#### Institute for Transport Studies

**FACULTY OF ENVIRONMENT** 



# Milton Keynes: The carfree city that nearly was

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Milton Keynes was the most ambitious of the 30 or so New Towns built in Britain after the Second World War

This is the story of a city that is, and a city that could have been...



### If you remember the 60s...



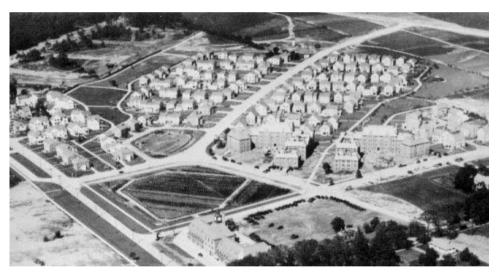
- Recognition of conflict between cars and city life
- "The Death and Life of Great American Cities" by Jane Jacobs
- "Traffic in Towns" by Colin Buchanan
- UK New Town building & inner city rebuilding







- Thinking in "Traffic In Towns" based on horizontal or vertical separation of traffic and pedestrians
- Precursor: Radburn, New Jersey, USA, from 1929



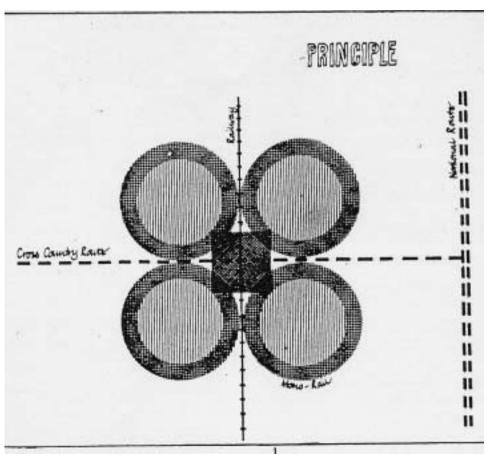
Radburn (Radburn Association, 2006)



### Pooleyville



- 1962: Colin Pooley develops ideas for new city north of Bletchley – North Buckinghamshire New Town
- Separation of car and pedestrian traffic a major idea, a year before Buchanan
- Monorail based travel



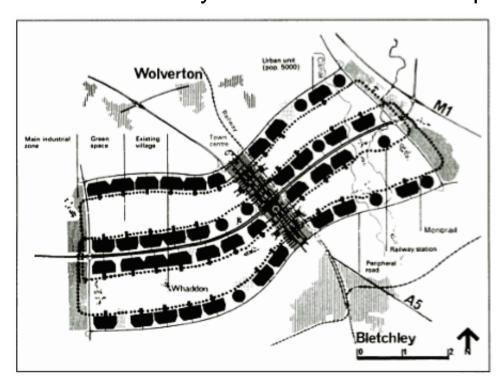
An early sketch of the concept, 1962 (Mortimer, 1984)

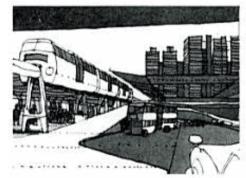


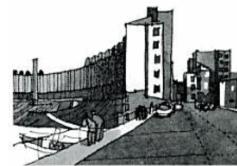
### A monorail city?

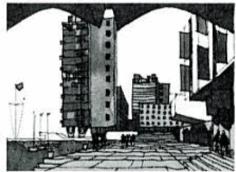


An initial plan for a monorail city, published as part of the North Bucks New City Plan in the early 1960s. Each "township" was to be a carfree area







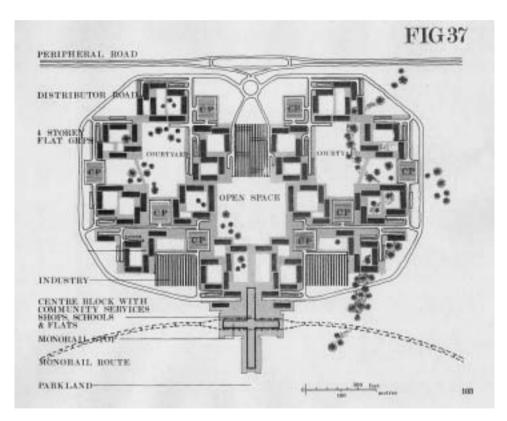


ABOVE LEFT AND ABOVE RIGHT: The powerful imagery of a monorail city: Gorden Cullen's drawings.

LEFT: In Cullen's monorail city many people would have been housed in towers of flats or in nests of houses to put them within a short walk of a station.







