committees should be able to raise funds both locally and from district authorities.

An understanding of environmental well-being versus environmental deprivation causes political choices which the planners cannot make. If environmental improvement is used as a means of reducing the effect of inequality, then park provision could be considered as part of a more general assessment of the distribution of environmental quality. The existence of internal and external private space, the quality of private landscape, the proximity of attractive large open spaces, the proximity of sources of pollution, such as noise, fumes and dirt, should all be taken into the calculation for the purpose of deciding on the allocation of future resources.

Small open spaces fulfil so many needs so admirably yet use little land at relatively low cost, which local authorities can no longer afford to ignore. It is debatable whether Local Authorities should any longer give over half their recreation budget to a single leisure centre which has been shown to benefit a small percentage of the population, where these same millions divided up into smaller units could provide many small urban open spaces. Instead of £3 million spent in Birmingham or £8 million spent on the new Sports

Centre in Glasgow, more people would benefit from 160 small parks at £25,000 each in Birmingham, or 400 small local parks at £50,000 each in Glasgow. The result could be an improvement in the environment and an aid to decreasing environmental deprivation. It is unfortunate that the big projects attract the funds and the local projects are left undone.

District authorities need to give local open space a higher priority in their budget. The fact that resources are insufficient to meet play or local open space requirements is a result of not just the present economic situation, but of the low priority given to open space provision relative to other local authority programme areas. It is necessary that the case for more open space should be argued more effectively. Hence the wider the membership of the pressure groups the more feasible it will be to influence the policy-making process in favour of open space.

More central funds are required and most local authorities believe there is no hope of improving the present lack of open space, especially in the inner cities, unless funds are forthcoming. Most authorities agree that more funds need to come from central government, whether in the United States or Britain.

E. Legislative Changes for Local Open Space

Some legal system needs to be devised which forces statutory undertakers, like the British Railways Board, the Gas Board, the Electricity Board, to release vacant land for housing and for public

open space. Levies, such as financial penalties for not developing a site, or taxing vacant land (but not open space) could be encouraged.

Likewise some legislative penalties need to be applied to local councils for demolishing sites years before these are required, for not developing temporary open space use on redevelopment sites, and for generally leaving large acreages in city centres vacant and unused.

An amenity tax could be levied on new building development to ensure public spaces, or bonus' could be re-introduced as inducements to providing more public open space in inner areas.

F. New Small Urban Spaces

New small urban spaces can be created in dozens of different kinds of inner city areas - out of left-over spaces, on the banks of worn-out canals, from rooftops, from city-block interiors. The British "honeypot" park, or the American "pocket park" of less than two acres needs to be developed more as an open space resource. Indoor or enclosed small open spaces, like the play barns, should be exploited. Disused cemeteries are a further resource. Urban wasteland is so extensive in the inner city areas that it often exceeds the needed amount of local open space, and should be utilised for local open space. The possibilities have yet to be fully explored.

There is a great deal that can be accomplished right away by

local authorities, volunteer organisations and neighbourhood groups within the existing financial and administrative constraints.

A change of emphasis and particular attention to local open space with some ingenuity and design creativity could bring great satisfaction to many people.

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