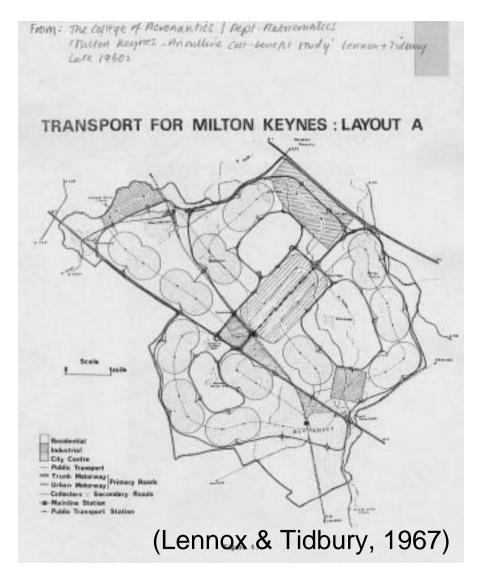
Monorail 'townships' as carfree areas (Pooley, 1966)





#### Principles

- "Radburn Layouts", houses separated from cars, with peripheral parking
- Most direct journeys by monorail & on foot, but "free choice" for car drivers with lots of parking
- Other transit options considered, including staRRcar, a PRT system

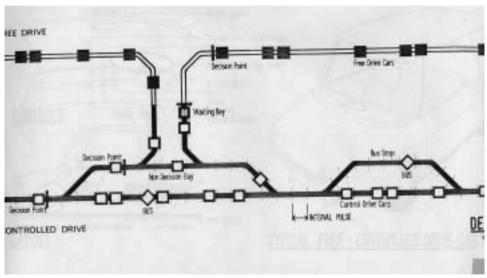




### A PRT city?





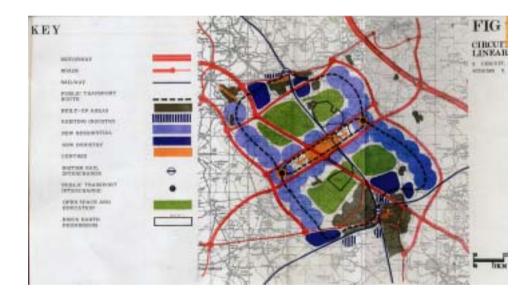


staRRcar was only adopted at one location in the USA (left: Wikipedia Contributors, 2010). A more complex system was proposed for Milton Keynes (right: Pooley, 1966)

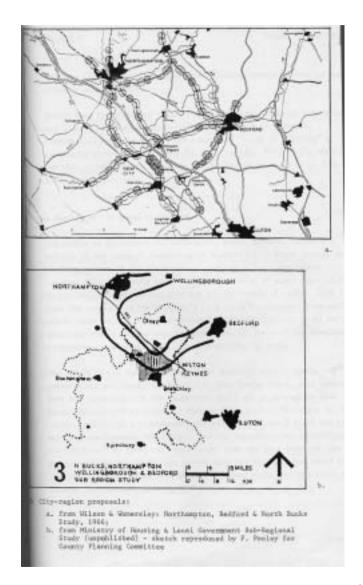




# Other ideas developed for a linear city that could spread out towards the surrounding towns



(above, Pooley, 1966; right, Mortimer, 1984)

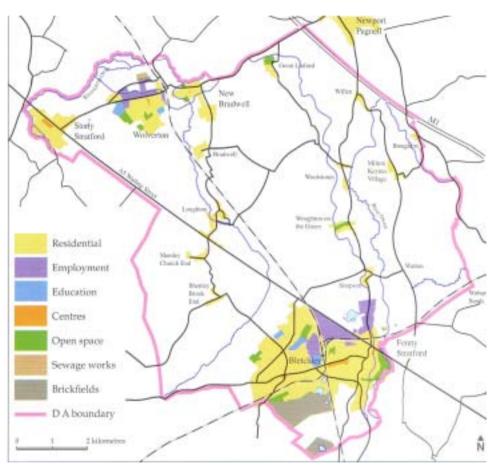




### Towards a plan



- 1967: New Town
   Designation Order
  - A name, Milton Keynes, one of the villages in the area
  - Llewelyn-Davies, Weeks,
     Forestier-Walker & Bor
     commissioned to develop
     masterplan
  - Basic principles inherited from Pooley's plan
  - Choice a key aspect, both in activity locations and travel mode



The site in 1969 (CNT, undated)



- New ideas about how to live...
  - New thinking on urban design and public space
- ...and how to travel
  - Monorail considered too expensive and unsuited to population & density
  - Traffic planners got involved & considered car based movement best (Edwards, 2001)





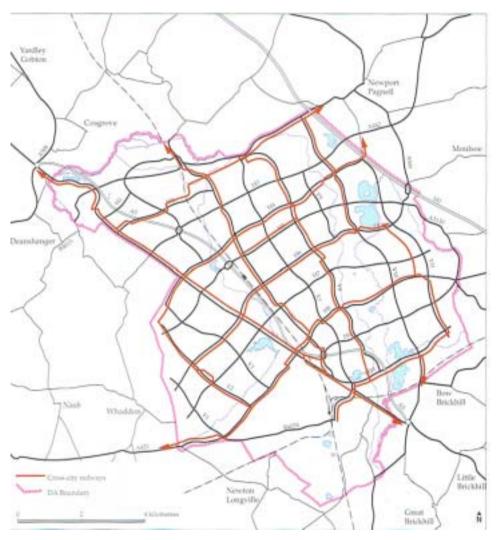


The City Club, a multi-use public & leisure space in the city centre (Bendixson & Platt, 1992)

### The city and the car



- Design based on grid of main roads at 1km intervals
  - Key pedestrian/cycle routes,
     Redways at 2km intervals with local connections into grid squares
  - Design used traffic planning for the first time
  - A framework rather than a total plan



Cross-city redways (CNT, undated)





Figure 7. An impression of a part of the city. The proposals for planning the local environment are illustrated on this sketch which shows how a typical part of the city might be developed



Figure 8. The environment of the new city centre. A possible layout is shown for roads, buildings, main pedestrian routes and main planted areas. In the centre is a climate-controlled shopping mall linked to public buildings, offices and housing



- Traffic planners privileged grid roads
  - Faster speeds
  - Wider verges
  - Reduced access
- Densities changed
  - Local centres moved away from grid roads
  - Planned development on grid roads removed

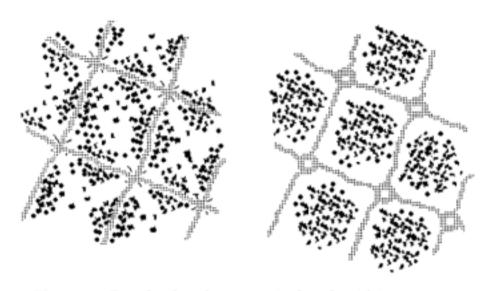


Figure 5. Result: development isolated within squares.

Development patterns as originally conceived (left) compared to as constructed (right) (Edwards, 2001)



#### **Towards Carfree?**

# UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS

- Developments clearly influenced by Radburn and what would inspire carfree designers...
- Local centres located by grid roads
  - connecting adjacent areas and providing several in short walking distance from each square

Netherfield, developed from 1972 onwards (Walker, 1982)











#### Grid squares

- Like 'Environmental Areas' of "Traffic in Towns", little through traffic
- Main routes connect to grid roads and adjacent areas & carry buses
- Local centre at edge (right in this concept drawing)

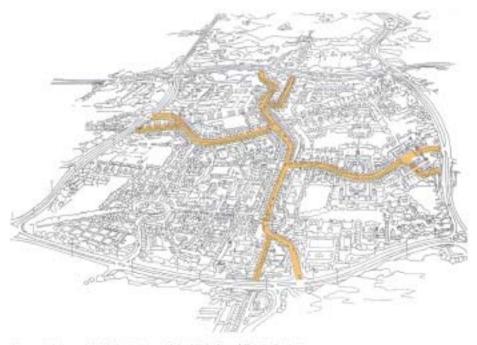
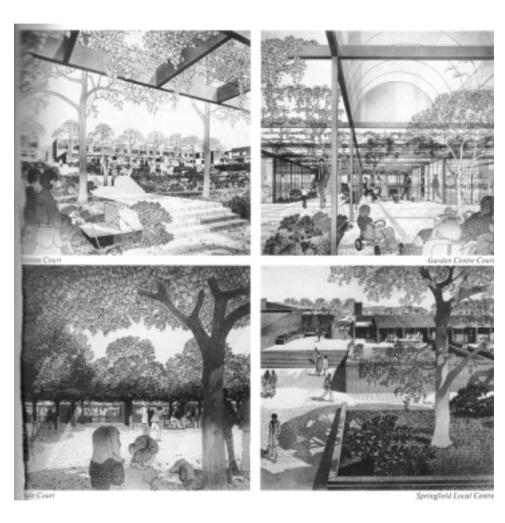


Figure 9 Theoretical Illustration of the Main Local Route System

(CNT, undated)





Site Area: 17.5 ha Grid Square: 41.26 ha

Conceived as a village community with the dwellings formed into a series of mews courts all responding to the existing natural ground features

Total Dwellings: 549 - including adapted flats for the Spastics Society plus remedial workshop, 30 flat sheltered housing scheme

Density: Approximately 31 dwellings/ha Frontages: 3.9, 6.8, 10.5, 9.3, 8.1, 12.6, 13.4m predominantly wide frontage

Parking: Plot related garaging with facility for additional on plot parking.

Construction: Traditional red brick and tile with simple clip on additives for identity and character

Facilities: Adjoining local centre development with pub, health centre, shopping and small workshop facilities.

3 schools, allotment sites and reserve sites for ecclesisastical use, light office development and further workshop/light industrial use



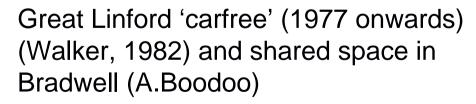


Sketches for city centre housing, and photos of Neath Hill (1975 onwards) (Walker, 1982)













- In 1970s developments onwards, you will find
  - Radburn layouts
  - Early shared spaces
  - Visually carfree areas
- Green prototype...
  - Experiments included onsite renewables (MK Energy Park) and solar gain (Pennylands)



Cross-city Redway through Bradwell (A.Boodoo)



#### Grid roads

- Separate traffic from pedestrians and cyclists, but encourage fast door to door car travel
- Although designed not to cause severance, they are very wide
- Crossed by bridges or subways



Cross-city Redway along Grid Road V6 Grafton Street (A.Boodoo)



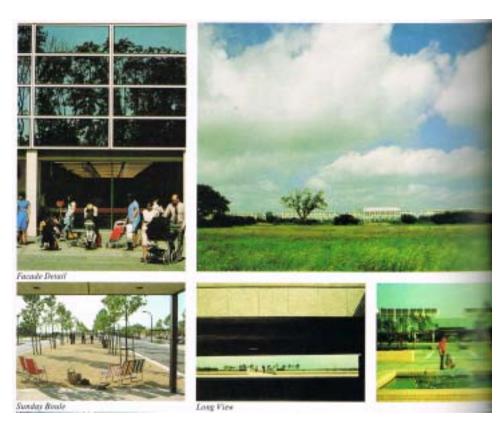
#### City centre

- Designed for 33% access by public transport, but many places served only half hourly
- Congestion at peak times, although this was "impossible"
- Well over 10,000 parking spaces, many free
- Visually a sea of car parks amongst trees



A sea of car parks! Outside Xscape ski slope (A.Boodoo)







Monumentalism... views of the shopping area in the city centre (left, Walker, 1982; right, A.Boodoo)





...and fine-grained traditionalism on Upper Third Street (A.Boodoo)









#### A changing centre

- Former 6 storey maximum height limit abolished
- Plan (as was always intended) for the centre to densify over time, with new blocks inserted
- Becoming more "urban" and pedestrian friendly...



thehub:mk (A.Boodoo)



### Challenges



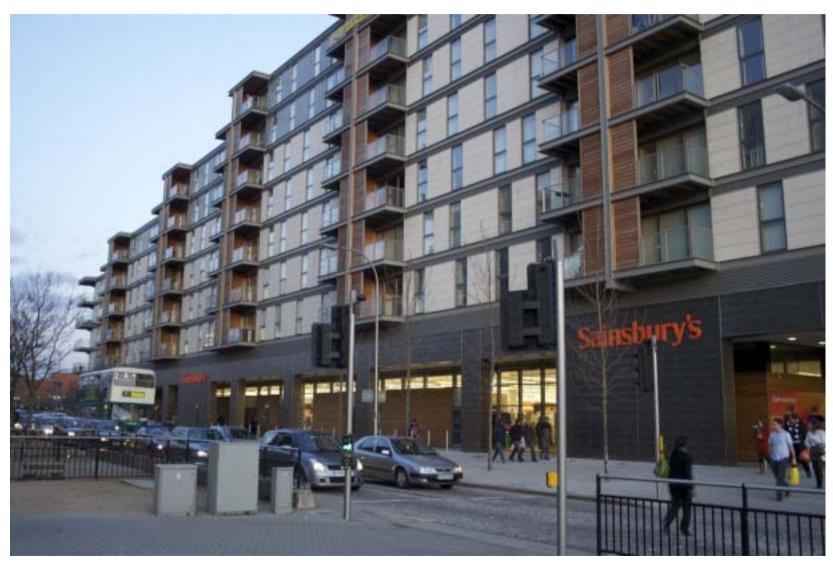
- Still car dominated
  - Mode split (all trips) appx.
    - 88% car
    - 6% walk
    - 3% public transport
    - 3% cycle (MKC, 2008)
  - Bus use +33% in 4 years
- Major growth plans
  - Population increase from 250,000 to 400,000+
  - Major regional employment and service hub



(A.Boodoo)







New Sainsbury's supermarket on Silbury Boulevard (A.Boodoo)



# Acknowledgements & References



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